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Soviet Russia

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Official Organ of the

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**NEW YORK
THE RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU
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P R E F A C E

The second volume of **Soviet Russia** embraces twenty-six issues, or half a year, as it is the custom of many weeklies in America to make each six-month period a new volume. Our first volume had thirty issues (June 7 — December 27, 1919), but does not exceed the present (second) volume in the number of its pages, as none of the 1920 issues of the weekly has less than 24 pages, while many numbers in 1919 had only 16 pages.

The period covered in the present half-year is again one of victory and accomplishment for the Soviet Government. The past half-year saw the complete and final overthrow of Denikin's counter-revolutionary effort; the final act in the immense retreat of Kolchak, terminating in his death; the beginning of the foolhardy Polish offensive that was to result in jeopardizing completely the position of the Polish governing class and to compromise hopelessly France and the other Western powers that had encouraged Poland in this stupid and imperialistic enterprise.

In the domain of peace, Soviet Russia has achieved results not only more brilliant, but of more permanently satisfactory character than those attained in the field of war. The volume presented herewith contains the full text of treaties with Great Britain and with Esthonia, and, no sooner had the volume closed, a treaty was also signed with Lithuania, to be followed, on August 14, by a complete peace treaty between Soviet Russia and Latvia; neither of the latter text has as yet reached us, but both will be included in Volume III of **Soviet Russia**.

We hope to make Volume III of **Soviet Russia** in every way as distinctly superior to Volume II, as Volume II is already superior to Volume I.

The Russian Soviet Government Bureau

New York, N. Y., August 23, 1920.

Index to Volume II: January-June 1920

The paging of this volume is continuous for the whole volume, while in the first volume of SOVIET RUSSIA each issue began afresh with page 1. It was therefore necessary in the old volume to give not only page number, but also issue number. Fortunately, we now do not need to indicate more than the pages on which the items appear.

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This Issue: New Portraits, Military Maps

EVERY WEEK

PRICE, TEN CENTS

SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau

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1920 and After—A Promise and A Prospect

THE New York Times of December 24th (the day before Christmas) has an important news feature on its first page, from which we quote the following:

During the discussions on the London conference Premier Barthou questioned M. Clemenceau on Russia, and the premier said Russia had been discussed previously, but added:

"I will tell you the two principal decisions we have taken. Not only will we not make peace, but we will not compromise with the government of the Soviets. We have decided that we will be the Allies of all peoples attacked by Bolshevism."

We invite our readers to consider with us the significance of these words. And a reference to recent events in the Baltic region will aid in clarifying the prospect suggested by them. General Yudenich is defeated and the further use of Esthonian troops by him is practically impossible, probably because of the absence of remaining able-bodied Esthonians for drafting. It is now reported that he will go to Riga to organize a *Letkish* army for use against the Soviets. Lettonia is to the southwest of *Esthonia*, and the "peoples" attacked by Bolshevism, i.e., the peoples among whom the Allies make their preparations to fight the Soviet Government by military means, seem to be found to the west of where they once were. It will be Kurland next, and Poland (already the Allied press reports preparations being made by the Soviets to attack Poland, i.e., the Allied intention to continue using Poland as a basis of attack on Soviet Russia). How soon "Bolshevism" will "attack" Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium, we cannot tell, but there is no doubt that MM. Clemenceau and Lloyd-George will use all countries lying to the west of those that have made alliances with Soviet Russia, for the raising of counter-revolutionary armies for the crushing of the growing Soviet giant. We may confidently expect, therefore, to find Yudenich, before all of us have passed away, moving from Berlin to Brussels, with the object of raising a Belgian army, after the German people have tired of the thankless and ignoble task of aiding to take away self-determination from Soviet Russia.

Of course, it is not certain that this will be the precise course of events. History does not always move in a straight line, although its general direction may be clearly discernible. At present its course is more like that of a purposeful but capricious flash of lightning, a zigzag line with definite points at both ends, but irregular motion between them. So that it is quite possible that Yudenich's trip to Belgium may have become unnecessary through previous arrangements between the French or English people and those of Soviet Russia.

Every time it is announced that Soviet Russia is about to attack one of its neighbors, you may be certain that it has just made a peace offer to that neighbor, and that MM. Clemenceau and Lloyd-George are egging on the neighbor to organize counter-revolutionary armies against Soviet Russia. For instance, simultaneously with the news of the proposed Soviet attack on Poland, comes the news of the Soviet peace offer to that country.

Let us assume the possibility, however, that the westward motion of European counter-revolution

may not materialize, and that, instead, it may move eastward and swallow Soviet Russia, forcing the regime of the past on the people that have tasted the future. This would mean a prospect of very different nature. The approved historical parallels would here be found in the cruelties practiced on the defeated Communists after the fall of Münster, in Westphalia (1535); the bloodbath of executions perpetrated by the triumphant bourgeoisie after the Paris Commune (1871); the White Terror which has only begun its operations against the defeated Hungarian Communists, and which is reported already to have "executed" 1,500 persons before the end of 1919.

But these cruelties, which it is certain would be practiced in Russia by Allied counter-revolutionary forces on a far grander scale than in any previous restorations of "law and order," are merely a suggestion of what it means for a proletarian government to be overthrown by a triumphant "restora-

tion." The tale of the Paris Commune, for instance, tells us only of the 30,000 or so of innocent men and women that were slaughtered by Gallifet's bands: it does not tell of the physical and mental suffering of a whole people that had seen its vision of the future blasted. What this would mean to the hundred million or so of persons in Russia, who have already lived in the new era for two years, cannot be estimated alone in terms of the million or so of active Communists who would be murdered by the invading armies. Nor would the tyranny and reaction that would then set in, be the true measure of the Russian defeat. The real misery would be the complete loss of faith in life, of faith in the present and the future, on the part not only of the Russian people, but also of large communities elsewhere in the world.

These would appear to be the possible experiences for Russia if the Allies were capable of inflicting them—which fortunately they are not.

The Military Year in Russia

Political and Strategical Reflections

THE year 1918 was a characteristic revolutionary year in Russia, and cannot be discussed from the military point of view. Here and there, throughout the vast territory of the late Russian Empire, from the Baltic to the Pacific, and from the Arctic to the Black Sea, as well as in Transcaspia and Turkestan, unorganized fighting between the Soviet armed forces and counter-revolutionists, proceeded with extreme sharpness.

The Red army in those early days could not be considered as a properly organized tactical unit, acting in harmony according to a strictly fixed plan of campaign. These forces were of purely revolutionary character, created in the past by peasants and workers, and their general aim was the destruction of the dispersed reactionary units, thus preventing them from uniting in one strong counter-revolutionary body.

Practically the Reds in 1918, in spite of the unorganized character of their fight against the Whites and the Allied invaders, accomplished a task of great military importance. Their constant activity and superhuman sacrifices in the face of a series of very serious reverses, prevented the invaders from creating a single front in Russia, and on the other hand only thanks to the splendid and most vigorous fighting ability of this vanguard of the Russian revolutionary army, was the real fighting body of Soviet Russia properly organized in the center. Early in 1919 the Soviet Headquarters Staff already had at its disposal a well equipped and splendidly drilled army of 750,000 men, highly disciplined and led by experienced, trustworthy generals and officers. An equal number of troops was prepared for the reserves. This army had to start in 1919 real military operations against the invaders, on purely strategical principles, and its

tactical units have gradually replaced the Red Guard in the several battle fields of invaded Russia.

So, after the preparatory period of the preceding year, Soviet Russia started a campaign in 1919, being militarily fully equipped, and taking the initiative on all thirteen fronts attacked by the enemy.

The most terrible war, the most determined war the world has ever witnessed, began in Russia with the Great Powers and the sanguinary hydra of the Russian reaction, in spite of the fact that the same Great Powers had just celebrated their alleged victory over Germany and Austria, and signed a valueless and abortive armistice, advocating world-wide peace, which was planned by their politicians, and which the League of Nations had to grant to the bleeding and exhausted peoples of the globe. . . . The year 1919 could therefore be considered as the beginning of a new great war in Europe and Asia.

The war in Russia was based on a purely defensive strategy, with offensive tactics. In order to defend herself, Soviet Russia had to attack, having as her main objective the annihilation of the invaders. It was a rather difficult task for the main Headquarters Staff of Soviet Russia. First of all, in order to accomplish successfully the concentration of its forces, the main Headquarters Staff met with a great obstacle in the deplorable condition in which the old regime and then the Kerensky government had left the railroads and the other ways of communication. There was a general lack of freight trucks, wagons, locomotives, and material, in order to repair the parts of the railroads destroyed by the counter-revolutionists and to restore the damaged bridges. There was a lack of engineers and skilled workers, the

greater part of whom were engaged in fighting against the invaders or perished in the superhuman struggle in the early days of the revolution. The existing element of the railway employees, such as the station masters and their assistants, as well as the telegraphers and, especially, the persons who occupied responsible technical posts in the complicated railway organization, were mostly the officials of the old regime, who, though highly experienced, were in many cases, if not absolute reactionaries, nevertheless partisans of those parties that were hostile to the Soviet Government. They had to be removed gradually, and replaced by suitable persons fit for the purposes of the war period. The artillery department of the War Office, realizing the approaching tight blockade of Soviet Russia, was confronted with the most difficult task of obtaining possession of the necessary quantity of arms and ammunition for an army of millions, which the Russian nation had to create in the near future.

The Commissariat, on the other hand, was obliged to elaborate an absolutely new plan of supply for the newly created army, with equipment and food-stuffs, keeping in mind the famous Napoleonic advice that "the armies move on their stomachs." The Sanitary branch of the army was in a most deplorable condition. There was not a sufficient number of surgeons, neither were there medicaments, bandages and surgical instruments. Anæsthetic materials were already no longer in existence in 1918, and the wounded were thus condemned to bear all kinds of operations without anæsthesia, which means passing through terrible sufferings.

Aviation was practically destroyed during the revolution. The greatest part of the members of the Flying Corps were reactionaries and joined the anti-Soviet movement. There was a lack of engines and aeroplanes, there was a shortage of materials necessary to improve that branch of the military organization without which any operation in modern warfare would be an impossibility. But in spite of all these difficulties, and the insurmountable obstacles alleged by the enemies of Soviet Russia, there still existed the spirit of the Russian revolutionists, and the inexhaustible energy and incomparable initiative of the leaders, and the exceptional personality of the Russian people and the endless reserves of the natural wealth of the country.

The peasants and workers of Russia firmly determined to fight to the end the world imperialism which menaced the existence of the Soviet Federal Republic and they overcame all these obstacles, and with the highest spirit history has ever known, they entered into 1919, which became the most glorious year of the Russian Revolution, a year comprehending a series of brilliant victories of the young Soviet forces over the coalition of the decrepit western and eastern imperialism.

The military operations in Russia during 1919 may be divided into four principal periods: (1) the concentration of the Soviet armies; (2) the

advance of the Kolchak Siberian army west of the Urals; (3) the rapid movement of Denikin towards Moscow, simultaneously with Yudenich's attack on Petrograd; and, (4) the general defeat of the invaders, which practically ended the civil war in Russia, by a vigorous pursuit of the beaten enemy on all fronts.

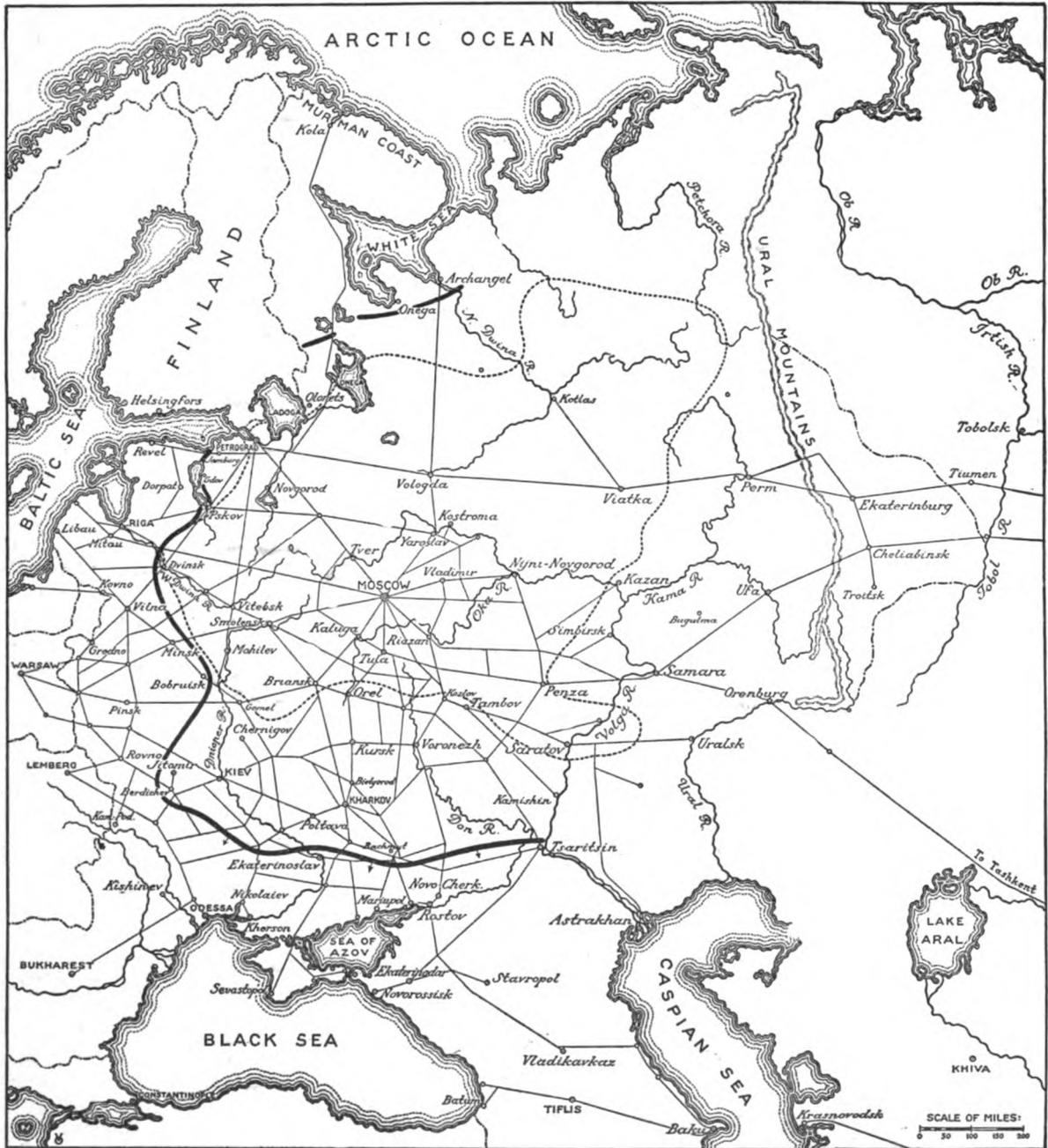
The year 1920 finds Russia confronted with the Allies themselves, which means a possible war on the part of Soviet Russia with the outside enemy.

Returning to the military situation at the beginning of 1919, we find the invaders fully prepared for a general offensive, with Moscow as their main strategical objective. In order to simplify the situation for our readers, we are dividing the whole Russian battle line of thirteen fronts, as formerly described (see SOVIET RUSSIA, No. 13) into five parts, namely: (1) the Murmansk-Archangel front; (2) the Siberian front; (3) the Turkestan front, along the Persian border; (4) the South-Russian, or General Denikin front; and, (5) the Western front, which includes the Polish, as well as the battle line of the Baltic States, up to the Gulf of Finland.

Estimating the total strength of the Soviet armies at not more than 750,000, and considering their military value to be beneath criticism, the strategists of the Allied coalition came to the conclusion that the anti-Bolshevist armies were strong enough to start an offensive. The three Siberian armies of Kolchak, which in 1918 succeeded in joining with the Czechoslovaks under General Gaida, presented an important tactical unit, estimated as 300,000 strong, with a main base at Vladivostok, protected by the Allied troops and navy. The Anglo-American-Japanese forces protected the railway line of the Trans-Siberian and other ways of communication in the rear of the operating Kolchak army. Generally speaking, the aid of the Allies freed almost all of Kolchak's army from service in the rear, and he was able to employ all the native Siberian regiments, as well as part of the Allied troops, against the Red army. In the meantime, the British were making complete preparations in India and Persia, in order to direct a military expedition into Russian Turkestan. This campaign was to start out from two main points. One army was to be sent through Afghanistan, with the possible assistance of the Afghans, and to join the Emir of Bokhara, who was hostile to the Soviets. The other army was prepared to operate from Persia, along the Persian border, having as its objective the Transcaspien railway line from Krasnovodsk, on the Caspian Sea, to Kushk, in the east, on the Afghan frontier.

In South Russia, the army of General Denikin also was preparing for an offensive; its force was estimated as 250,000 strong, not counting the Allied forces concentrated in Odessa, which has become the chief base of their operations on the Black Sea. The Allies, with a part of the Denikin forces, already in December 1918, started their advance in the direction of Kieff, in order to join

General Map of European Russia, Showing Military Situation on December 15, 1919



— INDICATES THE PRESENT FRONT
 LINE OF THE FURTHEST ADVANCE OF ANTI-SOVIET FORCES.

the guerilla detachments of the Cossack General Krassnoff who was advancing on Kieff from Rosstov, on the Don.

That Denikin was ready for an offensive can be seen from his early successes in the Caucasus: on January 9th, he succeeded in inflicting a severe check on the vanguard of the Soviet forces on the river Kuma. Taken as whole, the anti-Bolshevist forces in Southern Russia were not more than 300,000 men.

The Western front did not inspire any anxiety, because of the unreadiness of the Polish army. In the northern part of this front, however, after the failure of the early offensive of the Reds towards Esthonia, General Yudenich was forming a north-western counter-revolutionary army, about 60,000 men strong, equipped and financed by England.

On the Archangel-Murmansk front the Allies were under the constant bombardment of the Red artillery, which heralded the intention of the Soviet army to take the initiative. The forces of the Allies in that region were estimated at 14,000 men. The Allied intelligence department, in reporting the condition of the Red Army, overlooked a most important matter: when they discovered that the Red army numbered 750,000, they did not know that the Russian main headquarters (the best brains of the old Russian army as well as of the new, which had melted away at the first breath of the revolution) had already planned and was prepared to carry into operation a general offensive against the Kolchak army in Siberia. The exact strength of the army was unknown in Moscow, and certainly the Soviet strategists would not have been able to accomplish their objective if they had had only 750,000 men at their disposal. Against Kolchak in Siberia they could not send less than 600,000 men in the first line; they were also compelled to maintain a reserve of 600,000 men, a total of 1,200,000 for operations in Siberia. In order to resume an offensive against Denikin, they had to have in the field not less than 600,000, keeping in reserve for South Russia also 600,000, which makes a total on both fronts of 2,400,000 men.

These figures are based upon the strength of the armies of Kolchak and Denikin, and upon the principles of modern strategy, which recommend for a successful offensive the employment of twice as many men in the front line and reserves as are at the disposal of the enemy. A well organized army never undertakes any military operation without strong reserves. In spite of the fact that the Soviet army had to operate on inner lines, which strategy teaches requires less troops than the enemy, the Red military leaders, because of inadequate lines of communication, and because their strategical aim was the annihilation of the enemy by an offensive, were obliged to be at least twice as numerous as their enemy. In order to cover the Polish front, the Soviet headquarters staff had in readiness about 100,000 troops, and against Yudenich, as we are aware, an army of 125,000 was

employed, taken from the strategical reserves at the moment when the Soviet armies were carrying out a successful offensive against Kolchak in Siberia and Denikin in South Russia. This withdrawal of reserves did not harm the latter movement.

In North Russia there were operating about 50,000 Reds.

The Turkestan Red army could be considered as having been a total of not less than 150,000 in those days. Summing up the figures, the Soviet army at the moment of its offensive could be estimated as about 3,000,000 strong, which the Allied headquarters failed to understand.

On January 20, the city of Ufa fell before the Soviet army and the Russo-Chechoslovak forces were pursued by the victorious Reds to Zlatoust, 140 miles to the northeast. The city of Orenburg was threatened by the Reds and the Ataman Dutoff abandoned the town and fell back in a northerly direction. The French and British reserves were despatched to relieve the beaten Siberian army, and all the tactical reserves were moved from Siberia westward, which caused a partial success of the anti-Bolshevist army in Tobolsk Government. Though the press remained silent as to whether or not the American troops took part in the military operations in Siberia, the total casualties of the Americans in Siberia were announced from Washington as 314 men, of whom 3 officers and 133 men "died from various causes."

During the same period, Kolchak overpowered the Omsk government and was recognized by General Denikin, General Krasnoff, the leader of the Don Cossacks, and other chiefs of the separate units of the anti-Bolshevist forces.

Only after the first serious check of the Kolchak advance did the English press start to speak about the growing strength of the Soviet forces, and the London *Times* already on January 20, 1919, published a telegram from Omsk, saying that the Bolsheviks were "concentrating an army of 2,000,000 men for operating against Siberia and South Russia."

The activity of the Allies on the Northern front during March and April 1919 attracted the attention of the Soviet General Staff, and while the concentration of the forces against Kolchak was accomplishing a strong and persistent counter-offensive, the attack was resumed by the Reds in the direction of Onega, which subsequently was crowned with final success.

Meanwhile the Siberian army of Kolchak, divided into three separate groups, and considerably reinforced, again took the initiative and speedily advanced westward, covering an average of seven miles a day, penetrating at the beginning of May, as far as Bugulma—Bogoroslan, in the Samara.

It was essential now, for the further success of the Kolchak advance on Moscow to have the cooperation of Denikin army, which still was completing its reorganization after a series of defeats on the Caucasian front. Meanwhile, in Ukraine and

Crimea, the separate units of the Reds were in constant struggle with the bands of Petlura and the Don and Kuban Cossacks, and there was no serious movement of the Soviet armies against Denikin. The revolutionary movement, which burst out in Odessa, and several mutinies in the French fleet forced the Allies to evacuate Odessa, which fell into the hands of the Soviets. This success could not be considered as of great strategical importance. It was a purely local movement, supported by the separate detachments of the original Red army, operating against the Ukrainians. It was evident that the Soviet army had not yet concentrated a sufficient number of troops to meet the new offensive of Denikin, who, encouraged by the Allies and the successes of the Kolchak advance, had been quickly prepared for an energetic movement to the north. The treachery of Grigorieff later caused the recapture of Odessa by the Allies, but sooner or later this town had to be abandoned by the Reds, thanks to the vigorous offensive started by the Denikin army, which hurried up to ease the situation of Kolchak, which had become critical. Unfortunately for the latter, Denikin resumed his offensive too late.

Towards the end of May, the Kolchak armies, after a serious defeat, started their retreat both from the Kazan and Samara regions, falling with their center on Ufa, while the right flank of the advancing line of the enemy continued to menace Viatka, the important railway junction connected with Kotlas on the N.E. and Vologda on the west. The invader, when he took Viatka, tried to establish a connection with the Archangel front of the Allies and thus to protect the advance of the bulk of the Kolchak forces on Moscow. The final defeat of the Allies on the Northern front, and the falling back of the main forces of the Siberian army, as far as Ufa killed the plan of the invaders. The third Siberian army, which was nearing Southward toward Orenburg, was obliged, thanks to the successes of the Soviet forces, to retire, abandoning the relief of that town (and later was annihilated).

On June 9, Ufa fell to the Reds, after three days of most severe fighting, and, on July 2, the Soviet troops, after having defeated the enemy in the Viatka region, pushed him eastward and captured Perm. The retreat of the enemy was so speedy and, the pursuit so vigorous, that on July 16 the Soviet troops captured Yekaterinburg, 100 miles to the east of Perm. Simultaneously, the activity of the Red guerilla forces in Eastern Siberia became more pronounced and very annoying to the Kolchak armies. The communications in his rear were seriously threatened, and as reported at the time, the goldfields on the Lena were captured by the Red army about 50,000 strong.

The Urals were victoriously crossed by the Soviet army, and the Kolchak army practically received a very serious blow before it was supported by the Denikin offensive, which was undertaken in order to effect a junction with the Kolchak forces, and, in case of success, simultaneously to continue the movement on Moscow. Using British tanks, mu-

nitons, and even British men, Denikin, by a wide, sweeping offensive, took Kharkov, Tzaritsin, Bielorod and Yekaterinoslav, while Petlura, the Ukrainian chief, took Kieff from the Soviet army.

Consequently the Don and Donietz industrial basins were retaken by the counter-revolutionists, and by the end of June, Denikin counted 22,000 prisoners, 150 guns, 350 machine guns, and an immense amount of other booty.

The surprising success of the Denikin army was neutralized, however, by the hostile movement against him and Kolchak amongst the Caucasian population and the Republic of Azerbaijan, situated in the rear of his forces, as well as the numerous guerilla bands that threatened communications with their bases.

Neglecting the growing danger in his rear, Denikin still advanced, dividing his army into three separate groups. One, the western, in the Kieff direction; another, the central division, moving on Kursk and Orel; and the third, the eastern, along the Volga, on Kamishin.

Meanwhile, in the middle of August, it became clear that the Allies were planning a serious movement on Petrograd, and a new North-Western Government was formed, which was to control the regions of Pskoff, Novgorod, and Petrograd. General Marsh acted on behalf of the Allies, and a Russian financier, Lianozov, was to form a cabinet, in which he was invited to appoint General Yudenich as war minister; 350,000,000 rubles were printed with the Yudenitch signature, and the Russian Volunteer Army was properly equipped by the British. The British Navy had to support the Yudenitch offensive. In answer to this new movement, the Soviet forces captured Pskoff on August 27. Colonel Stojakin, Chief of Staff to General Balaikhovich, one of Yudenich's Generals, was found guilty by court martial of accepting a bribe of 1,000,000 rubles from the Bolsheviki to turn over a part of his lines to the Reds.

In the first half of September the Allies conceded the complete failure of the northern armies, and the British forces began their gradual evacuation of the Archangel district, and since then this front has lost all military importance.

Thanks to the false informations issued by the British Press Bureau, the American public has been kept in absolute darkness as to the real events on the Russian theatre of war. This was partially owing to clumsy inventions on the part of London, in order to raise the spirit of those who shared the opinion of the Entente that Soviet Russia must be crushed, and partially owing to the ignorance of the Allied General Staff as to the real situation in invaded Russia. The lack of important information in that respect was chiefly due to the fact that although they were officially not at war with Russia, the Allies tightly blockaded Soviet Russia, recalled their representatives from that country, and suppressed all the communications of the representatives of the Soviet Republic residing in their respective countries, thus absolutely preventing themselves from getting direct information about the

events in the country with which they were waging a real war on modern lines.

For instance during September and October the ultimate downfall of the Bolshevik regime was widely heralded by the press, and since October 10, when Yudenich started his famous offensive on Petrograd, the mythical reports attained the zenith of human imaginative creation.

It was suggested that Kolchak, though retreating eastward in Siberia, was still in communication with Yudenich and Denikin. The latter continued his advance without serious opposition from the Reds. Voronezh and Kursk were captured by the Denikin army. General Mamoutoff, the Cossack leader, succeeded in penetrating to the rear of the Soviet forces, and terrorized the towns of Tambov and Kozlov, thus approaching to about 175 miles from Moscow.

Hoping that Yudenich and Denikin would be successful, Kolchak again took the initiative, and started the offensive with three of his armies, employing on the battlefield all the forces of which he was in possession.

Soviet Russia at this critical moment remained extraordinarily calm, ready to meet the invaders with fresh troops prepared in advance, the existence of which reserves had remained unknown to the invaders. The army of Yudenich victoriously started its advance on the Soviet capital. Already on October 14, after having captured Yamburg, about 75 miles southwest of Petrograd, the Yudenich vanguard reached the vicinity of Petrograd, and, after fierce fighting with the Soviet army, captured Gatchina, Tzarskoye Selo, and Krasnoye Selo.

It was reported that Kronstadt had fallen, and that the garrison of Krassnaya Gorka, the outwork and cover of the attacked fortress, had surrendered to the British. Pskoff was already in the hands of the Yudenich forces.

There was not the slightest hesitation on the part of the Allied leaders in believing that the fall of Petrograd and Moscow was a matter of several weeks.

We did not believe it for a moment and finally denied the possibility of the occupation of Petrograd by the enemy.

The deep penetration of the Denikin army into Russia did not inspire us with anxiety. We were fully aware that the Soviet General Staff, after succeeding in arresting both the extreme flanks of the Denikin battle line, would bring its center on the concentrated fresh forces south of Tula, where a decisive battle might take place. On October 8, Denikin captured Voronezh and Grafskaja, and took 15,000 prisoners, and his cavalry penetrated as far as 40 miles north of Voronezh. Mamontov, with his 13,000 Cossacks, had swept to about 150 miles to the west of Tambov, massacring the panic-stricken population, and sending out a series of fabulous reports about his strategical successes, which, in reality, did not prevent the defeat of Denikin. Subsequently Tambov, 250 miles S. W. of Moscow, was captured by the invaders. Then

the news reached us that Kieff, Kursk, Tchernigoff, and, at last, Orel, had fallen before the enemy, and the strategical base for the Denikin army was established at Kharkoff.

"Orel was entered after many days of fierce fighting, in which several Red divisions were defeated. The townspeople welcomed the troops, falling on their knees and calling out, "Christ is risen!"—said the official report of Denikin. In the meantime, in Ukraine, the Soviet armies continued their orderly retreat to the northeast, in order to avoid being cut off by the Poles, advancing on Gomel. The invaders established themselves in Kieff.

The situation of the Denikin armies seemed to be brilliant, when quite unexpectedly, General Petlura declared war upon the counter-revolutionaries, and, on October 11, attacked the left flank of the Denikin battle line from the rear.

In Siberia, the situation of Kolchak was also "satisfactory," according to the official despatches. From the beginning of September to its end, the Siberian troops had pushed forward an average distance of 75 miles along all fronts, and were facing the serious counter-attacks of the enemy. About 15,000 prisoners, 100 machine guns and 21 heavy cannon were captured by the Siberian reactionary, and on October 13 the "All Russian Government" of Omsk officially informed Washington that the Bolsheviki were retreating along all the fronts.

But in reality it was not so safe on all the fronts of the invaders as it was supposed. There were more than 500 separate armed uprisings in Siberia in 1919 of the population who were sympathetic with the Soviets and against Kolchak.

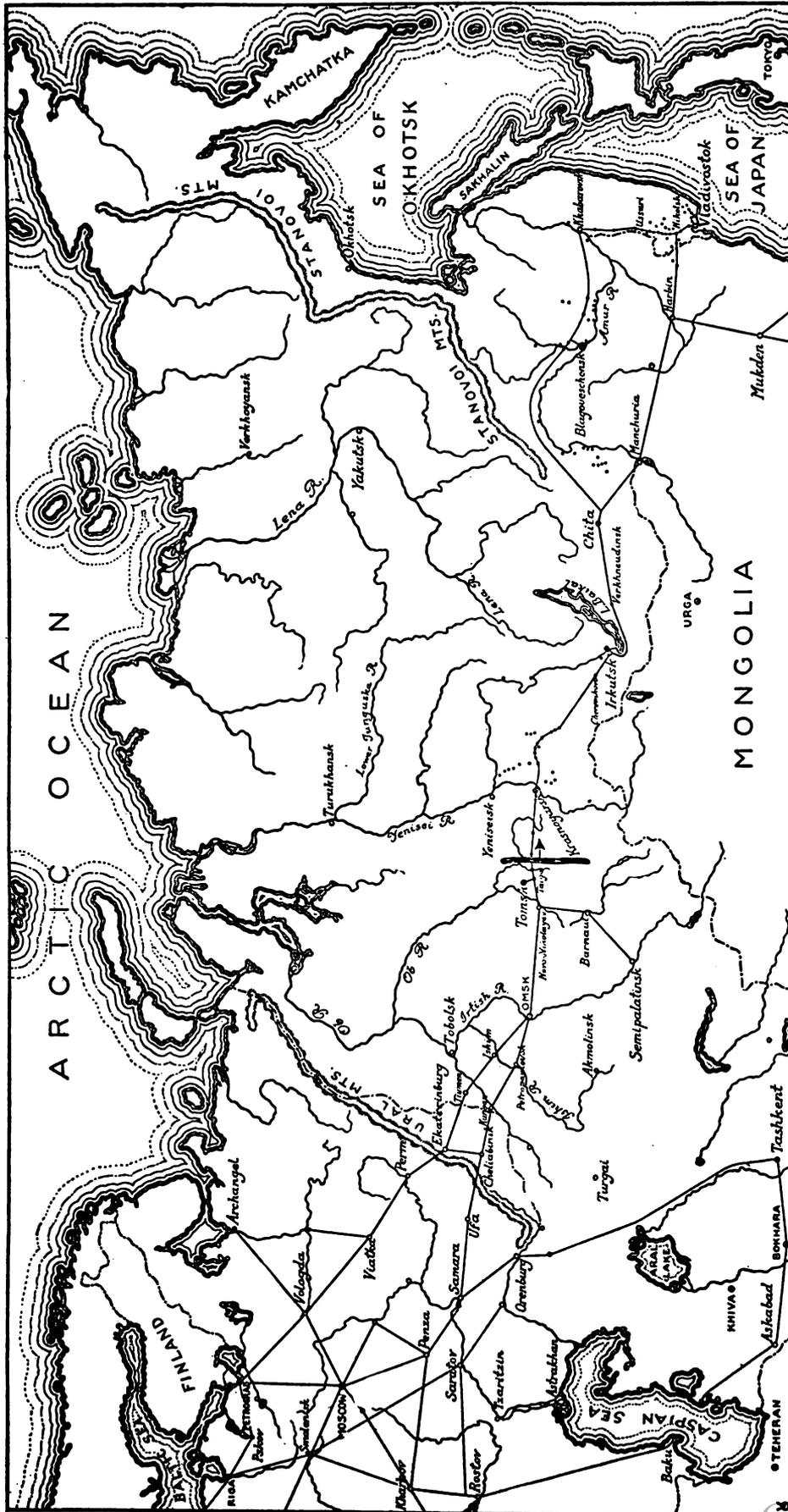
The Soviet General Staff at last succeeded in concentrating the reserves of its army on the various attacked fronts and accordingly met the invaders. There was no serious regrouping or general transportation of troops from one front to another. It would have been unwise to weaken one of the fronts for the sake of another at a time when all were attacked by the enemy. There was one way for the Soviets to deal with the enemy, namely, to oppose him with all the fighting elements of the country:—with the strategical reserves of the Russian Soviet army. As we have mentioned before, these reserves were ready, partly concentrated in the rears of the operating armies, and partly in training. Now they were all sent to the respective fronts.

In spite of the approaching support of the von der Goltz army under Avaloff—Bermond, which movement was stopped in the Riga region by the Letts, Yudenich was met by about 125,000 fresh reserves of the Soviet army, which, thanks to its skilful manoeuvres, occupied Gdov, in the rear of the advancing Yudenich forces, thus preventing his retreat should his operation fail.

By October 27, the success of the Soviet forces was already visible. On October 29, the whole Yudenich army was in disorderly flight, mercilessly pursued by the victorious Soviet soldiers.

Petrograd was saved, and on November 1st

General Map Showing the Military Situation in Siberia, December 15, 1919



— INDICATES THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE ADVANCING SOVIET ARMIES.

Trotsky declared officially that the danger to the Russian Capital had been definitely removed.

By the end of October, the Soviet army which opposed the southern invaders was ready for a general offensive along all the fronts north of Kieff to Tzaritzin. The main blow of the attack was aimed on the Denikin center, from the Tula sector and on the left flank of the invaders, simultaneously; and in the middle of November, after a series of stubborn fights, the Denikin front was broken through over an extent of 47 miles in its center. The central column of the Denikin forces was practically annihilated and hotly pursued by the Soviet Cossacks, who had advanced 105 miles in three days. The success of the Reds was so complete that in the middle of December it was already announced that Kharkoff, the strategical key of South Russia, was captured by the Soviet army, which was still strong enough to continue further its pursuit of the beaten enemy towards the sea of Azoff, while the Caucasian tribes revolted against Denikin, seriously menacing his retiring forces, and several sea ports on the Black Sea and the Sea of Azoff were already in the hands of the Reds.

According to the cable of December 23, Bakhmut, about 125 miles east of Yekaterinoslav, was captured by the Red army, and its cavalry penetrated further to the South.

Generals Mamontoff and Shkuro were beaten. From November 20 to December 20, the Reds occupied 125,000 square versts of territory, together with Kieff, Kharkoff, Poltava, and 39 smaller towns, and captured 5,289 soldiers and 89 guns. This small number of prisoners means that the pursuit of the enemy was what is known in strategy as a "pursuit of annihilation."

At the same time, the forces of General Petlura were surrounded in Ukraine south of Berdicheff. The remainder of the left column of the Denikin

forces were cut off from their base—Odessa—and forced to retire in a north-westerly direction, probably on Brest, via Rovno and Kovel, or in part on Lemberg in Galicia, thus seeking the cover of the Polish and Rumanian armies.

With the capture of Bakhmut, the Soviet army practically became the master of the Donietz industrial region, which the Soviets had lost almost a year before.

The fate of Kolchak in Siberia was not more fortunate than that of his two colleagues, Denikin and Yudenich. After being defeated west of Omsk, the Kolchak army started a hasty retreat to the east of Omsk, which gradually became a real rout, and, owing to the energetic pursuit by the Soviet forces, the remaining part of the fleeing Siberian army gradually melted in the snows of Siberia.

The capture of Tomsk, announced some days ago, was a new triumph of the Soviet arms, thus ending the year 1919 with a complete victory for the Soviets on all the gigantic battle front of 80,000 kilometers.

So far the acts of the Red army directly. But the influence of its prestige, and of the example of humane and righteous government set by Soviet Russia, has produced consequences not directly military, but nevertheless of immense military importance. As the year closed, New York newspapers (morning of December 29th) announced that the peace negotiations with Esthonia were progressing favorably, thus forecasting the elimination of one more centre of counter-revolutionary military operations; furthermore, that independent armed uprisings all over Eastern Siberia were cutting off Kolchak's retreat and that Kolchak's government itself had fallen; and finally, that on the South-Western front of the European theatre of war, Odessa was being evacuated in anticipation of Soviet advances.

Hunger in Soviet Russia—Truth and Exaggeration

Anton Nilsson Presents His Experiences in the Matter

The food question in the greater part of Soviet Russia is far from being as severe now as at the time of Kropotkin's letter in April. At the end of February and beginning of March, I made the long trip from Riga, passing through Jakobstad, Dunaburg, Pskov, Luga, Gatchina, Petrograd, Moscow, Gregoryevsk, Kolumna, to the city of Soraik in the Ryazanski government, a few days' trip the other side of Moscow.

The food question in Riga was then very severe, and many faced real starvation. The city received nothing from Germany. It was blockaded from the sea by the English. The troops of Mannerheim controlled the railroad at Walk, and the only possible means of transportation that remained was the connection between Riga and Dünaburg, which was strictly reserved for war uses. When the German troops left Riga they had, according to authentic information, sunk a great deal of grain in the harbor so that it should not fall into the hands

of the Bolsheviki. About 80 versts from Riga, towards Courland, one could, however, find as much food as one desired, at a reasonable price. There were no food cards in Dunaburg. Free trade prevailed and one could buy as much food as one wished, but the prices were high. There were food-cards in Pskov, but one could buy bread as well as milk, eggs, and other things, at the market, without cards. Hunger was dreadful in Petrograd. This city was the center of an enormous hunger zone which covered Gatchina, Luga, and out towards Pskov, further in a curve half-way toward Moscow, and up towards the Finnish boundary. The hunger was worse in the towns and bigger places, but was also great among the peasant population in the villages, although there it was not so severe as in Stockholm during the latter part of the summer a year ago. Moscow was the center of another hunger district, which was not, however, so large in extent as the former.

In March, almost the entire passenger traffic on the Soviet Russian railroads was suspended for fourteen days, as it is now in Germany, so that food products could be transported from South Russia to both the large cities. Moscow was then facing starvation. During the days we were there we did succeed in obtaining bread. The town was drained of all food products. But after that, food transportation conditions became a little better, declining again at the end of April. May, June, and the greater part of July were fearfully hard. June 1, I visited Moscow as well as Petrograd and Gatchina; then I visited Moscow; and, in August, Petrograd and Moscow. In Petrograd and vicinity the situation was just as hopeless in August as before, but in Moscow there were great quantities of food products of all kinds at the bazaars and one could buy without cards. There were great quantities of wheat bread and so many fine new potatoes that the price decreased daily. The peasants who had before been holding on to their old but not very large supplies had gathered in the new rye and had therefore put their old supplies on the market. In addition, products were obtained on the cards from the Soviet warehouses. One could not, in a real sense, see any hunger in Moscow at that time, and I presume that it is no worse now.

Access to food products was not, of course, normal, but the scarcity could not be called real hunger. On the other hand, in cities like Gregoryevsk, Kolumna, and Soraisk, and in the larger places—best of all in the district through which the Oka flows (a tributary of the Volga), there was rich wealth of milk, eggs, butter, potatoes, and vegetables in the late summer, all without cards. On the other hand, they lacked flour, meat, pork, and salt.

In the beginning of August, I visited the cities of Moscow and Vladimir and traveled at that time through the rural districts. There was a scarcity of food products in the cities and at the larger places, but no actual hunger. Out in the villages, there was plenty of food of various kinds, but a great lack of salt.

With a few friends I visited the family of a former priest—now a peasant and trader—about 20 versts from Moscow. The amiable family served food in quantities, especially honey, and I may say that I have never before eaten so much food at one time.

One day in the end of July, I visited Serpukov, a beautiful city about 100 versts from Moscow in the Kaluga direction. A desperate hunger prevailed here. It was absolutely impossible to obtain a bit of food. Towards evening I went out in the rye field and picked a few stalks, to stay my hunger. A worker who had looked on patiently for some time finally shouted "Davalna, Davolna, Tovarishch!" (—enough, enough, comrade!)

About two and a half months ago I travelled by Dünaburg, Polotzk, Vitebsk, and Smolensk, towards Moscow. There were no food cards at Dünaburg, but free trade prevailed. In several

provision stores, which were generally owned by Jews, there was a plentitude of all kinds of food products piled up in the show windows. There was black bread and white bread, cheese, butter, eggs, sausage, herring, etc. Flour could be bought without hindrance, but the prices were very high. Towards Polotzk, Vitebsk, and Smolensk there was not any hunger, but here the prices were immoderate also. I do not know whether the card system had been established or not.

Besides, I communicated with comrades from Perm, Kazan, Simbirsk, Samara, Saratov, Kharkov, Poltava, Kiev, Odessa, Sebastopol, and other places, through whom I obtained a clear idea of the food conditions in southern and eastern Russia. (Several of the southern parts are now occupied by Denikin.)

In these parts there was no hunger. There was plenty of white bread but the price increased steadily. In Kiev, however, food conditions became worse during the summer. Our aviation chief, formerly an officer, went to Sebastopol, in the Crimea, and stayed there for a time. He told me that in the districts through which he had travelled, there were large quantities of food. One pound of white flour cost 25 rubles in the Crimea. A ruble was worth, during the summer, only 25 öre. Thus 16 kilograms of white flour cost 6.25 crowns. At the bazaars in Petrograd, at the same time 400 grams of black bread cost 150 rubles,—on the other hand it could be obtained on food cards in the Soviet warehouse for 2 rubles, a very significant difference. The lack of salt was very great in the districts through which I travelled. When one egg costs 15 rubles in August at the Moscow bazaar, one could get two eggs for one ruble at Perm. In Moscow I was informed on good authority that there was grain in Siberia that had been stored for the last seven years. Thus, the crop for 1912 had not been used. If Kolchak does not destroy these supplies they will probably, in the near future, be at the disposition of the Soviet Russian people. But it is better for Petrograd to get grain from the seaside, because the East Russian railroads are uncertain and the distance is very great.

The food conditions thus appear to be very different at different places, worst in the Petrograd and Moscow governments and in the cities and largely populated communes, also in the zones along the railroads, because committees sent out by private persons, trade unions, and other organizations, buy up the food. Places which are located at a distance from the highways had, even during the hard summer, plenty of food.

This difference rests upon many reasons,—difficulty in organizing food conditions, and transportation, as long as the war and the blockade continue; lack of means of transportation, and also that local Soviets throughout the country will not permit the food to be taken away, for fear of a lack in their own districts.

As long as the Soviet Russian fronts are unbroken, the hunger blockade will be unsuccessful

because there is too much food produced in Russia to enable the blockade to starve the population, who also are able to live under extraordinarily simple conditions. Petrograd and the nearest districts will naturally be hit hardest.

In the future even more than in the past, Russia will become the granary of Europe, and western and northern Europe will undoubtedly be more dependent on Eastern Europe than the reverse.

If, instead of this mad blockade which the En-

tente is holding,—with disastrous results to themselves even more than to the Russians—they would place agricultural implements of various kinds, and suitable instructors, at the disposal of the Russian peasants the result would be an increased prosperity in the whole of Europe, and a brighter, more peaceful and more human existence for the people of all Europe.

—*Folkets Dagblad Politiken*,
Stockholm, Nov. 10, 1919.

Soviet Peace Offer Still Open

As newspapers in this country have given their readers only a small portion of the following interview, we are herewith printing it in full, as found in the *Manchester Guardian* of December 4th:

Copenhagen, Nov. 29th.

M. Litvinoff this morning received Reuter's correspondent, to whom he handed a written statement. After referring to his mission—to effect the exchange of prisoners of war and the repatriation of civilians, who are cut off from their homes and families by the blockade,—the statement proceeds:

I feel bound to state that no satisfactory solution can be found to this problem, affecting as it does the destinies of hundreds of thousands of people, until the real cause of their suffering—namely, the military operations on Russian territory and the isolation of Soviet Russia—is totally removed. It is therefore impossible to think or speak on this humanitarian question without touching upon the more important question which is in the minds of the people of all countries of the world—namely, peace with Russia. The Soviet Government, in spite of its military successes and the discovery of new sources of potential energy, is prepared to make peace with the Allies at any time. Any sacrifices and concessions they will have to make will be amply counterbalanced by the benefits the country will derive from the shortening of the war and the early resumption of economic life.

British Interests in Russia

Great Britain and America have large economic interests in Russia which can be made more secure by the Soviet Government than any other regime. A Soviet Government will not allow itself to be drawn into any political alliances and combinations as long as the capitalist system continues in the rest of the world, and will therefore discriminate between countries only according to their economic strength and their ability to provide for Russian needs in machinery. It will have to look, therefore, chiefly to Great Britain and America. It is also of capital importance for Great Britain to have peace established in Asia. As to France, the longer war lasts in Russia, and the more that country is thereby ruined, the longer will she have to wait for the payment of interest, and the less

possibility will there be for her to get any payment at all.

Replying to questions by Reuter's correspondent, M. Litvinoff declined to state whether he had broached the question of peace in his conferences with M. O'Grady or intended to do so. Regarding Mr. Lloyd George's remark that he had never received a direct peace proposal from the Soviet Government, M. Litvinoff declared that peace proposals had been sent out by wireless, and he himself had issued a circular to the Allied Legations in Stockholm offering on behalf of his government to enter into peace negotiations. Regarding the nature of the Soviet terms, he declared that the peace proposals handed to Mr. Bullitt substantially held good. No proposals had ever been handed to Col. Malone, but the latter's statement, he said, was essentially the same as Mr. Bullitt's. So far as he knew, the statement appended to Col. Malone about transferring their offer to negotiate to the Central Powers did not emanate from his government, and he denied that they had any intention of approaching the German Government, with whom a state of war still formally, at any rate, existed.

Soviet System to Continue

On Reuter's correspondent suggesting that in the eyes of Western peoples the crucial question was: "Are you prepared to give up the principle of government by a minority and place the government on a democratic basis?" M. Litvinoff replied: We deny that Russia is governed by a minority. We have no intention at present of departing from the Soviet system, neither is there any intention at present of calling a Constituent National Assembly.

Asked whether they were afraid they would not get a majority if such an Assembly were convoked, he waved the question aside as "metaphysical."

Questioned regarding the speed of reconstruction in Russia once the war was over, M. Litvinoff said: I think that if the war ceases, and if Russia is helped by the Allies with machinery, &c., and if she is permitted to get oil from Baku, reconstruction would be very rapid. I think that in the course of next summer Russia would not only be able to provide for her own needs, but to export grain to other countries.

SOVIET RUSSIA

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About Russia

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PREMIER Clemenceau improves upon the metaphor of M. Pichon. The "cordon sanitaire" is replaced by a "barbed-wire fence," a phrase more suitable to the Tiger's temperament.

In reply to a question regarding the recent conference of Allied statesmen in London, Clemenceau said: "I will tell you the two principle decisions we have taken. Not only will we not make peace, but we will not compromise with the Government of the Soviets. We have decided that we will be the allies of all peoples attacked by Bolshevism." Are the peoples of England and Italy included in the French ruler's reiterated pronoun? They will be interested in the decision taken for them in secret at London.

The barbed-wire fence is to be maintained, according to the Paris correspondents, "by aiding the Poles, Rumanians, and others along the frontiers." The Rumanians did the job against Hungary, perhaps they can be "aided" to further adventures of the same sort. The New York Times headline leaps from the Premier's defensive to an offensive alliance: "Allies will aid all who fight Bolshevism." The Times rightly interprets the spirit and purpose of French Imperialism. The transition from the "cordon sanitaire" to the "barbed wire fence" proceeds naturally to a grand offensive by the Holy Alliance.

So much for the words. The impotence of this oratory reveals the bankruptcy of European imperialism. The "barrier against Bolshevism," of which the statesmen have prated and for which they have intrigued for two years has resulted only in the exhaustion of the border peoples and the

slaughter of uncounted thousands of driven fighters. The "defense" against Bolshevism has been conducted by invading armies on Russian soil. The barrier has toppled over and the defensive invasion is a confessed failure.

The Soviet Republic has emerged from two years of struggle against intrigue and invasion, stronger and more firmly entrenched in the determination of the Russian workers than ever before. The Red army moves forward victoriously on all fronts. The workers' Republic, offering peace to all nations, awaits with confidence the day when the peoples of the world will compel M. Clemenceau to reconsider the ruthless "decision" he has taken for them.

MEMBERS of a Lithuanian financial mission recently arrived in New York took the first opportunity to announce their conviction that Kolchak and Denikin are finally defeated. The former minister of finance of Lithuania told the reporters that the Soviet army was becoming stronger every day. Strangely enough, these representatives of a small, weak nation on the border of Soviet Russia display none of that frantic apprehension of the military menace of Bolshevism which excites such panic in Paris and Washington. There was no fear of Soviet Russia in Lithuania, Latvia, or Esthonia, said a member of the mission, seemingly unconscious of the solicitude exhibited by the great powers on their behalf. On the other hand, Kolchak and Denikin had constituted a serious menace to the free states. The Poles, moreover, their associates in the allied schemes, still occupy parts of Lithuania with persecutions "never dreamed of by the Germans." The Poles, said a member of the mission, demand excessive sums as tribute and the Polish soldiers take their pay in loot.

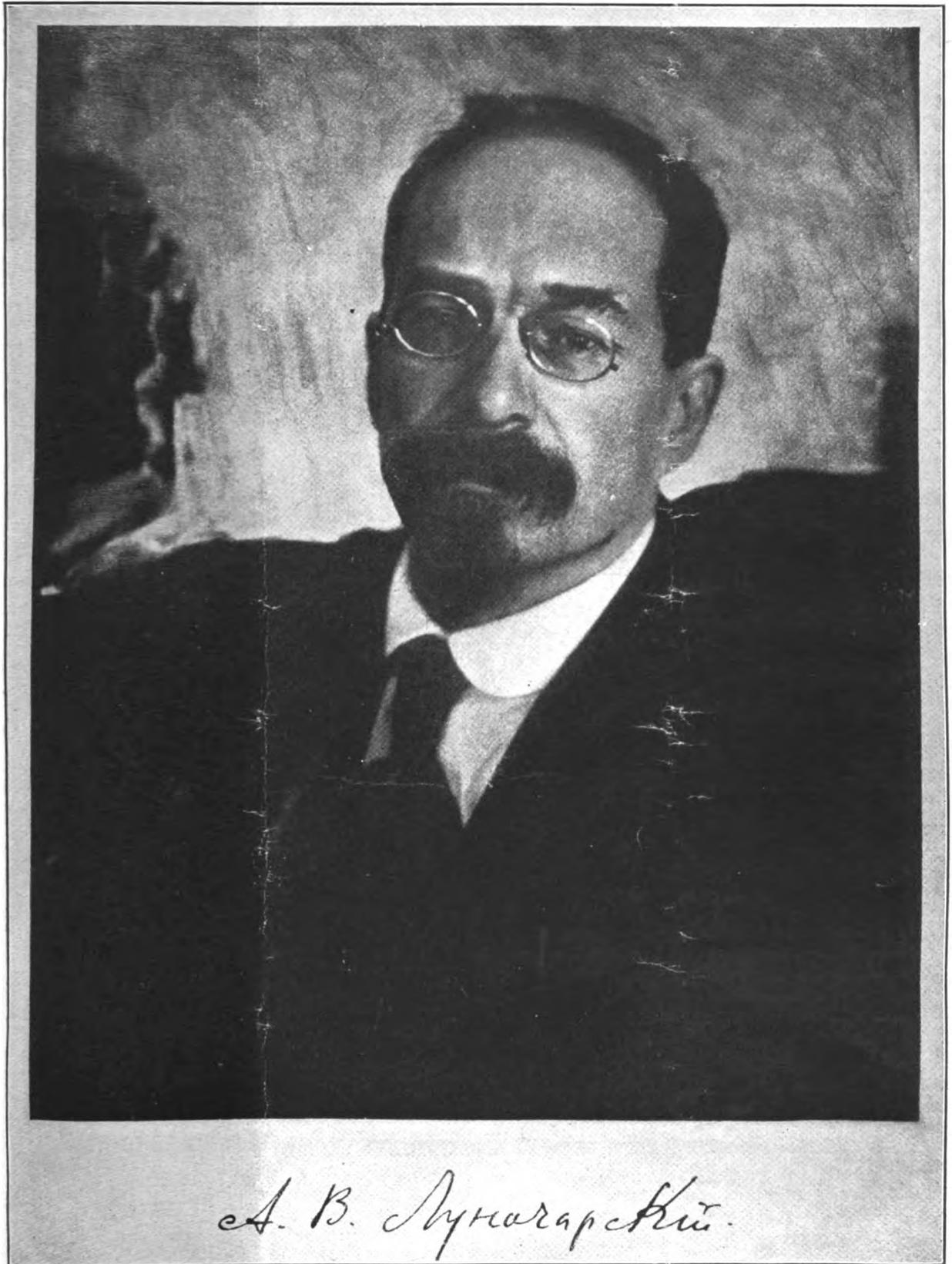
Out of such material Clemenceau pretends to construct his fence about Russia. The ramshackle structure falls to pieces each day and will soon be beyond all repair. New intrigues and further coercion beset the negotiations at Dorpat. The reactionary powers will exert every influence to postpone the inevitable approach of peace. But the people will not longer be denied their goal.

Interesting Information for Students of Soviet Russia

During the months of March, April and May, 1919, the Information Bureau of Soviet Russia published a Weekly Bulletin providing material on various matters (political, economic, diplomatic, commercial) important to the student of Soviet Russia. Unfortunately not all of the thirteen numbers are still to be had, but we are ready to send sets, as complete as we can make them (lacking only two or three numbers) to any one who will send twenty-five cents for them to the address below. Ask for "Bulletin Set."

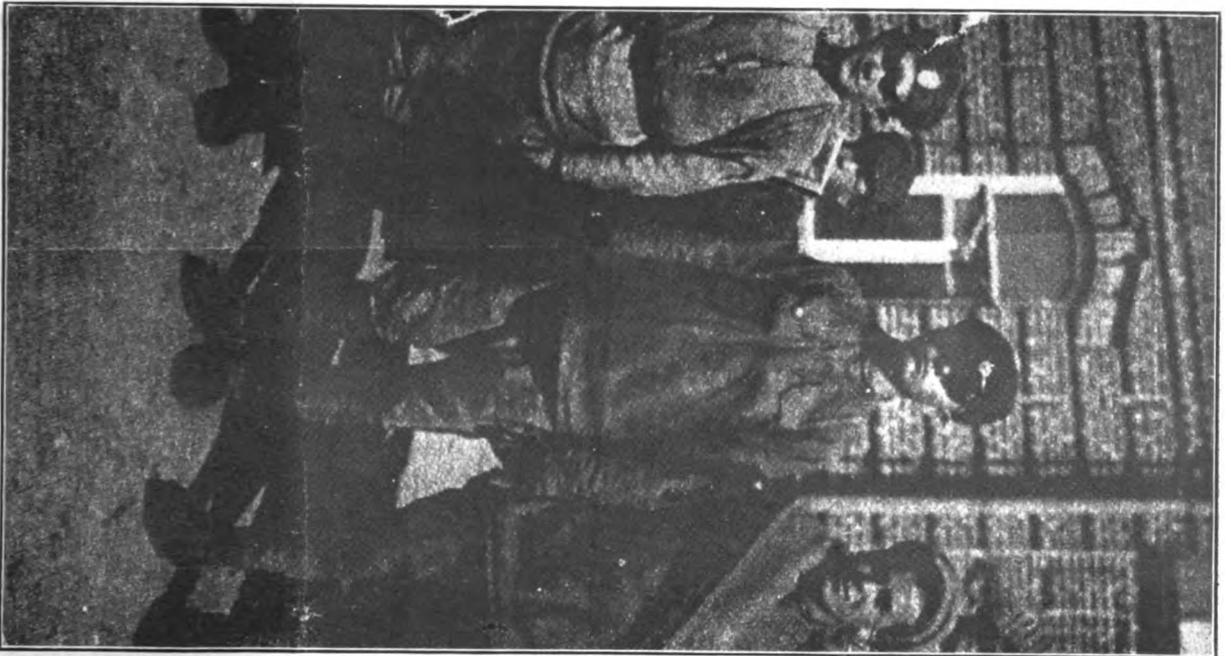
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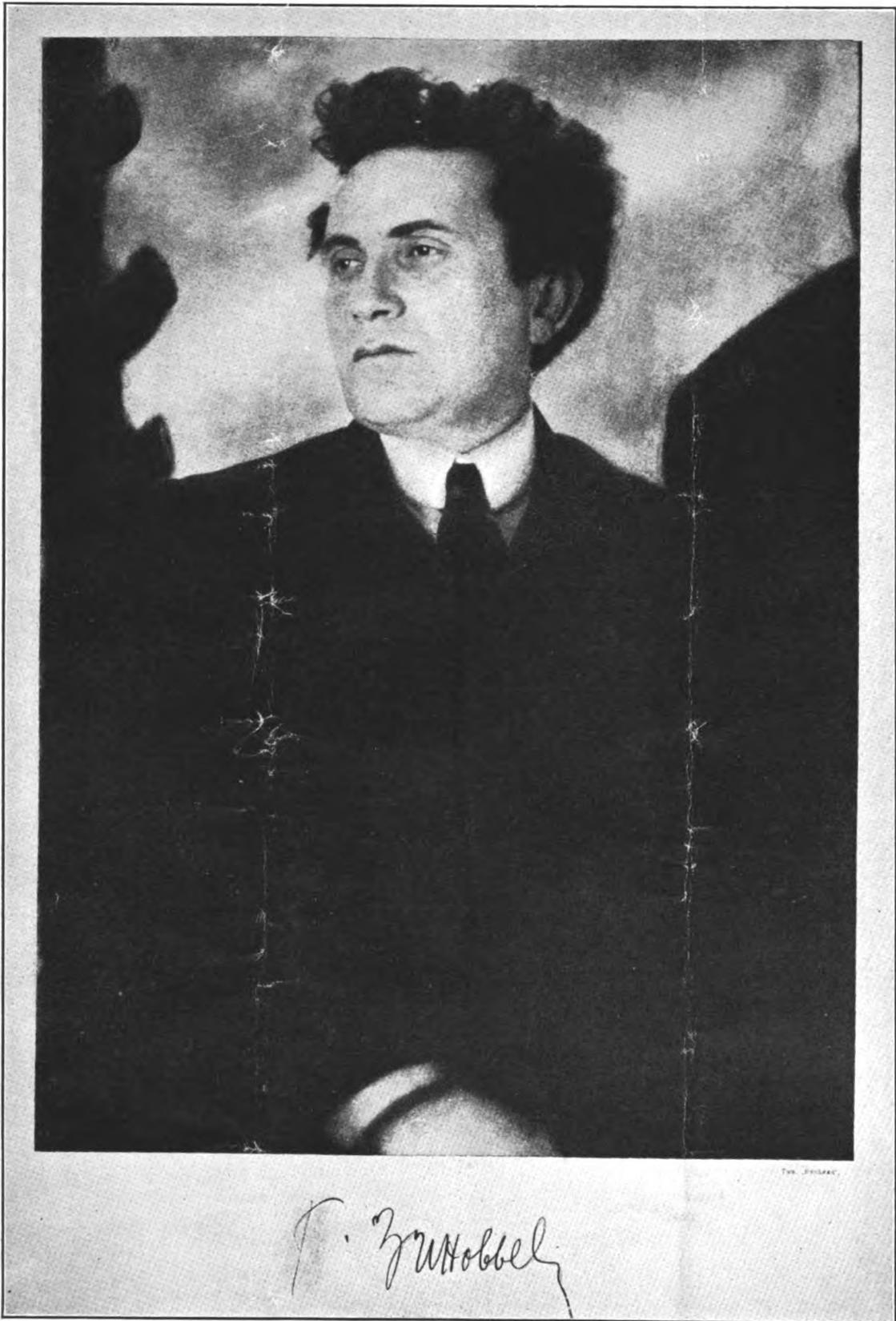




YOUNG BOYS FIGHTING IN THE YUDENICH ARMY
(Note their childish appearance)



YOUNG BOYS FIGHTING IN THE YODENICH ARMY
(Note their childish appearance)



SOVIET STATESMEN. II. G. ZINOVIEV

Statement of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau—December 22, 1919

We welcome the action of the United States Senate in ordering an investigation by the Committee on Foreign Relations of all Russian agencies in America. We have sought to present our case to the American people and to the American Government, in the frankest manner, and we have always been ready to submit the activities of this Bureau to the closest scrutiny by any responsible body of the United States Government. We are especially pleased that the terms of the resolution are broad enough to empower the Committee to make a thorough investigation of all persons and agencies in this country purporting to represent some interest or faction in Russia. Upon the facts brought out in a public hearing of this nature, the American people will be able to form an opinion of the real nature of reactionary counter-revolutionary factions contending against the Soviet Republic. An extensive propaganda has been carried on in America by various agents of these counter-revolutionary factions and it is essential to a clear understanding of the Russian situation that the extent and nature of this propaganda and the interests which are supporting it should be revealed. We are confident that such an investigation as the Foreign Relations Committee is now empowered to conduct will reveal facts of the greatest importance to the American people at this time.

In order to provide the Committee with such testimony and information as may be relevant to the investigation, Mr. L. Martens expects to spend most of his time during the present session of Congress in Washington, where he will be conveniently accessible to the Committee, as well as to such other officials of the United States Government as may be interested in the work of the Bureau. Mr. Martens will be constantly at the disposal of the Committee, either to appear in person or to afford any other assistance which may enable them to arrive at a complete understanding of the activities and purposes of his mission in the United States.

Allies' New Russian Program

Lloyd George's Speech

On Monday there was an important debate in the British House of Commons, in which Russian policy was the chief topic. A speech, the text of which has not yet come to hand, was made by Lloyd George, who announced in by no means the plainest of language a program upon which he said the Allies were in accord. Without the full text only a rough interpretation can be attempted, but putting various things together we may conclude:

(1) That Great Britain adheres to its decision to send no more armed forces to Russia, and to give no more support to civil war there after the supplies now being sent to Denikin have been delivered; aid to Kolchak has already ended.

(2) That the British Government will not at the present time negotiate with the Bolsheviki.

(3) That if Soviet Russia desires peace it must make peace with its enemies nearer home, that is to say, with Kolchak, Denikin, the Ukraine, Poland and the Baltic States.

It is a somewhat enigmatic program, but on its face it seems to warrant the interpretation put upon it by Lenin's government, which at once announced by wireless that the Soviet Republic could not attain peace by negotiation, but only through the strength of the Red armies.

Bolsheviki Must Conquer Peace

The new program of the Allies, then, is being taken in Russia as an invitation to the Soviets to conquer a peace. Kolchak is done for, and Denikin is "supreme ruler" in his stead. Let the Soviets extend their rule over Siberia, drive Denikin out of South Russia, and make peace with the Baltic States and Poland, and then the Allies will see. If the revolutionists keep on at their present rate through the winter, the anniversary of Prinkipo should perhaps see conditions ripe for peace.

—*Springfield Republican*, December 21.

Appeal to Pan-Slavic Feelings

The Far Eastern Review (Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie) of October 4th, contains the following: "Official Proclamations printed in Russian at the diocese fraternity of Tomsk were posted in the city of Irkutsk. These proclamations contained an appeal to the Serbs, the Croatians, and the Slavonians to enlist with the Jugo-Slav battalion which is being formed as part of the Cossack corps at Omsk. The text of the proclamation reeks with the crudest sort of anti-semitism, which provokes both astonishment and indignation."

TO OUR READERS

You may have read a number of issues, or this may be the first you have ever seen. At any rate you know what a quantity of serious and vital material we are attempting to place before the reading public. Do you read everything carefully? Do you know that this material is being placed before you so that you may be able truthfully and effectively to answer the lies and misrepresentations that are being directed against the people and the government of Soviet Russia? If so, you know how thoroughly you must grasp everything that is printed in this weekly, and how necessary it is for you, in the interest of the Russian Revolution, to call the attention of all true friends of human progress to the official and other contents of this paper. You should pass on the copies to your friends after you have read them, and point out articles that you know would interest them. Tell your friends that a three-months' trial subscription costs only one dollar—but then, perhaps you have still to be reminded of this fact yourself. A subscription blank will be found elsewhere in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA. We are particularly anxious to have you know that our January issues will be full of excellent matter. Vol. II begins January 3rd, and the paging will be continuous from then to July 1st, 1920.

Official Communications of the Soviet Government

Raising the Productivity of Labor in Russia

AS the works and factories are gradually being transferred to the workmen's administration, there is a marked increase in the productivity of labor. Those undertakings left by owners are now being worked by the workmen themselves, who in a comparatively short space of time arrange everything, and use every effort to raise the productivity. In five Petrograd suburban factories—Krasnogorod, Golodaevsk, Nevsky, Slaviansk, and Bubrovka—the following amount of paper has been turned out: In January, 1919, 67,478 poods; February, 70,554 poods; March, 82,244 poods. Thus, from February 1st till April 1st, there was an increase in output of 14,766 poods.

Performances at the Moscow Factories

The People's Education Department of the Moscow Soviet has organized systematic performances and concerts for the works and factories, in which actors and actresses of the state theatres, art theatre, etc., take part. The repertoire includes works of Ostrovsky, Schiller, Chekhov, Shakespeare, and others.

"The Children Are With Us!"

In the stanitza (settlement) of Oust-Khopersk, the revolutionary military soviet was arrested by Kolchaks' army. All five members of the Soviet—old, tried communists—were subjected to the most cruel torture (the rack, etc.), and then shot. An eye-witness of the execution relates how the communists met their death fearlessly and how one of them—a miner Grachev—addressed his executioners in the following speech:

"I am an old, convinced communist. I learnt communism in the collieries, and death alone can part me from my convictions. If you offered me life in exchange for my convictions, I should refuse. Only your bullet can force me to be silent. But don't forget that there in the Voronezh government I have four young boys, who will take terrible revenge for my martyrdom. They will follow the same path along which I went for many years in the fight against violence and evil."

In commenting on this speech, the "Izvestia" of the Central Executive Committee of Soviets writes: "Not only Grachev's four young sons will remember their father's heroic death, but all the sons of Soviet Russia, all the sons of communists. The children are with us."

The Increase of Agriculture Communes in Soviet Russia

The land policy of Soviet Russia is devoted to reconstructing agriculture on a communist basis. Communism recognizes social working of the land, and the amalgamation of small peasant farms into united farms, as the only possible form of exploitation of the land. All separated farms situ-

ated near another must be united into larger farms with common live stock and common land—social needs, the sewing and gathering of corn, are done in common: agricultural products are collected together in one common store, etc. A fund of several milliards exists for supporting communal agriculture under the control of the committee, which freely subsidizes the village and keeps in close contact with it.

The telegrams received by the committee of this milliard fund prove the amazing swiftness of the growth of communal farms. These farms in every province occupy tens of thousands of dessiatines and tens of thousands of people work on them.

In the government of Orel, there are 391 communal farms with 39,000 dessiatines of land, and comprising a population of 29,000. In the province of Mohileff (or New Homel) there are 225 registered communal farms with more than 11,000 inhabitants, and 40,000 dessiatines of land. In the province of Vitebsk there are about 214 communal farms with 60,000 dessiatines of land and a population of 60,000. In the Novgorod province, there are 72 communal farms with 11,376 inhabitants and 22,253 dessiatines.

In the government of Kaluga there are 150 registered communal farms with 6,500 inhabitants and 12,000 dessiatines of land. At the beginning of 1920 there will be 300 communal farms there. In the government of Petrograd 230 communal farms have been organized, with 17,000 dessiatines and 15,313 inhabitants. It is proposed to organize 150 new communal farms with 9,000 dessiatines and 3,000 inhabitants. In the government of Tula there are 78 communal farms with 8,554 dessiatines and 5,466 inhabitants, etc.

These telegrams, received up till May 25th, do not sum up the whole number of communal farms, as telegrams from the distant provinces are considerably delayed in delivery. But those which are in our possession prove that agriculture on a Communist basis has taken deep root.

Raising the Productivity of Labor at the Russian Railway Shops

(According to a report of the All-Russian Commission for Railway Transport Repairs.)

In comparing the number of sound engines up to June 1st, 1919, with that of May 1st, we find an increase of 4.1%. The number of engines in the course of repair for the same period has decreased by 8.6%, and these in capital repair has decreased by 2%. Up to May 1st, 1919, the number of engines in course of repair and waiting to be repaired was 52.5%, while up to June 1st it was only 49.6% as against that at May 1st. For May, the number of defective engines was decreased $\frac{1}{2}$ %.

In comparing the repairs of the railway carriages of the goods depot, we find that the number of sound carriages has increased approximately to 10.5%, the number of carriages in course of repair and waiting to be repaired has decreased to 3.9%; the output of repaired carriages has increased 38.6%, and the percentage of those in need of repair has decreased 15%.

Village Education

In the village of Soulaki, Samara Province, the local peasants, with the aid of the intellectuals, have organized a reading hut in every quarter. In every reading hut there is always some one on duty to read newspapers, periodicals, and books to the peasants.

A theatre and cinema have been opened. There is also a choir and an orchestra. The whole village attends school.

Work Renewed in the Russian Factories

Twelve cotton mills in the northern district of Russia have been nationalized and work renewed. Sixteen textile factories in Moscow have been opened.

These factories had either been closed during the war or abandoned by their former owners.

Russian Leather Industry

In Urazova, Valuiki County, Voronezh Government, 120 boot factories and two mechanical factories are in full working order. The average monthly output is 25,000 pair of boots.

Glucose

For the first time in Russia, the Supreme Council of Public Economy has opened factories for the production of glucose. Sixteen glucose factories have been installed in Kostroma, Vologda, and the northern districts.

Two Millions for Preparatory School Training

The People's Commissariat for Education granted the second half of 1919 over two milliard rubles for preparatory school training.

Unsuccessful Attempts at Nationalization

MR. Gaylord Wilshire, of Pasadena, California, sends us the following interesting note, which will explain the article by which it is followed, for both of which we are grateful to Mr. Wilshire:

"Enclosed clipping from the *Los Angeles Times* of today is rather amusing as indicating that the propaganda as to Nationalization of Women in Russia on the films seems to have overstepped itself."

THE police and the indignant women of the city yesterday finished something that an energetic but not too-intelligent press agent started.

What the press agent did was to plaster the billboards with flaming red posters declaring that "On and after November 30, 1919, all women between the ages of 18 and 37 are hereby declared to be

common property." To this startling statement was appended the signature, "Ivan Ivanoff, Bolsheviki Minister."

The whole thing was palpably a stunt to advertise a motion picture by a rather crude imitation of the Bolshevist proclamations of Russia declaring the nationalization of women. It was generally recognized at sight, except in the Russian quarter, where most of the "proclamations" were posted. There it occasioned some excitement among the Russians, who have heard of similar things in their own country.

What the women, and particularly the club women, did when they saw the posters was plenty. They bombarded the police with telephone calls and letters demanding that what they termed a gratuitous insult to every woman in the city be immediately and summarily dealt with. Chief Home was inundated with a flood of indignation proceeding from scores of prominent men and women and he forthwith detailed a squad of I. W. W. hunters to tear down and destroy every one of the offending posters. The press agent was arrested, which pleased him mightily because he believed it meant publicity, and fined \$5 in Police Court, which did not please him at all. Nor did the size of the fine please the angry club women, who would have applauded a fine of \$1,000,000 and a life term in jail.

Among those active in the anti-press-agent campaign were Mrs. R. W. Richardson, Mrs. Fred Hickok, Mrs. Lee Holmes and Mrs. Harriet Barry, the latter chairman of the Better Films Committee.

At last reports the press agent was outbound and going strong.

—*Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 12, 1919.

It is interesting to observe that the editor of the "Los Angeles Times" appears still to foster the tale of the "nationalization of women" in Russia. We are pleased, however, to note that we are not as crude as this imitation, for the above clipping states that the present instance was simply "a rather crude imitation of the Bolshevist proclamations of Russia."

Bound Volumes of "Soviet Russia" for 1919

Now that all of the first volume of SOVIET Russia has made its appearance, we shall bind one hundred complete sets of the weekly (June-December, 1919) and deliver them to persons who have placed their orders in advance. The price for a complete set, appropriately bound in one volume, and lettered in gold, will be four dollars. Only one hundred applications for such volumes will be accepted, and each application must be accompanied by cash or check.

Ask to be placed on our "Bound Volume" list when you send your remittance.

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Pages of Future History

DURING the months preceding and following the establishment of the Soviet Government in November 1917, practically the only foreign official who was associated in any sympathetic manner with the Bolshevik party and with the Soviet authorities, was Captain Jacques Sadoul, then connected with the French Embassy in Russia. Captain Sadoul, for months and months continued to emphasize to the political leaders of his own country, in numerous letters addressed to them, the desirability—nay, the necessity—of approaching the leaders of the new political system in Russia with sympathy and understanding, not with the all too customary suspicion and hostility. There has just been published in Paris a large volume of letters addressed by Captain Sadoul, who since, by the way, has become an employee of the Soviet Government at Moscow, to his friend, M. Albert Thomas, one of the most well known of French parliamentary leaders. These letters, beginning in July 1917, in other words, at a time when Kerensky's power was not yet completely discredited, and ending in January 1919, when the Soviet authority had already been so firmly established as to render it the target for assaults on the part of the imperialistic powers of the entire world,—are an interesting series of personal observations of prominent Soviet leaders, and their historical setting, coupled with profound studies of the effect on Soviet policies of the suspicious, inimical, and treacherous operations of the representatives of the Allied powers at Petrograd and elsewhere in Russia. Captain Sadoul foresaw very well that the failure of the various Allied powers to enter into peace conversations with Soviet Russia and the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk would force the Soviet Government to make a temporary peace with Germany and her allies. Again and again he admonishes his friend Thomas to aid him in securing among French statesmen a better understanding of the real policies of the Soviet leaders, of the fact that they were in no way predisposed to favor Germany, that the peace which they were proposing was to include the entire world and not to unite them in any closer union with the Central Powers. We have seen how vaneful has been the effect of the failure of the Allied Powers to appreciate and understand the humanity and sublimity of the great plan that existed in the minds of Lenin and Trotsky and hundreds of other Russian idealists, who, in turn, were the expression of the longing for peace and universal brotherhood on the part of the great masses of the Russian people.

One very interesting letter of Captain Sadoul was written immediately after his return from a visit paid to Trotsky at his office in Petrograd. The French writer had found Trotsky in a state of "cold fury." Trotsky has just learned that reports were appearing in the Allied press, that he and Lenin

were paid agents of the German Government. It is easy to imagine how difficult must have been the position of Sadoul, trying honorably, as he was, to represent the true interests of a great European power at Petrograd, when he found his efforts practically brought to naught by the campaign of lies and abuse that was being launched in his own country against the brave leaders of the greatest popular movement the world has veer seen.

We wish we could print all these letters in "Soviet Russia," but their volume is very great, and we must limit ourselves to a few specimens which are of somewhat timely interest. We therefore take the liberty to print below translations of three letters that were written by Sadoul to Thomas from Petrograd exactly two years ago, in other words, in January 1918. These letters are an interesting comment on the folly of the Allied attitude towards Soviet Russia in the matter of the peace parleys that had been proposed. They are furthermore an interesting supplement to Trotsky's own account of those months, so rich in history, as presented by him in his interesting little book: "The Bolshevik Revolution: from October to Brest-Litovsk," which was published by the Socialist Publication Society (New York) about a year ago.

I.

Petrograd, January 2, 1918.

M. Albert Thomas, Député (*Champigny-sur-Marne*).

Mon cher ami,

The conflict between France and the People's Commissaires is again entering an acute stage. I had foreseen this and announced it. In bringing about the interview between Noulens and Trotsky, I thought I had obviated the crisis. Doubtless, without this interview, the crisis would immediately have set in. Yet, this first contact has not had the favorable consequences which it would normally have involved, owing to the fault of the Allies at Petrograd, who have bowlderized the interview and to the fault of Paris, which sent out by wireless a communication entirely different from what had been expected by Noulens and Trotsky, and needlessly offensive to the latter, who maintains—and rightly so—that he was the only one to carry out correctly the matters agreed upon.

On the other hand, Trotsky had consented to this meeting, which had been proposed by us, because I had aroused hopes in him that it prepared a betterment of relations. And yet, relations have never been so strained as now.

Tomorrow the thing will come out like a bomb, in the form of a threatening note addressed to the Military Mission, in which Trotsky will demand:

1. Explanations as to an article appearing in *Dyen*, containing insinuations of a character calculated to discredit the Bolshevik government, pro-

sented in the form of an official communication of the Mission;

2. General explanations as to the activity of the Mission's propaganda service; explanations on the activity of French officers in the counter-revolutionary regions of Ukraine, the Don, etc.

Should the reply be not satisfactory, Trotsky has decided to order the immediate expulsion of the Mission.

I hope there will be as honest a reply as possible, for that will close the incident, which might become very much more vicious if it should be prolonged. Will Paris ever be content to understand that the time has come to give up this double game? Recognize Ukraine, Finland, etc., if you must, unless the Allies fear that these official rubber stamps may give too much strength to the separatist Austrophile, Germanophile, Swedophile movements from which they have nothing to gain. As for the People's Commissaires, they will have no objection to these recognitions, although some of them, who are more consistent internationalists than the others, fear that for the present at least, the over-liberal policy of the Soviets with regard to the nationalities within Russia may encourage the development of certain local jingoisms, and consequently tend to obstruct the aim in view. This would assure us a greater liberty, by permitting an official action, and consequently, a more efficacious action in the various regions recognized by us. But if, simultaneously with recognizing Ukraine and Finland, we persist in ignoring the only real, powerful force existing in Russia, namely the Bolshevik government, what a hole we will be in!

And we are persisting in this precisely at the time when the Bolsheviks, with fury in their souls, but in perfect good faith, have become aware of the German duplicity, and are considering more than ever the possibility of again taking up the war. Let us not deceive ourselves; this resurrection of an extinct army will be difficult. Trotsky and Lenin know this as well as we do. For this reason I repeat again that we should see to it that they have confidence in us, that they understand that we really have the war aims which we have been saying we have for three years, in a more or less vague manner, without ever condescending to formulate them.

Let them know, on the other hand, that henceforth the Allies are ready to aid the work of military reorganization with technical and official support. They must be thoroughly aware that without our support their efforts, however vigorous they might be, will be doomed to sterility. Their method of carrying out the reorganization recognizes two periods of this process:

1. Before the rupture: peace negotiations, verbal and written, agitation on the necessity of supporting by force of arms the defense of the revolutionary conquests.

2. After the rupture: For the realization of this program they will need the aid of the Missions.

They will not begin this task seriously before they have obtained formal guarantees from the Allies on this point. They have promised peace; they have thus unleashed the open or unconscious enthusiasm of the peace-loving masses of Russia, in other words, of all Russians.

Being unable to attain the democratic peace they had promised, they will exhort the Russian people to begin the war again. We have again come back to the statements of Verkhovsky, who said three months ago: "The Russian army wants immediate peace. Let us therefore propose peace to Germany. Let us record Germany's answer, which, couched as it will be, will put an end to the negotiations. Having given public evidence of the predatory and imperialistic appetites of the enemy, we shall then again take up the war."

The task is a heavy one. It can only be attempted, with some prospect of success, by the Bolsheviks. Only they have bluntly but clearly expressed their desire for peace. Only they can perhaps secure an acceptance of the idea of reopening the war. We have no longer the right to remain blind. We have no longer the right to count on the other parties. The elections to the Constituent Assembly prove that the Cadet Party and the parties advocating the defensive war are dead for some time at least. The Social-Revolutionists will have a great number of seats, three or four hundred without doubt. But how will they be distributed? In each district, the same list contained names submitted to the voters, of Social-Revolutionists of the extreme Right as well as of those of the extreme Left. A large group of Social-Revolutionists will certainly rally around the Bolshevik peace policies.

To what extent, moreover, could we count on the other parties? I am in constant contact with many of them. Since they know my close relations with Smolny they are flirting with me. On several occasions the group formed by the Social-Revolutionists of the Right and the Menshevik Social-Democrats has asked me to deliver an address on the situation of the Allies and on the foreign policy which, according to my personal opinion, the Constituent Assembly should pursue. I have thus far been postponing this expression. In private conversation, I am trying to resist the opinion generally expressed by the Social-Revolutionists and the Social-Democrats, that in case of a breaking off of the conversations at Brest-Litovsk, the Constituent Assembly should make another and immediate new effort. All those whom I see, in short—and I cannot sufficiently repeat this point—are infinitely more inclined towards the policy of surrender than the Bolsheviks, more disposed to yield on the questions of Courland, Lithuania, Poland, etc., on the right of peoples to dispose of themselves, on disarmament, etc.

They will be found some day opposing us if we should support the Bolsheviks or any other Party in an effort to reopen the war.

II.

Petrograd, January 3, 1918.

M. Albert Thomas, député (*Champigny-sur-Marne*)

Mon cher ami,

Orders have been prepared by the People's Commissaires with the object of rapidly reorganizing the army. They are becoming more and more definite, tending toward the creation of an army of highly paid volunteers, formed by appealing to the best elements of the present army, together with an enrollment of Russians not yet mobilized.

1. The organization of a number of protective corps, recruited chiefly from the units at the front and in the rear, and constituting an important kernel, under the protection of which the demobilization of the shattered units may be effected.

2. The organization of new corps by mobilizing civilians, who are to be rapidly instructed in the camps in the interior and assimilated to more reliable elements, such as soldiers under arms, Red Guards, sailors, etc. This work should be realized within three or four months, under the protection of the Russian winter.

For several weeks I have been pressing my friends at Smolny to act in this direction. Up to the present moment I have not been able to achieve any appreciable result of practical value. But the turn taken by the pourparlers permits one to foresee the necessity of a war in defense of the revolution. Trotsky has a splendid confidence in the possibility of carrying out this formidable test. He is of those who never doubt. According to him, the revolution can never be defeated.

"The people who have made the revolution are willing to die defending it, simultaneously defending the European social revolution, for the new army will be placed by the Russians at the disposal of such proletariats as may wish to seize power."

I have no desire to dispel the illusions of the Bolsheviks, and besides, only the future can tell to what extent they are exaggerated in their hopes.

Men like these, who are loaded down with work, have to eat it alive. And when the work is ready, as far as the general outline is concerned, which in the form in which it is imposed by the Bolsheviks, is often indefinite, and consequently not too irksome, as to detail, an able specialist has no difficulty in having his views accepted.

If the Allied Missions had been thus utilized, they would have been more than collaborators, than technical guides and would have been much more often followed to the great good of Russia and of the Entente.

It is not impossible for them to play this role. We were asked about it yesterday at Smolny. We will be asked again tomorrow, when the conflict which has been so carelessly provoked between the Bolsheviks and the Mission, is over. We must admit that the gravest errors in this matter seem to have been committed on our side. If we had

been thrown out of Russia as a consequence of this affair, we would have had against us all reasonable Russians—and there are some—all Russians of delicate sensibilities—and all the Russians are such. All consider a propaganda of conspiracy and active intervention in internal politics to be inadmissible. Let us therefore hasten, without manifesting overmuch of amour-propre, to give such satisfactions as may be demanded, and let us avoid a repetition of these same errors.

From the standpoint of the reorganization of the army, I have handed in at Smolny the fine pages of the reports of Dubois-Crancé and Carnot; ancient history though they may be, they are still good material for cogitation for the reorganizers of the Red Army. I hope, that, on the other hand, the Allies will take public note of the declarations of Trotsky as to the re-opening of hostilities and will officially declare that we are ready to support the new effort of the Bolsheviks in the defense of the revolutionary war aims, which should in short, be accepted by all the western democracies.

III.

Petrograd, January 4, 1918.

M. Albert Thomas, député (*Champigny-sur-Marne*)

Mon cher ami,

Trotsky intends to leave for Brest-Litovsk tomorrow with the Russian delegation. He intends to put the question as to the place of the conversations (neutral territory), but will not push it to the point of an open break. He wishes also to be precisely informed as to the real intentions of the Austro-German delegates, concerning the good faith of whom he is much in doubt. And he hopes, finally, to sound public opinion in Germany from that point of vantage. His stay will probably be quite short. Lenin, on his part, is going to Finland to rest for a few days. And we shall be then without a "dictator."

Trotsky is taking Radek to Brest with him. He has confidence in his very active intelligence, in his political honesty, and he is convinced that the uncompromising attitude and the zeal of this energetic and passionate idealist will add strength to Joffe, Kamenev., and the other more or less soft and yielding Russian delegates. The participation of Radek, who is an Austrian subject, a member of the minority faction of the Social-Democracy, in the Brest pourparlers, will surely be a terrible shock to the enemy's delegations.

I have tried to oppose the very powerful and very dangerous impression, as far as we are concerned, that has been produced on Trotsky by the various reports which are said to have reached him in the last few days from France and England, and which, I have no doubt, have been exploited, if not invented, by the Austro-German delegates at present at Petrograd. Trotsky believes that pourparlers leading to a separate peace have been officially inaugurated between the Allies and Germany. Hearsay has it that the Allies, recognizing

the impossibility of attaining a victory are disposed to profit by the Russian defeat, by making peace at the cost of Russia, and by sacrificing the eastern nations, including Roumania, and then excusing this denunciation of their principles by referring to the Bolshevik treason. I answered Trotsky that if the Allies do not wish to participate in general pourparlers, they can still less think of going into separate negotiations. It is manifest, in fact, that if the Entente should treat separately and simultaneously with the Central Empires, with parallel Russo-German negotiations on the one hand and Franco-German negotiations on the other, it would be playing Germany's game, which, basing its policy on both sets of negotiations, whichever would serve the immediate purpose, could easily attain a great success. It seems equally certain that the Allies, unless they recognize themselves to be defeated, cannot permit Germany to provide herself with territorial annexations and economic advantages in the East which would involve, within a fairly short period, the destruction and ruin of Western Europe.

My arguments had some effect on Trotsky. But

they did not convince him. I say that this state of mind is dangerous for us, because fear of a separate peace, concluded at the expense of Russia, may bring the Russian delegations to make unfortunate concessions. Trotsky has assured me furthermore that even if the Allies were deceiving Russia (this is a point of view that may appear paradoxical in the West), the Russians would not betray the Revolution and would stand by their principles.

I sincerely hope that definite declarations will be made by the Allied Powers, that may prove to the Bolsheviks how unjustified are their fears. I had obtained from Trotsky the promise that he would receive Charles Dumas yesterday. The incident with the French Mission has moved Trotsky to postpone this interview. His departure for Brest will still further postpone it. It is too bad. I spoke to Dumas for a long time and submitted to him a few of my daily notes. He had received explanations from our ambassador. He has had a chance to judge and compare and I know on which side he has made up his mind. And by the way, I was very calm.

The Hunger-War of the Entente Against the Workers' Russia

-- Will Sweden be Driven Into Direct Struggle Against the Revolution?

THE latest attempt of the Entente imperialism to strangle Soviet Russia by a blockade which has extended to all countries, even the neutral ones, has, as a matter of course, created a great sensation, especially in those neutral countries, and more especially among the socialist workers of those countries. The most burning question for these workers is, at the present moment, how to meet and forestall this criminal plan. As appears from the expressions given below, by Fredrik Ström, this question must be met immediately and an end put to any similar attempts which may be made in the future.

* * *

It is clear that if the neutral states yield to the impertinent and impudent attempt of the Entente capitalists to lead them also into their own shameful struggle against the Russian workers, these states will be compelled to give up any appearance of being neutrals. They, and especially Sweden, which is closest to Russia, will then entirely forsake their neutrality and enter into direct and positive hostility, along with those imperialistic states who are conducting this rapacious struggle against socialist Russia. The next step will then be to enter into direct war measures, delivering ammunition, sending men-of-war into the blockade zone, and naturally the sending of soldiers to some front. If a finger is given to the devil, he takes the whole hand. When one begins the alphabet, B follows A.

It has been whispered that this strait-jacket of

the Entente upon the neutrals is an attempt to sound them out and find how far they will go when the "league of nations" is formed, in sending soldiers to fight against strikes and workers' movements in all the countries of the world. May the things that are now happening open the eyes of the workers of Sweden to see what such an enrollment in the league of imperialists, for the strengthening of counter-revolutions, signifies. Above all it is now important to arrange immediately big protest meetings and demonstrations all over the country against this rapacious policy, and thereby influence the government and the Riksdag (Swedish Parliament) to reject the request of the Entente gentlemen that our country give up her neutrality. *Politiken* has turned to Fredrik Ström to ascertain his opinion of the purpose of the note of the Entente. He has given us the following statement:

Briefly I wish to make the following statement:

1. As far as Russia is concerned, the tightening of the already tight blockade does not signify any new or considerable inconvenience. The blockade has been in force for more than a year, and only a few boats have succeeded in breaking through the actual, though not official, blockade. The official proclamation of the world blockade only proves to the whole world that the governments of the victorious bourgeois democracies now openly admit their base hunger-war against the women and children of Russia who daily fall by thousands before these murder-angels of the modern Herod.

2. To the export industry of Sweden and to the workers in this industry the blockade is a hard blow, as the workers and business men of Sweden had entertained hopes of an immediate reopening of the commercial relations with Russia, as appeared from the speech of the Minister of Finance at the initiation of the Free Harbor. A discontinuance of work and resulting unemployment will be the consequence of the blockade for this part of Sweden.

3. The note of the Entente practically declares that the neutral countries are nowadays openly and formally considered as vassal states, which are robbed of every liberty of movement. Even such elementary rights for a free country as the issuing and viséing of passports and the sending of telegrams have now been taken away from them. Even the English colonies have a greater degree of self-government than Sweden, for instance. The Entente-flirtation of Messrs. Branting and Adelsward has led us to this point.

4. The blockade note might have its real point directed towards Germany and America. It is not unknown that strong industrial forces in those countries have been active for the resumption of trade relations with Russia. The regaining of any degree of prosperity by Germany is totally dependent upon the Russian market. But the Entente will not permit any reflourishing of Germany, and therefore directs this new deadly blow against its defeated enemy.

5. This open blockade war against Revolutionary Russia is strongly contrary to the explanations that the Entente governments have given to the workers of their respective countries at critical times. I am therefore convinced that the now officially acknowledged hunger-war against Russia will strongly stir up the French and English working masses and sharpen their actions against their reactionary governments.

6. It is to be noted that the United States is not included in this blockade, in that the note especially mentions "French and English men of war" as watchers over the blockade. This seems to confirm current rumors to the effect that America stands outside this policy against Russia.

Stockholm, October 13, 1919.

Fredrik Ström,

Representative of the Russian Soviet Republic.

**Expressions of Opinion Against the Russian
Hunger Blockade of the Entente**
*Sharp Condemnation by the Whole Left Socialist
Labor Press*

The murderous policy of the Entente towards Soviet Russia has caused a sharp and unanimous condemnation of the whole Left Socialist Labor press. We quote a few characteristic expressions.

In *Dalarnes Folkblad* the editor, Nils Andersson, writes:

"Against this black deed, pitiful to every honest mind, a joint and thundering protest must arise. Independently of the position taken towards Bolshevism as a conception, or to this conception in

its practical form in Russia today, every honest person must oppose this enormous crime, this gigantic offense, which consists of a league of capitalists advancing with fire and sword and with the scourge of starvation against a people who only strive to keep their liberty and right of self-determination in their own country. This act of the Entente which is an attempt to place the whole world under the heel of capitalism must be averted. This can only be accomplished by the interference of the working class, above all in the Entente countries themselves, but also in the smaller and neutral states. Against the attempts to lure and compel Sweden to further engage herself in the struggle against Soviet Russia an overwhelming opinion must be expressed. We must say 'Thus far, but no further!'"

Nya Värmland, editor John Bohlin, says among other things:

"Time after time the Soviet Government has offered peace and thus actually proved that it does not wish anything more than to put an end to the murdering, but its opponents have refused. Every doubt as to who carries the responsibility for the bloodshed ought thus to be dispersed. There is still time to build a dam against the reactionary torrent, and perhaps the protest of the State organization against the participation of Sweden in the blockade may be interpreted as a sign of awakening consideration, even in the old leaders of the Trades movement. But that which is required before anything else is that the workers of Sweden, as well as of other countries, show in action that they intend to stop the further accomplishment of the murder of the people of Russia."

Västerbottens Folkblad (Elof Lindberg) writes:

"The Entente has neither the moral nor the formal right to their claims in this respect upon Sweden. Our country will have a considerable degree of economic harm brought upon it if it falls for these claims, and it is not at all beyond the realm of fear that we shall be compelled to submit to the demands of the Entente and furnish soldiers to the counter-revolutionists. From this point of view the ultimatum of the Entente ought to be repulsed most definitely and decidedly."

Orebro Läns Folkblad (Albert Sundin):

"It is astonishing that the workers the world over have hitherto so thoroughly forgotten their international obligation of solidarity and allowed their imperialistic governments to freely practise their murderous attempts against the Socialist state in the east. The judgment of the future will be severe on this cowardice, and the greatest responsibility will rest upon the Socialist parties which, through their representatives in the governments, have deliberately participated in approving these atrocious decisions.

"This last challenge, however, seems at last to have stirred up their minds. It is clear that the already bent bow will finally break; that the robber policy of the Entente will soon be cut short, in the event that the workers seriously begin to weigh these last heavy words. And should no at-

tention be paid to the expressed will of the workers, then the powers must bend before their actions. Soviet Russia must be saved! May we prepare ourselves for fight!"

—*Folkets Dagblad Politiken*,
Stockholm, Oct. 20, 1919.

Other Comments on the Note

The press of the whole country comments on this Entente note, which is considered as likely to bring unpleasant consequences. We quote:

The Riksdag ought to be heard from about the blockade note, says the *Social-Demokraten*. That some of the Riksdag members have gone to their homes is not according to the paper, a sufficient reason to neglect the matter. Strong reasons require also that if time permits, the Scandinavian countries should confer with each other.

Stockholm Dagblad believes that the new blockade declarations will be of little practical importance to our trade.

Aftontidningen: The official connections with Soviet Russia were already broken a year ago by those states which had not already broken them. It is now requested, however, that they go one step further and directly stop those who will, at their own risk, attempt to carry on any trade whatsoever with Bolshevik Russia, refuse steamers the right to leave for that country, stop the sending of goods and the traveling of people, or any other ways of communication. But since not many have dared enter, during present conditions, and still fewer of those who have tried have succeeded, such a new strict injunction will not be of any great importance to the blockade. On the other hand, it will cause the officials increased responsibility and will have a few other consequences which make it advisable that Sweden deliberate, preferably together with Norway and Denmark, as to what is best to be done.

Graft in Kolchakia

Every one knows that nowhere on our railroads is it possible to move a pound without a preliminary "smearing." No combating of the abuses, no inter-allied commissions are in a position to remedy the contaminated railroad organism. Extortions are practiced openly. The corruption is a most perfect one, surpassing at times the limits of impudence and sometimes having the character of a huge farce.

Let us take an incident like this: A comptroller of a state institution, whose uniform is identical with that of the railroad conrol is returning from an investigation trip in the Trans-Baikal. At the station *Manchuria*, he is unable to get a car for lack of seats. He turns to the conductor, asking his co-operation. The latter examines him and asks: "Methinks, you are a comptroller?" "Yes, I am." "Our man, then, you will be accommodated for less!" He names the amount and the comptroller, the observer of legality, the eradicator of abuses, gets a seat in the car only by means of a bribe.

The second incident is analogous to the first, but it already marks a *crescendo*. During one of the recent evacuations of one of the railroad departments, state property was moved to Irkutsk. After reaching the confines of the railroad, the evacuated persons saw that there was no way of moving the state property from the place. After a long search, a way out was found at last: one of the most prominent railroad agents, from the evacuated list, went to his colleagues, the Siberians, who "blocked" the freight. The negotiations were marked by sincerity, and the colleagues declared unblushingly: "For so and so much your freight will immediately proceed on its way." It goes without saying that the sum requested was advanced.

This already means extortion on a large scale, and not merely of the colleagues but of the state treasury as well.

And now there remains the completion of the account of these incidents, and giving it the final touch (*fortissimo*). The state institutions in Irkutsk are engaged at present in storing up various materials, products and supplies. Such storing up is done by the institutions themselves, but the delivery of the supplies bought in the East is charged to special contractors for a high compensation and these contractors take upon themselves all troubles and expenses connected with the pushing ahead of the freight along the railroad line. If state institutions are powerless against this orgy on the railroads, if they are compelled to resort to the intervention of private persons in their dealings with the railroads, then, one must confess, the legality of the illegal practice has become an accomplished fact.

—*Svobodnaya Rossiya*, Chicago, Dec. 6, 1919.

An Alarming Question

Le Populaire, a Paris daily, in its issue of November 29, 1919, asks the following question, which we hope will turn out to have been unnecessary. It would be a terrible thing to believe that the present French Government, in spite of its repeated assurances in the Chambre that no more French troops were being sent to Russia, is nevertheless again embarking on this dangerous and treacherous enterprise. The text of the question follows:

"Is it true that tomorrow or the day after tomorrow a detachment of French troops is to leave for Russia?"

"Is it true that this detachment is composed of two battalions of chasseurs on foot and two battalions of alpine chasseurs?"

"Is it true that these soldiers are abundantly provided with machine guns, and that it is their mission to compel the Lettish and Esthonian troops, who refuse to advance on the Bolsheviks, to engage in this struggle against their will?"

Questions to Ministers

Detention of Soldiers from Russia

In the House of Commons yesterday.

Mr. Harold Briggs (C. U.—Blackley) asked the Secretary for War whether he had knowledge that the three privates, Davidson, Pickard, and Richards, who recently had been released by the Bolsheviks and handed over to the British authorities by M. Litvinoff, had been detained by the military police and were not permitted either to see or communicate with their relatives, and did he consider such action was justifiable or lawful.

Sir T. Bramsdon (L.—Central Portsmouth) also put a question on the subject.

Mr. Churchill regretted that a mistake should have been committed owing to a misunderstanding of the expression "escaped prisoners" which occurred in the telegram from Helsingfors. Orders were, of course, given to send these men to their homes immediately the mistake was discovered.

Mr. Will Thorne (Lab.—Plaistow). Has any apology been offered to these men?

Mr. Churchill: No, sir.

Mr. Clynnes (Lab.—Platting): Will any recompense be offered to them? (Cheers.)

Mr. Churchill replied that he was not prepared to give any undertaking of that sort, though of course he shared the feeling of regret that men returning to their homes after hard service and misfortune abroad should be met with so unceremonious and chilling a welcome on their arrival in their native land. By a mistake they were detained at Hull by the police authorities, but as soon as the mistake was discovered they were released and sent home.

Lieutenant Commander Kenworthy (L.—Central Hull): Even if they were escaped prisoners from Russia, what was the reason for arresting them and putting them in the cells?

Mr. Churchill: If they had been described as "escaped prisoners of war," instead of as "escaped prisoners," no doubt the mistake would not have occurred.

Mr. J. Devlin (N.—Belfast): Was not the whole business due to the belief that these men were in Ireland? (Laughter.)

Baltic Naval Forces

Major Hurst (C. U.—Moss Side) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he was aware that many seamen now serving in the Baltic are ill-informed as to the objects of their service, whether he would consider the expediency of having the men enlightened as to the vital national interests involved, and whether he could hold out any hope of rewarding their service by the grant of an extra bar to the war medal or of a gratuity.

M. W. Long (First Lord of the Admiralty): The necessary steps have already been taken in regard to this matter. The grant of a clasp to the war medal for service in the Baltic has been approved.

Mr. Long, in answer to Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy, said no naval force would be kept at Murmansk during the winter. The strength of our forces in the Baltic and Black Seas would be governed by the circumstances. In any case it was not likely to be large.

Imports from Russia

Sir A. Geddes told Mr. A. Parkinson (C. U.—Blackpool) that during this year 11,605 tons of merchandise, valued at £1,368,207, consigned from Russia and shipped from ports on the Black Sea, were registered as imported into the United Kingdom. There was reason to hope that in the near future there would be a considerable increase in this trade.

—*Manchester Guardian*, Dec. 4, 1919.

The Hitch at Dorpat

The peace negotiations at Dorpat have encountered their first serious obstacle, and on Thursday announcement was made of the postponement of further sittings of the conference until the Esthonian government has come to a decision in regard to new proposals from Moscow. Whether the controversy is so acute as to threaten a

rupture of negotiations is not yet known, but it throws some light on the resumption last week of the Bolshevik offensive on the Esthonian front. The motive for it was not at the time very obvious, in view of the professed anxiety of Moscow for peace, but it now appears that the Esthonian delegation was still working for an armistice, which is not what the Soviets desire. Their aim is to secure a general peace as quickly as possible and they ostentatiously stand ready to make peace with all the powers together or with any of them separately; even a treaty with a small nation like Esthonia would be of value as a beginning, while a mere armistice would have no such significance. For the sake of a beginning they would no doubt be willing to grant exceptionally liberal terms to Esthonia.

This hard-headed policy is the essence of Bolshevik diplomacy, though we need not give the credit for it to the Bolsheviks, who learned from Marx to make economic considerations paramount, and have no special claim to the principle of self-determination, which Russians had adopted before the Bolsheviks got control. Yet it is rather exasperating to see Lenin & Co. scoring point after point by applying hard-headed common sense when the rest of Europe has been chasing the old phantoms of glory, empire, buffer states, superbuffer states, strategic frontiers, and vast armaments to guard the strategic frontiers. With its manufactures and its splendid harbors Esthonia will be very well off; by the imperialistic theory to which Denikin still holds this would mean that Esthonia and its prosperity should be kept by force within the empire. By the anti-imperialistic theory which the Bolsheviks are exploiting, all that is essential is freedom of trade and freedom of transport for Russian goods to Reval and other ice-free ports. Grant the substance and the shadow does not matter, and prosperity in one country will mean prosperity for both, as with France and Belgium. At Paris such arguments may seem low and sordid, but they make an appeal to the people of Esthonia as well as of Russia, and give the Bolsheviks a powerful lever for peace.

—*Springfield Republican*, December 21.

Gaida Persona non Grata

The arrest of General Gaida at Vladivostok in November does not seem to have come as a surprise in Siberia, for we have received a newspaper clipping from one of our contributors that shows him to have begun to disprove of the Kolchak tyranny some months ago.

The Russian Economist, of Vladivostok, in its issue of September 22nd, devotes a long article, signed by the editor, to the differences which have arisen between General Gaida, Commander-in-Chief of the Czecho-Slovak forces in Siberia, and the supreme command of the Kolchak armies on the West Siberia front.

It appears that "a sharp conflict between him and General Lebediev resulted in a well-nigh sanguinary encounter in the Ural mountains." As a result General Gaida quit, and left in a special train for the east.

According to the writer "the political adventurers" are making use of the name of General Gaida, and he is becoming the gathering point of "various elements dreaming of new phantoms of bloody conflicts."

The tone of the article shows that the editor, who is a staunch supporter of the Kolchak regime, is seriously alarmed at the possibility of an armed uprising by General Gaida and his Czecho-Slovaks.

Peace With Soviet Russia?

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

SIR:—In the House of Commons on November 5, and subsequently in the press, I indicated a basis on which it might be possible to obtain peace in Soviet Russia, the draft published having been agreed upon by the predominant force in Russia—the *de facto* Government of the Russian Soviet Republic, known vulgarly as the Bolsheviks.

I have today received an official statement from the Soviet Government in which they request me to make public—

1. That they are still desirous of bringing about peace and that the proposed outline basis of discussion remains open, subject to those modifications and reservations which will obviously arise owing to changes in the military situation and other causes.

2. That no relations have yet been opened up between Germany and the Soviet Republic, and whilst the statements of prominent members of the Government indicate the desirability of peace pending an official definite rejection within a reasonable time, there is no intention of so doing.

In view of the absence of accredited diplomatic channels this offer can be considered as an official proposal.

If the Prime Minister still considers it undesirable to act on these "so-called peace advances from the Soviet Republic" coming "through irresponsible agencies," let him send an official diplomatic representative either to Moscow or to Copenhagen, where Mr. Litvinoff, a member of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, now resides, to check or, where necessary, amplify these proposals. Or, again, if the proposals are not considered acceptable, let him formulate better ones.

Let us recapitulate very briefly some of the pros and cons for promoting peace in Russia.

1. Who is in favor of intervention and opposed to peace? Mr. Churchill, a few Conservatives and *émigrés* Russians, and financiers connected with the old regime in Russia in some form or other. We must face the bare facts as they are. No decisive action by the anti-Bolsheviks appears possible—certainly without considerable Allied co-operation, which would be an unthinkable policy. Kolchak is scores of miles east of Omsk. Denikin is checked. Yudenich is virtually on the retired list.

They fear the spread of Communistic or Socialistic principles in this country. If the Bolshevik tenets are good let us hear about them; if they are bad, the common sense of the British public will reject them. Secrecy does more harm than good.

2. Who is in favor of peace? Mr. Lloyd George, those Conservatives who appreciate the economic necessity, a large section of the Liberal party, and practically the whole of the organized Labor movement, because they realize—

1. The military danger of a hostile Russia combining with Germany and constituting a

formidable alliance which may develop into a serious menace to the peace of the world.

2. The financial need. The Russian debt to Great Britain has been stated as £568,000,000. In these days of national economy campaigns, saving of red-tape in Whitehall, and reduction of flappers, the offer to recognize this item should not pass without serious consideration.

3. The economic need. The dangerous economic situation of Europe today urgently demands peace in Russia and the restoration of Russia's productive power with the least possible delay.

4. Unemployment. Russia needs locomotives, rolling stock, clothes, boots, machinery—in fact, most of the essential commodities of civilization. If Great Britain obtains some of these orders there should be little unemployment left.

5. The humanitarian point of view. The situation in Russia, combined with the shortage of fuel and clothes and the advent of winter, demands an effort from external powers to bring about peace.

Further inactivity is not excusable.

Yours, &c.,

CECIL L'ESTRANGE MALONE.

House of Commons, December 2.

—*Manchester Guardian*, Dec. 4, 1919.

American Censorship Over the Siberian Press

The suppression of the Vladivostok daily *Golos Primoriya* (Voice of the Sea-Coast), by order of the American military command has been reported in the American press. In one of our issues we have referred to this incident and to the feeling aroused throughout Siberia. According to the custom which prevailed in Czarist Russia the same publishers and the same editorial staff proceeded with the publication of their newspaper under another name, namely, *Golos Rodiny* (the Voice of the Fatherland). But we learn from the *Irkutsk Nashe Dyelo* of September 30, 1919, that the new paper was likewise suppressed by order of the American command.

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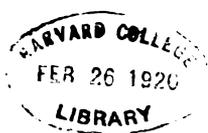
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The Funeral of General Nikolayev in Petrograd

The Red General, Formerly a Tsarist General, Was Hanged by the Whites in Yamburg.

GENERAL Nikolayev, who, during the capture of Yamburg, was hanged by the Whites, was solemnly buried on October 5th by Red Petrograd. He, formerly a general in the army of the Tsar, was, according to the papers in Petrograd, one of the first to enter the command of the Red Army, and took over the command of the Xth division. The hangmen of the White army could not forgive him for that and he fell as the first victim of the White Terror in Yamburg. The Soviet of Petrograd sent two representatives to call for the body in Yamburg. Eye witnesses report that after Yamburg was taken, General Nikolayev was the first one to be hanged. "They are murdering me but the idea of the Communists cannot be murdered," were his last words.

The whole of Red Petrograd participated in the funeral, October 5th. All troop detachments and all organizations of the city assembled with standards and bands at the War Commissariat, where the coffin stood, covered with beautiful wreaths, in the decorated room. The coffin was carried out amid the firing of salutes and the singing of revolutionary songs. Zinoviev made a short farewell speech. "Today," he said, "we bury the fallen hero Nikolayev. In this for us so heavy and dangerous time, he gave his knowledge, his power, and finally his life in defense of the cause of labor. He was a general from the old time but this did

not prevent him from entering the Red Army as a leader and defender of the Socialist Republic. His enemies hated him for this. It even seemed that the bullet was too good for him, and they killed him, this old fighter, with a rope.

"He died as a hero. He seriously believed in the cause that he defended.

"The land owners and lackeys of the old time besought him to enter the ranks on their side and promised him great advantages, but he rejected their offers and preferred this heroic death.

"His act will not be forgotten. His name will shine as a star to coming generations. Our whole army and republic uncovers its head in his memory. His memory will shine forever. Let us follow in his steps. May every fighter in our army be willing to follow his example and may there be many men like him amongst us.

"Praised be he, who gave his energy and his life for the cause of the workers and the peasants. Long live our Red Army and our victory."

The Red hero was buried, according to the wishes of his family, in a small obscure workers' cemetery,—that belonging to a china factory—and thousands of Red soldiers and citizens accompanied him to his last resting place.

Thus Soviet Russia honors the officers and generals, who serve and fight for the great cause of Socialism and the proletariat.

Soviet Russia and Asia

By TARAKNATH DAS

The history of Russia before the revolution, was nothing but a systematic expansion on all sides, especially in Asia, toward Persia, Central Asia, Mongolia and China. Russia was a great menace to world peace, and far-sighted thinkers like Capt. Mahan and others advocated an Anglo-Saxon-Teutonic Alliance against the Slavs. (Vide. *Asiatic Problems*, by Mahan.)

The real underlying cause of the Russo-Japanese War was to check Russia's growing control of China and expansion toward the Pacific, which course threatened Japan's existence as a free nation. Even after Russia's defeat in this gigantic struggle, the Anglo-Russian Agreement was consummated to destroy the natural sovereignty of Persia and Afghanistan, and to establish a protectorate over Mongolia. Imperial Czarist Russia entered the European War with the express understanding that she would gain Constantinople and thus destroy the Ottoman Empire.

Happily for the whole world, that Russian autocracy has been overthrown, and Revolutionary Russia with a vision for a new social order, has come into existence. It is common knowledge that the Soviet Republic has renounced all claims over the Persian territory usurped by Czarist Russia, and has recognized the autonomy of Central Asian Mohammedan States, particularly of Afghanistan, and has warmly received Afghanistan's special ambassador. Soviet Russia has already proposed to renounce all claims of extra-territoriality and Spheres of Influence in the Chinese Republic. (Vide. Foreign Minister Chicherin's Report quoted in *Proletarian Revolution in Russia*, by Lenin and Trotsky, edited by Louis Fraina). Soviet Russia has voiced its belief that the people of Asia, as well as of other countries, should enjoy political as well as industrial democracy, and this sincerity assures great hope to the people of Asia who believe in political and industrial democracy.

It is quite evident that the group of nations which are dominating Asia, and which have no intention of giving up their policy of robbery and exploitation of the millions of that continent, dread the very thought of strengthening and consolidating the Soviet Republic. They know that in Soviet Russia lies the spark of hope for the freedom of Asia; they realize that Soviet Russia is the serious and menacing danger which may ultimately crush the Imperialism which has reduced millions to thralldom. So Soviet Russia, free Russia, the hope of Asia, has become the victim of the Imperialists of the world. Even without declaring war, the Supreme Allied Council, or some other mysterious form of super-government, has proposed a blockade that innocent Russian children and women, as well as the Russian people, may be starved into submission, and the hope of Asian independence may be crushed.

Western Imperialisms, which rest on the subjection of Asia, rejoice in this pernicious plan, and even go so far as to ask and use the aid of Asia to destroy the Soviet Republic, the hope of Asian independence; but it will be sheer insanity on the part of Asian peoples and Asian governments which really represent the interests of the people, to join hands in this diabolical plan; because, if Soviet Russia is crushed, through foreign aid, Russia will be reduced to a protectorate of its foreign enemies and its territory will be dismembered. If this occurs, it will be infinitely harder to achieve Asian independence than it was before the war.

Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, India, and China have much to gain from the mere existence of a strong Soviet Government, the very antithesis of western imperialism, and the friend of enslaved nations. The people of these oppressed nationalities understand this, and so they fully sympathize with Russia's revolution, and are anxious for its success.

There is some doubt about the policy of Japan toward Soviet Russia. Some of the Japanese statesmen, the upholders of abnormal supremacy of all forms of vested interests, are naturally very antagonistic because of the so-called scare of "Bolshevism." But they should never forget that the Japanese people like all other people, desire greater enlightenment and greater life, and merely being antagonistic to Soviet Russia will not solve Japan's internal social and industrial problems; but this policy will rather accentuate the ever-increasing difficulties.

Japan is an ally of Great Britain, the arch enemy of a strong Russia, whether Imperial or Soviet. (Vide. *Traditions of British Diplomacy*, by Elliot.)

Since Lord Curzon, the Russo-phobe, has become the Foreign Minister of Great Britain, and the movement for Indian Independence has been gaining increasing momentum, it is expected that British diplomacy will assume a more anti-Russian attitude. But should Japan, because of her Anglo-Japanese Alliance, or some other understanding, pursue a policy against Soviet Russia, Russia will be weakened to such an extent as to become a source of weakness to Japan and to all Asia.

Japanese statesmen, Japanese people, and all who believe in Asian independence—which is the first requisite for world freedom—should give careful thought to this question, because Japan's attitude toward Russia has not only a great bearing on Japan's future freedom, but upon the freedom of all Asia and of the world. If Japan acts in a short-sighted way for temporary gain, she will jeopardize her own safety and the cause of Asian independence.

England's Russian Policy and the Decline of the League of Nations

By GINO CALZA BEDOLA

London Correspondent for "Il Giornale d'Italia," November 18

LITTLE by little the cardboard tower of Big Four diplomacy at Paris is crumbling. And we Italians shall not be particularly surprised at its ruin, for we have scented this ill-wind ever since last March, when the international diplomats began their work. Such a structure cannot last long beside the great beast of demagoguery at Versailles. Only the most naive person could mistake its walls of raked-up cement and stucco for marble. Now the time has come to rebuild on that mud foundation, which so presumptuously challenged the storms of history.

It is lucky that not all of the diplomats who were responsible for it are stubbornly attempting to preserve at all costs this outgrown structure of theirs. Lloyd George, with his Welsh agility, offers us the first example of that much needed contrition. And at the Guildhall two days before Poincaré and Pichon arrived in London, he launched his intention of reopening the Prinkipo negotiations with the Bolsheviki—the chief nightmare of the portfolio and French nationalism. It took courage to do this, and he was not afraid. With all his faults, the Prime Minister must be given credit for his boldness. At Paris the press attacked him bitterly, and here, the Northcliffe and Conservative papers have followed suit. But the nation is back of Lloyd George, except for part of his financial policy; it is sick and tired of this military and economic Russian adventure, and has guessed, with British intuition, that Bolshevism is a disease which is cured by internal treatment, and not by massaging the skin. Time will be its doctor. And another thing is now evident: while England is waging war against Bolshevism, Germany is doing the conquering. England must take this opportunity to bring them together through negotiating, until it is possible to get them in check and moderate their madness. Then Lloyd George, with the country back of him, will be able to come to terms with Bolshevism, and squeeze as much out of it as he can. Though he was forced to give up this project last March, pressure from without is now so strong that he will not refrain any longer from his undertaking.

But under this little bubbling of Lloyd George, boils a political ferment much more important. The truth is that England is tired of paying the bills for this Russian adventure of the Allies and persisting in this speculation at a total loss, without any direct responsibility being assumed by them. France gives neither money, men, arms, nor munitions to help Kolchak, Yudenich, or Denikin, nor, after the tiresome adventure of Odessa, does she even decide to lend a hand to the British fleet which is operating in the Baltic Sea; America

not only lends no aid, but Bolshevism is working there without and within, in the form of special missions, pseudo-humanitarian and pseudo-commercial, which repeat their own experiences, and pour out their own successes in that great secret fraternity, the American business world; Italy, with much ado, washes her hands of the whole affair; and kind Britain is left alone to play the part of banker and furnish supplies for all the adventurers, all the heroes, all the patriots, and all the Messiahs, who some day intend to realize their own interests over the corpse of Bolshevism, which has been far too hypothetically struck down. Considering all this confusion, and the risk the Allies are running, satisfactory compensation for the British seems very doubtful, even in case of success. It is, therefore, useless to continue to burden British shoulders with such a responsibility. Then, too, there is the more extreme element in labor, which looks with no favor on this setting loose the British mastiff against the Russian Revolutionists in the interests of a third party, and, considering its temper, it is not advisable to hold this thorn near its mouth. It is clear now, that no matter what sort of a fuss the French may make, England, sooner or later, will withdraw from the Russian "ring" to devote herself to tasks of more immediate importance.

This act may not seem very noble in itself. But it would be well to remember that when England, during the conference, accepted the uninviting and somewhat costly task of taking the reins of the offensive against Bolshevism, she was induced by the promise of all the Allies that the struggle against Bolshevism was to be the first problem in which the active political power of the League of Nations should be tried out.

Social Vices at Archangel

Tromsø, October 20, 1919.

Norwegians who have been working for some time at Murmansk and Archangel have informed the "Nordlys" about a few features of the English rule of terror. The English have opened up the brandy trade and established brothels. One man recognized a woman who had earlier been seen in a summer park in Norway. He says that there were four hundred women in the brothels, some of whom had been forced to remain there against their will. More than half of them suffer from sex diseases, and there is no medical attention. The rage against the English is very great, and as soon as the English left Archangel and Murman, the Finnish White Guards entered and made themselves the rulers.

—*Social-Demokraten*, Christiania, Oct. 21, 1919.

And What About Russia?

By ARMANDO ZANETTI

This article by a talented Italian journalist, who has appeared in our columns before (see SOVIET RUSSIA No. 8), is of interest at this time because of the recent news item reporting the arrival in Italy of a Soviet Russian representative, who offers Soviet trade with Italy through the ports of South Russia about to be retaken from Denikin. The article is translated from "Giornale d'Italia" of Sept. 18, 1919.

PEACE has been declared. So far, however, there is little evidence that a new era of goodwill and reorganization is to result from the memorable days which mark the end of the greatest and most terrible period of the world's history.

The hatred and bitterness of yesterday's enemies and allies have not shown the slightest sign of cooling down; the economic life in almost all of Europe is still verging on a crisis which entails dangers of every description; questions of the utmost importance to us relating to neighboring countries and the Balkans, are still hanging in the air. But worst of all is the chaos and disorder in Russia, which is now a hot-bed of wars and uprisings. And toward this problem the men of Versailles and Saint Germain have shown blindness and indecision beyond words. Their Russian policy has resulted in a series of mistakes which have only complicated the problem and increased the confusion of the situation, making a satisfactory solution almost impossible.

We speak of the men of Versailles and Saint Germain. We should say, more properly, our western allies; Italy, at her own expense, being a passive and acquiescent participant. Even the Italian press on this subject has revealed an indifference that is serious and harmful to the interests of the country, which justly demand effective protection.

What Italy needs most is a complete and rapid restoration of normal relations in Europe, both politically and economically, and the consequent communication with the east. It is only by disregarding her own interests that Italy has been able to tolerate such conditions and to be a party to the absurd Clemenceau-Churchill policy. This policy has dragged the Russian problem along on an entirely false basis, the Entente daring neither to intervene effectively, nor to base its action on the frank recognition of a *de facto* state that has belied all the expectations and illusions of its diplomacy. As an Italian correspondent wrote from London last May, "The policy of the Allies in Russia has lacked the logical directing force that it would have had if they had been guided by reason from the start. It has lacked the continuity and vision necessary in order to realize the actual state of affairs. When the Allied governments were failing, they resorted to secrecy—they suppressed publications containing important military and political news, authorizing only those which were more adapted to conceal the facts." (*Secolo*, May 29.)

Furthermore, the policy of the Allies in Russia, fully justified by military and political considerations of all kinds during the war with the Central Powers, was continued even after November, 1918, partly owing to a certain inertia and the typical obstinacy of the French, who saw, or thought they saw, a chance of taking the lead, and partly, also, on other grounds.

In the first place, the French were worrying about their twenty billion francs invested in Russia, which they still hoped to save by their policy of uncompromising hostility, taking every opportunity to aggravate matters, and to keep Soviet Russia in economic isolation—which was the surest way to compromise in the end. And, in the second place, there was the consideration common to almost all governments at war—the dread of the so-called "disease" of Bolshevism, which justified the most drastic measures of censorship and isolation until they had a million trained men ready to send to war again, but which was, nevertheless, a serious mistake, both psychologically and politically.

In fact, the danger which the governments and middle classes of the West have feared from Bolshevism was not a danger in the absolute sense, since in the West the bourgeois classes have clearly shown that their position is much stronger than that of the Russian bourgeoisie. It is rather a natural danger, resulting from the confusion of the war, and also from the follies of the different countries in their internal policy.

One single consideration should have been sufficient to remove this censorship and "sanitary cordon" from Russia: Either the ruling classes of the European countries will know how to fulfil their duty as ruling classes, or they will not. If they do this, by active anti-Bolshevist propaganda, or by a sane and energetic policy of reorganizing the institutions which the war proved inadequate (such as the diplomacy and bureaucracy of Italy), then there is no Bolshevist propaganda in the world that will scare them. But if they do not realize this duty, there will be no barriers, no power on earth which can save them from the fate they deserve. The triumph of Bolshevism in Russia was possible not so much because of the strength of the working classes or their ideas, as because of the corruption of the old regime, due to the moral inconsistency and political deficiency of the classes that were in power.

The ruling class in Italy, in spite of inevitable shortcomings and miscalculations, appears to realize the task before it. But the Italian govern-

ment does not seem to take into consideration, or to have given sufficient attention to another factor of psychological importance. While we are helping to keep Russia cut off from the rest of Europe, the opportunity offers itself to the Bolsheviks in Italy to gain support for the party now in control at Moscow, at the expense of the bourgeoisie of other nations; and the Bolshevik press here has the chance to say all it wants about the crimes of that regime, and, above all, is perfectly free to conceal or deny at will facts of the utmost importance for any understanding of this subject.

Much has been written—perhaps too much—about the horrors and misery that prevail in Russia, but whoever has seen it knows that our people, who are comparatively well off and accustomed to a comfortable and normal life, cannot have any imagination of the unspeakable tragedy of the situation.

I should say that too much has been said about the horrors and too little about the misery. I should say that the sacrifice of some ten thousand political victims, out of a population of a hundred million or more, was not such a terrible thing in itself. When we consider the French Revolution, we see that cruelty was necessary to establish a better order, or at least one which was sincerely believed to be better.

But what is worst of all, because it is lasting so long, and has already killed more people than the war, and is menacing the life of the entire population, especially in the cities, is the hunger, the disease, and the exhaustion. Even the most robust constitutions are failing, and the faculty of reproducing the race is constantly diminishing. It is the infinite number of agonizing experiences in the daily life of the individual that brutalize him and kill his intellectual activity, increasing the sufferings and hysteria of the race.

It is a calamity to have a nation torn to pieces in this way, even if it may be partly to blame, through its own folly or weakness.

Our greatest political interest now is to see the restoration of the European equilibrium, which has been disturbed too much already by the continuance of anarchy in Russia and the bordering countries, which constitute perhaps the largest and most promising field for our business activities. But even aside from this—there is Russia, a considerable part of Europe, suffering terribly from her isolation and from the existing regime, being driven by both toward desperation and absolute ruin. This in itself is enough to prove to us the necessity of watching our course, and of examining the very foundations of our actual policy toward that country. We must ask ourselves why we have been supporting the Allies up till now in their tenacious illusion of restoring Russia by galvanizing (not even seriously aiding) the attempts of the old regime to regain control. We may find that we have been working against our own interests, which would have nothing to rejoice over from such a restoration.

What we must examine most carefully is this policy which we have been following until now. May it not be based on a serious misconception, since the Entente went so far astray in its estimate of the probable duration of Lenin's regime?

One thing we have pointed out many times—although the printers' strike cut off our discussion of the subject—that while the whole policy of the Entente may have been partly justified by the conditions mentioned above, it was the result of a false conception (due chiefly to misinformation on the part of our western diplomats). The Allies failed to realize that Bolshevism, having passed the first stage of struggles and crises, was consolidating all its energies.

In North Russia, the counter-revolution has been definitely put down, and all potential leaders of further revolt have been defeated and driven out. This regime is not only capable of holding its own against its enemies there, but it is actually a strong military power, held together by iron discipline, and forced to fight under the most desperate conditions.

The question is now whether the Allies have made any progress, and if so, how much; and, supposing that they can fight to-day with probability of success, whether it would really be in the interests of Italy to aid their victory. We must examine to find the best way of relieving various national movements around the old empire, and weigh them from the standpoint of positive or negative value to ourselves. On one hand it is necessary to find the best way of relieving the misery in Soviet Russia, and on the other hand to aid in a general way the stabilization of all Russia, even though it might accomplish nothing more than to make our commercial relations with that country less precarious.

But one thing seems to us beyond doubt: that it is from the very highest motives—in the interests of Russia—that Italy must act. This country, now seriously kept back by a continual state of civil war and anarchy, demands a new, more humane, and at the same time more practical policy, for the solution of its internal affairs.

Nearly two years have passed since the Lenin regime got control of the state, and, since the spring of 1918, its strength has been unquestionably increasing in Moscow, Northern Russia, and the Central regions.

A little less than a year ago the systematic reign of terror which had so shocked all Europe came to an end. The definite victory of the Allies over the Central Powers destroyed the only really undeniable reasons for a vigorous and uncompromising blockade of Soviet Russia; the victorious nations have made it most clearly understood that they had no intention of shedding their blood to restore to power the Czarist leaders who were more or less democratically camouflaged; this summer's campaigns showed how very far the Allied forces were from making any headway

against the Soviet troops. And while the population was wearing itself out in the most heart-rending exhaustion, without parallel in history, the government at Moscow has several times declared, and continues to declare, that it is ready to come to terms with the Entente. But meanwhile it is reinforcing its military position, and concentrating the limited resources of the state in the consolidation of the regime.

At the same time, the people who have freed themselves from the Russian yoke are begging and clamoring for recognition of their legitimate au-

tonomy and independence, which Kolchak and Denikin seem little disposed to grant. Even Finland has not yet been recognized.

The whole situation is so complex, and has changed so much, that it demands a radical criticism and a distinct revision of the aims and policy of Italy and the Allies in Russia. But of Italy in particular, since, in her firm solidarity with the others, and consequently with their mistakes, she has not given sufficient consideration to her own interests.

“A Russian Collaborator”

By JOEL, in *Social-Demokraten*, Christiania

ON the Second Anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik revolution, our contemporary *Verdens Gang* printed a long article on Russia by “A Russian Collaborator,” who declared himself to be a “Republican” and a “Democrat.”

He was in a position to say that things stood very badly with Russia. All industrial life was at a stand-still; for instance, the production of naphtha, which is being carried on in Caucasia, now occupied by anti-Bolshevik forces, has gone down by more than one half! And on the whole, it should be said that the days of the Bolsheviks are numbered.

It was pleasing once more to see an article from the hand of “A Russian Collaborator.” He had been silent for several months, but it will be remembered that he was for a long time one of the most in demand of the Norwegian bourgeois press contributors. (He was particularly useful in *Tidens Tega*, together with a lot of Roumanians, Greeks, Albanians, Italians, and other Balkan individuals.) As we may now once more expect to see articles from his hand cropping up in all the papers, a biographical study concerning him will not be out of place.

“A Russian Collaborator” was born in Russia (the report that he was born in Ruselok Street in Christiania, and grew up in one of our local newspaper offices, is entirely without foundation). Just what place in Russia is another question: he seems to have been born in a number of places. He is of good, even well-to-do, we may say, *wealthy* parents, and has therefore had an excellent education: at the age of seven, he was taught to whip the peasants, and at nine he learned French. He grew up, distinguished himself in a number of positions in life, and was well thought of by all, by the peasants on his estates (for he was a landed proprietor), by the soldiers in his regiment (for he was a general), by his subordinates in the office (he was a privy councillor), by the young “ladies” in the “cafés” which he frequented (for he was a man of the world), by his servants, whom he treated affectionately and lashed only on great holidays (for he was religious),—in fact, even by all those criminals whom he sent to Siberia, who had not yet been completely hardened. He was full of liberal

views, he advocated a republic, with the Czar as a president. He was a warm adherent of all absolutely necessary steps in progress. Thus, among other things, he labored diligently in the improvement of legal procedure, in that he desired to have the nine-tailed knout replaced by one with seven tails, which would be just as useful in distributing lashes and yet would be much more humane.

His views were therefore of the best, his culture profound, his wines and his cigars excellent, and his life very agreeable.

Then came the revolution. “A Russian Collaborator” put his affairs in order as quickly as he could, and left his fatherland unostentatiously. Not through fear. For as we have said, all thought well of him. It was merely his health that required a change of climate. For, while it is true that it was still winter when the revolution broke out, it nevertheless suddenly became so hot for him in Russia, that he determined to travel to Norway, well known as the cold but splendid land of skiing and the midnight sun. From this point of vantage he observed the course of events. They took a rather unfortunate turn. The thoughtless elements were gaining the upper hand. “A Russian Collaborator” followed the course of events with deep concern. Russia, which had always been idealized in his mind as a tremendous idyl, now seemed to him to resemble more and more a witch’s kitchen.

In addition, there came his personal cares. When his health, as we have indicated, forced him swiftly to seek some other clime, he had not taken enough money with him, and to have money sent after him in the form of diplomatic baggage was too expensive,* and besides, the Bolsheviks had most cruelly confiscated his estates. When he obtained this last piece of information, he recognized that now indeed the days of these damned Bolsheviks must be numbered. Otherwise it would be impossible to believe in the existence of a merciful and avenging God.

Then, just as he was about to be on his uppers entirely, help turned up at last; the Norwegian press opened its columns to “A Russian Collaborator.” And his pen began to sputter out articles,

* Many bourgeois persons in Russia used the foreign embassies as places of deposit and means of transportation of their valuables to foreign countries.

so prolifically, that there are many persons who believe that behind the signature of "A Russian Collaborator" there is concealed a galaxy of men, but we cannot consider this conjecture for the present, as no proofs are offered.

But, as has been said above, articles began streaming forth. They were characterized by liberality and learning, and were full of valuable pieces of information. He proved conclusively that the leaders of the Bolsheviki were criminals—all of them had been either sentenced to Siberia or had escaped such punishment by shamefully taking to flight. He depicted the Czar, that great and good man, whose sad end he profoundly deplored. He related salacious little stories from the Court, where "A Russian Collaborator" had been a welcome and oft seen guest. He described the ideal Russian conditions before the revolution, the well-fed official class, the brave officers; *en passant* he paid some attention to the great poets, and to the cultural conditions on the great estates.

Whenever a Russian major came fleeing through Norway, immediately "A Russian Collaborator" was on the spot, interviewing this famous General Swindlersky, one of the heroes of the war, famous for his battles in the Caucasus, and equally loved by the soldiers of the front and by the fair ladies of the Court. The cause for General Swindlersky's presence at this time in Norway was his unflinching conviction that he could best serve his fatherland during the revolution from outside of its boundaries—and the general also concurred in the opinion that the days of the Bolsheviki were numbered. It was a matter of weeks, even of days—and they were generally hated—all wished the Czar to return—"the famous general pressed my hand warmly as I departed."

"A Russian Collaborator" had good connections. He was constantly receiving reports of the cruelty of the Bolsheviki, of the ruthless private life of their leaders, of the simultaneous withdrawal on all fronts, of the fact that the next gasp would be their last. In a few weeks, perhaps even days, the hour of delivery would strike.

The Bolshevik reign of terror can only tear down but not build up. See how the daily wage is rising! A day's labor now costs fifty rubles; formerly you could get it for nine kopeks, about five cents (but you didn't need to pay at all unless you felt like it). The Bolsheviki are bragging about letting the people attend theatrical performances free of charge, but the old regime also provided a number of free recreations (general arrests Cossack manoeuvres in the streets, accompanied by lashing of importunate persons).

By means of these articles "A Russian Collaborator" gradually created a famous and enviable position for himself in the Norwegian press. Then suddenly he disappeared from its columns without leaving a trace behind. What was the matter? Oh, a mere trifle; some little murder in Sweden—a certain Col. Hadjetlaché, who had been carrying on a little outrageously through the misapplied

patriotism, a police system without proper guidance, a popular opinion not properly trained—in short, "A Russian Collaborator" took a rather long vacation. Not that anyone could suspect *him!* To be sure, he had never in any way concealed his desire that the Bolsheviki should be wiped out, but he had always demanded that this should be done on a large scale and by other people, by the Entente and the neutral powers, by means of intervention, by the blockade, and with legal death sentences! Nothing could be further from *him* than to desire to eliminate them individually—and one by one! Because, after all, he was a cultured and humane gentleman. But he *did* take a vacation. He could afford it; he had saved his money.

All missed him sorely. And it was therefore pleasing once more to see him crop in the columns of the papers on the second anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, and to read his words, in which he in a calm and professional manner, as usual, will prove that the days of the Bolsheviki are numbered.

Had Yudenich Taken Petrograd

"Even the capture of Moscow would by no means signify the crushing of Bolshevism," says the liberal *Frankfurter Zeitung*, the solvent and most influential paper in Germany, in an editorial on Russia in which it reduces the importance of the advance of the White armies to its proper value. "A giant country like Russia which is thoroughly leavened with Bolshevism cannot be converted to another faith by force, by a few hundred thousand men," the paper states further. According to its opinion the blockade is also a useless measure for this purpose. It will only develop that sentiment which is the best promoter of Bolshevism,—desperation. Bolshevism is a rooted plant in Russia. It originates from the deep longing of the great Russian masses and is increased by traditions of the Russian past.

The *Frankfurter Zeitung* maintains further that the most sensible policy which the Entente could carry on against Soviet Russia would be to make peace with her and supply her with food products, raw materials, and money, "to fight the Bolshevik illness with the blessing of peace." The main motive for the continuance of violent intervention is the fear of the ruling classes of the influence of Bolshevism upon their own proletariat. It is the reactionaries of England, France, and America who would kill the Bolshevik spirit in Russia with the club and strangle it by hunger, because its survival would strengthen the demands of their own workers for social reforms, although the majority of the Western states do not think of acting in a Bolshevik way. Should Bolshevism in Russia be crushed by the means which the tools and supporters of Churchill are now employing, reaction would triumph in all Europe.

"The new Germany which has to keep down the efforts of reaction in her own land, and which does not want to lose her liberty, will certainly not wish such a violent solution of the problem.

The Reform of Higher Schools

There are three tasks which the People's Commissariat for Public Instruction sets itself in its reform of the universities.

First, to democratize scientific learning, which usually is the monopoly of a small group of certificated scholars, closely united in their interests with the bourgeoisie from whose ranks they for the most part have come.

Secondly, to democratize expert knowledge, the professional skill of physicians, engineers or pedagogues, which places them outside of the ranks of other workers and gives them a superiority over other workers, makes them "chiefs" over those others. Heretofore such skill, developed by the universities and other higher educational institutions, was an inherited privilege, as it were, of the sons and daughters of the well-to-do bourgeois class—of the sons of officials, priests, store-keepers, village sharks. The son of a workman or of a plain peasant got into a university only in a most exceptional case, thanks to some happy accident. The workers' and peasants' republic should open wide the doors of the university to her youth—create her own, truly democratic *intelligentsia* of workers and peasants to replace those "intellectuals" of the bourgeoisie who now hate with such a cruel hatred the government of the workers and peasants.

Thirdly, to democratize education, which up to now has adorned only the lives of the same bourgeoisie and bourgeois intellectuals and which was offered to the "toiling" people in such a diluted state that it was not an easy matter to trace in it any remnants of original science. Now that they conquered the power, the people have a right to real science and not to miserable substitute. It is then the task of the scientists to give to this science a new form which would make it accessible to every man of average intelligence, who comes to the university hall with the serious desire to learn something,—to acquire some knowledge. It is remarkable how all the great or even prominent scholars could always speak and write in a simple manner—Darwin, Huxley, Helmholtz, Claude Bernard, Paul Bahr; in our country, Timiryazev, Syechenov, Kluchevski, and others. To hide one's poverty under the cloak of learned language was the device of the scientific wiseacres who attained a university chair rather by wrong and untruth than by right and truth.

Such then, is the problem which constitutes the greatness of the university reform, overshadowing all others—the threefold democratization of the higher schools must first of all secure the university chairs to the real prominent scholar, to the original scientific genius. For in the same way as the bourgeois class economy has outlived itself and the rule of capitalism by the very fact of its existence artificially *lowers* the productivity of labor, *hampers* the development of productive forces, just in the same manner has the bourgeois

university learning long outlived itself. It is remarkable that prominent scientists who may still be found in the bourgeois environment, though with decreasing frequency, are fleeing the universities and take refuge in various social "institutes" in which they can work without being hindered by the academic obscurity, by petty red tape and intrigues, which kill off all creative genius, all desire, all chance to work fruitfully. Only the full accessibility of the university chair to every one who is able to teach, full accessibility of the university auditorium to every one desirous of learning, only a close connection of the university with the broad masses of people can save university science from the senile decrepitude, the symptoms of which are apparent not only in our country, but also in the West. There old age shows more power and beauty, but it is old age none the less—there also the academic university life is not progressing but moving backward.

In the theses submitted to the conference on the reform of higher schools there were enough novelties, very "radical" from the bourgeois point of view: free education, abolition of diplomas, scientific degrees, the participation of the students in the management of the university. All these were opposed (even free education: the reader should not wonder—of the tuition fees were composed the so-called "special" funds of the universities, i. e., funds which were at the personal disposal of the body of professors and could be disbursed without asking the permission of the authorities; is it necessary to dwell longer upon the question, how convenient this sometimes is?). Finally, however, even the greatest obstacle—the participation of the students in the university councils—has been happily overcome, after creating some slight disturbances. The resolution adopted in this matter, and—incidentally—by an overwhelming majority, reads as follows:

"Whereas, the participation of the representatives of the body of students in the administration of the university appears in some cases necessary and in others admissible, the conference does not oppose the admission of representatives of the student body to the organs of university administration with a deciding vote in all matters except in the election of professors and instructors and the award of scientific degrees. The forms in which this participation should be realized (the number of representatives, the defining of the voting groups, etc.) shall be considered in the near future, when the local statutes will be worked out."

Even such a knock-out blow as the short term of the professorship (according to the theses—five years) has been suffered stoically enough by the body of professors, who only a year before secured for themselves the possibility of holding their chairs not twenty-five years, as it was in the old days of the czar, but even thirty years. What proved to be unbearable, however, was the creation

in the universities of a special "scientific association," where the professors should occupy themselves not with delivering lectures (composed once for all time in their younger days, and read up to the end of the thirty-year term: how many reminiscences must have been called to the memory of the honorable elders by these stained and yellow sheets), but with independent scientific work. To fuse with the university the scientific institutes where the live part of the professorial guild is now finding a haven—as was shown above—that is too strong for the unburied corpses of the official science. For goodness sake, how could one compel a man to prove every ten, or even seven years, that he is working? Hinder his peaceful repose with his doctor's dissertation under his head, written twenty years ago. It is far better to admit the workmen to our auditoria after abolishing diplomas and scientific degrees. The workman, after getting a look at us and listening to us, may still depart and leave us in peace. But so we can never have rest. Study, write, publish. Is it possible to bear such hard labor?

It is self evident that the Commissariat for Public Instruction never thought of compelling the university professor gentlemen *par force* to devote themselves to scientific production. It is impossible to create *par force* in any field of activity—and in the scientific field it is all the more impossible. If the Russian professors deemed it opportune to bestow upon themselves a certificate of scientific poverty, that is a concern of theirs. Scientific institutes will be founded outside of the universities, the live forces in the latter will flee to them as before. All the live, talented youth which will not be hindered on their way to science by any hidden property qualifications, whether in the form of diplomas, or in the form of tuition fees will gather around these scientific institutes. After they have learned how to work scientifically, these youths will surely not forget their habits and will turn to the university chair. The more so, since the road to the latter will not be impeded by the half-decayed corpse of the preceding scientific generation.

—*Novy Mir* of April 24, 1919,
taken from *Narodnoye Prosvyeshchenye*.

The Soviet Power and Public Health

SOVIET WIRELESS OF AUGUST 8, 1919

THE extremely low level of hygiene in Russia, the formidable percentage of the population which was affected by the epidemics constantly breaking out on Russian territory, have always been a sad distinction of Czarist Russia, and during the last twenty years they furnished an astonishing contrast to the rapid economic development of Russia and to the progress of the political consciousness of the masses. There was no sanitary legislation at all, and all of the practice of medicine was entrusted, aside from the official physicians, who were reduced to merely police functions, to the caprice of the local administration and of the *zemstvos*. The latter always in the hands of the well-to-do classes, by no means gave the necessary attention in all cases to the sanitary needs of the toiling masses. Nor did the Kerensky Government take any real measure in this direction, although the war had done much to make the situation worse, and had produced frightful epidemics of typhus and smallpox.

The Government of the October Revolution was the first to institute a Commissariat of Public Hygiene, the object of which is the concentration of all the medical and sanitary work of the country in a single central organ. Henceforth, civil, judicial, military and educational medicine, as well as that associated with the means of communication, together with the combat against epidemics—all these are united in a single organ, equipped with all the necessary personal credits and institutions. After a year of work, Russia, which began so much further back than Western Europe, has already far outstripped the latter. The struggle has been energetically waged against the epidemics that were the scourges of Russia under the old regime, as well as

the consequences of the imperialistic war. The Commissariat directed its first campaign against the cholera in 1918. The epidemic, thanks to the heroic measures ordered and applied, affected no more than 35,000 persons instead of the 200,000 who had been affected in 1908. The Commissariat, in this struggle, made considerable use of preventive vaccination and of sterilization of water. All those affected with cholera were interned in hospitals, and the battle was waged according to a judiciously drawn-up plan, uniformly executed all over.

For the study of Spanish influenza, the Commissariat organized learned expeditions, which provided precise indications concerning the nature and the character of this epidemic. At present a special commission is working over the materials and preparing them for publication.

After the Spanish influenza there came the typhus, which reached its maximum in the spring of this year. In spite of the considerable number of patients, the mortality remained extraordinarily low, hardly attaining six per cent. The epidemic affected particularly the cities, and is in close relation with provisioning difficulties. The Commissariat put forth all its efforts to move the population with it in the struggle against the epidemic, and attempted chiefly to remove the agents which carried the typhus, which is the only specific method of putting an end to this disease. The Commissariat in this campaign made use of a credit of 200,000,000 rubles. At Moscow alone it organized 9,000 hospital beds for typhus cases; in the Government of Moscow, more than 10,000. Special measures to assure proper bodily cleanliness, the opening of baths, laundries, and of disinfection stations, all

placed gratis at the disposal of the public, were introduced all over. In order to superintend their operation, the Commissariat created Workers' Commissions in the cities, charged with supervising matters of cleanliness and provided with very extensive powers. The work of these Commissions yielded the most favorable results. Simultaneously, the Commissariat encouraged the initiative of the medical force in the field of sero-therapy and anti-typhus vaccination. The Commission for typhus study was created, with a considerable money appropriation.

On July 3, there took place a solemn session of the Bacteriological Society, in which the famous scholar Martsinovski read a historical account of the labors which led him to the discovery of the microbe of exanthematous typhus. The epidemic is at present stopped.

Against smallpox, finally, the Commissariat adopted a radical and decisive measure, hitherto considered to be inapplicable in Russia, namely, obligatory vaccination, which was decreed on April 10th of last year. Simultaneously with the assignment of considerable appropriations, innumerable numbers of doses of vaccine were sent without charge into the provinces, and vaccination courses were organized. This measure is now in practice throughout Russia.

A circular renders obligatory the reporting of all contagious maladies. A recent decree grants to bacteriological institutes and laboratories which prepare serums and vaccines, every sort of privilege for their proper supply. These institutes themselves have been multiplied and new ones are being organized at Voronezh and Orel. The Micro-Bacteriological Institute of Saratov has already been opened. A control station at Moscow, with a branch at Petrograd, tests all serums and vaccines. In this Commissariat there is a special section for disinfection, which, in the course of the present year, organized four courses in disinfection methods at Moscow and published a number of manuals on this subject. There have likewise been two series of courses on the chlorine treatment of water, at which the proper materials were furnished. A mission has been sent to the Astrakhan region to study the various varieties of the pest, and an anti-pest conference was held at Saratov in July.

As for the service of the hospitals and ambulances, the Commissariat has taken radical measures, placing this entire branch of medicine in charge of the Provinces. A first credit of 1,300 million rubles has been distributed among the provinces. In February last the hospital establishments of the Sick Benefit Funds were welded together with the establishments of the Commissariat, in such manner that all of the curative medicine of the country is now united under one head. The nationalized pharmacies have been everywhere handed over to the sanitary organs of the Soviet. The Commissariat furnishes them directly with the medicaments in its supply houses, for scientific purposes. The nationalization of pharmacies has

already furnished the public with considerable important advantages so far as the cheapness and the quality of the medicaments are concerned. On June 1, a law was promulgated on the sanitary protection of inhabited premises. This decree, which goes far beyond all the measures applied in Europe, establishes in all of Russia a sanitary inspection of dwellings. Courses have been organized to prepare inspectors for dwellings, and special manuals have already appeared.

A model station for purifying water is at present in operation in Moscow. In the field of school hygiene, real measures of the highest importance have been taken concerning the sanitary standard of the schools, medical aid to pupils, special care to be given to abnormal children, vacation colonies for weak or sick children, etc. A decree provides for the free maintenance of children, under the surveillance of the local sanitary sections, institutions which have no parallel in Europe. The pupils are fed free, at the expense of the state. There exists at Moscow an institute for physical culture, whose operations are closely associated with those of the sections for school hygiene. The Commissariat for the first time took decisive measures against social diseases, particularly tuberculosis and venereal diseases. In accordance with the plan that had been systematically outlined, the section for anti-tuberculosis prophylaxis has opened in each government a certain number of beds reserved for those who are tuberculous, more numerous dispensaries, special children's colonies, and courses in prophylactic propaganda. The section possesses a number of excellently organized sanatoriums near Moscow. Tracts have been published on the various venereal diseases.

The Commissariat has grouped under its direction military and naval medicine, and that associated with the railways and waterways. The fusion of these various services has permitted the obtaining of considerable results in the struggle against epidemics. Special sections of psychiatry and dentistry, of radiography and balneo-therapy, are in full operation. In each case there is in process of creation an institute with its appropriate laboratories.

The Commissariat, aware of the importance of the dissemination of hygienic knowledge, has organized a special section for instruction and medical publication. It has organized at Moscow a museum of social hygiene, expositions covering contagious diseases, and published a series of popular pamphlets on various hygienic questions, issued in several millions of copies. A central library of medicine, counting more than 30,000 volumes, has been accessible to the public at Moscow since the month of May. The Commissariat has convoked two congresses of bacteriologists and epidemiologists, two Congresses of local Sanitary Sections, a Pharmaceutical Conference, a Dental Conference, a School Hygiene Conference, and a Central Institute of Health, at present comprising four sections, and which will constitute the highest institution of learning of the Republic in the field of hygiene, of epidemiology and of bacteriology.

Soviet Note to Sweden on the Matter of the Blockade

Some time ago *Soviet Russia* printed an item telling of a note that had been sent by the Soviet Russian Government to certain neutral powers protesting against a possible acceptance on their part of the Allied proposal to take part in the blockade of Soviet Russia. We are enabled this week to print the full text of this note, which we take from a Swedish newspaper. Another note of similar content was forwarded at the same time to the German Government.

Moscow, October 20, 1919.

To the Governments of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Spain and Switzerland:

It has come to the notice of the Russian Soviet Government that the Entente powers have addressed to the so-called neutral governments a request to take an active part in the blockade of Russia. The Entente governments, which never declared war on Russia, have, without any warning on their part and without any ground whatsoever that would be capable of justifying such action, set in motion a military campaign which stubbornly and violently encroaches on Russian territory, and have incited against the Russian people all the governments which have lent an ear to their war-mad insinuations, or, under their brutal pressure, have consented to support in every way, by the sending of troops, war materials, money, etc., the White Guard and counter-revolutionary bands which aim to restore to power in Russia the bloodiest reaction. In pursuance of this unceasing hostile attitude to the working masses of the Russian people, the Entente powers have in addition inaugurated a systematic, barbarous, and inhuman blockade, with the object of crushing the existence of the Russian people, thus exposing the population, including women and children, to sufferings of many kinds. The so-called neutral governments, on their part, submitting to this pressure of the Entente powers, have broken off diplomatic relations with Russia. The Russian Soviet Government has found itself obliged in various cases to draw the inferences from the attitude of neutral governments which have been expressed above.

It is doubtful whether these governments can consider themselves fortunate when they recall the consequences which their attitude has involved for their own interests. Without doubt they must themselves understand that such a procedure, without any action on the part of Soviet Russia that would justify this attitude, makes them, by their participation in the blockade of Russia, assume an active position, and that this position can be understood by Soviet Russia only as a consciously hostile act. The Russian Soviet Government expresses its hope that the so-called neutral governments may clearly understand the absolute injustice of participating without provocation in an actively hostile attitude

toward Russia, which would in such a case, be compelled to resort to all the reprisals that it may consider necessary. The Russian Soviet Government therefore hopes that the neutral governments will absolutely reject the unjust request of the Entente powers.

People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs,
CHICHERIN.

The Black Sea Bath

Did our rulers have some premonition when they gave Denikin the Order of the Bath? But surely they did not expect sympathy and assistance from Trotsky for its consummation. For once Trotsky agrees with them, and openly states he will not deny Denikin his bath. There is probably, however, a slight difference of opinion regarding the venue. Our rulers put themselves to great trouble, and at great expense gave Denikin some tanks, which he could take to Moscow. But Trotsky assured them that that course was quite unnecessary, although politely offering thanks for the tanks which might prove useful. But such a disagreement should not disturb us as we feel that on such a small matter regarding the manner of Denikin's bath, Trotsky will gain his point. He has such a way with him. Still, when possible, we always think it best to accentuate points of agreement. And we are all agreed that Denikin should have a bath. But Trotsky is much an insistent chap. He says, "The Red Army has now started an advance on the southern front, and we can have no other task except the complete destruction of Denikin. We must finally defeat him, destroy him, and drown him in the Black Sea." We are sure that even Yudenich and Kolchak would agree that Trotsky's arguments do not lack force.

—*The Call*, London, Dec. 4, 1919.

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THE American capitalist press speaks in a confusion of many voices regarding the present and future position of Japan in Siberia. The *New York Tribune* assumes that the United States is about to "leave Japan with a free hand to take over Eastern Siberia." Allied diplomacy having failed in Siberia, Japan, which alone has a "vital political and military interest" in that region, is to be allowed to "take up the burden of salvaging Siberia and protecting China from Bolshevik pollution." The *Tribune* has no illusions about the nature of Japan's solicitude for China: "Japanese policy in China rests upon the preservation of the pacifist attitude which has made the Chinese an easy prey to foreign influence." For her exertions in Siberia in defense of Chinese pacifism, it will only be "human nature," the *Tribune* thinks, for Japan to put in a "formidable bill." "Japan can hold Eastern Siberia without effort. . . . And no other Allied government is in a position to object seriously." The *Sun*, also, sees Japan having things its own way in Siberia. Japan has announced that it cannot endure "Bolshevik influence east of Lake Baikal." To which stand the *Sun* sees as yet no manifest opposition. The *Times* agrees that the collapse of Kolchak and the rise of Semionov "means that Siberia has been divided between Bolshevik and Japanese spheres of influence." And yet the *Times* is "reassured" by Premier Hara's statement that Japan has no territorial ambitions in Siberia. This is "an agreeable statement, expressing the policy of a Government in which the entire world has confidence." Nevertheless, the *Times* points out, Japan will stay in eastern Siberia "until

she is ready to get out," except in the "impossible contingency" of defeat by the Soviet Army. The *Journal of Commerce* recognizes that Japan's determination to keep a close grip on Siberia is "the natural outcome of the special interests claimed by Japan in Manchuria and Mongolia." This journal, however, being somewhat closer to the voices of power, does not view the situation with the complacency exhibited by its contemporaries. Indeed, to the *Journal of Commerce* the unwillingness of Japan to agree to "hands off" in Russia, "no less than the steady increase of Japanese military force in Siberia," are indications of a policy which "neither England nor the United States can regard with approval." The *New York Globe* is even more alarmed: "It is altogether likely that Premier Hara's statement will eventually prove false in spirit if not in fact. Japan is intent on the economic exploitation of eastern Siberia as she is exploiting China and Korea. By sheer mental incompetence the directors of the Allies' Russian policy have brought us into a very ugly dilemma."

The conspicuous feature of all this bewildered utterance is the stubborn persistence in an attempt to judge the "Russian situation" without any regard to Russia. There is something more than mere nationalistic and imperialistic egoism in such obstinate blindness. It is the baleful influence of a long process of propaganda and censorship which deliberately excluded all consideration of the Russian people from Russian affairs. Nothing less than a complete perversion of political and social values thus enables American editors to beguile themselves and their readers with discussion of the Siberian situation in terms of "spheres of influence," "Chinese pacifism," "English approval," "Japanese solidification and expansion," and what not, all in total disregard of the simple determining factors of Russian social economy. These factors are the Russian people, the Russian army, Russian geography, Russian railroads, and the Russian climate. For more than two years, the capitalist world, bolstering its hopes by the cant phrases of diplomacy, has waged an ignominiously unsuccessful war against the Russian people and the Russian land. And now, finally, the Western nations are about to withdraw from the hopeless struggle with the expectation and apprehension that Japan will succeed where they have failed. There are indications, however, that Japan has appraised the situation more accurately than her Allies. The Japanese, reading the New York papers, may consider their Siberian campaign considerably more than half won. Having successfully nudged the Allies out of the way, Japan can give dispassionate consideration to those factors which will really determine the ultimate state of Siberia. Japan may not be so confident as the *New York Times* of the outcome of a prolonged contest with the Russian people.

ACCORDING to the *New York Globe*, current report in Scandinavia credits Great Britain with having successfully completed negotiations for

the control of the commerce and finances of Estonia and Latvia. "This reported undertaking," cables Mr. O'Flaherty, "represents a master stroke in Britain's commercial diplomacy, which not only gives her access to one of the richest markets in the world, but places her in an advantageous position to exploit all Russia. . . . Further, it will strengthen Britain's hand when the time comes for making agreements with the Russian government regarding the trade routes toward India. . . . British capitalists lost no time in making use of the splendid work done by their army and navy in helping the Baltic states. They have watched events closely and have grasped the earliest opportunity of seeking trade agreements. It is impossible to overestimate the value of these commercial activities to Britain's government." Meanwhile, remarks the correspondent, "some Americans," watching these events, are wondering where America comes in, with respect to this trade.

Mr. O'Grady, returning from Copenhagen for further conversations with Litvinoff regarding "prisoners," speaks optimistically of the success of his negotiations, and expresses the opinion that "Russia would save herself if left alone."

THE policy of Soviet Russia towards Japan was publicly announced by Foreign Minister Chicherin in his address to the Fifth All-Russian Soviet Congress in July, 1918, and was reiterated by Chicherin in a wireless dispatch to the Tokyo newspaper, *Nichi-Nichi*, last September. The Japanese Government and certain influential elements in Japan are not unaware of what Chicherin said in July, 1918, though the Japanese censorship carefully concealed that statement from the Japanese people. It is timely to reprint a portion of Chicherin's address here:

"There begins in Japan," said Chicherin, "slowly but surely the struggle for the right of self-determination of the people. And this struggle is especially noticeable in the question of interference in Russian affairs. The man who is the representative of the dying but still powerful feudal regime in Japan, Count Motono, former ambassador in Russia, and who was closely connected with the Russian reactionaries in hiding in Japan, was compelled to resign. At present a struggle is going on in Japan between the representatives of the reactionary military party, who endeavor by all means to provoke a conflict with the Russian people, and to utilize our weakness for their own advantage, and the representatives of the more moderate liberal opinion who desire certain advantages in a peaceful manner, without making an enemy of Russia, as they know very well that the encroachment of Japan in Russian affairs would determine our mutual relations and possibly the whole further history of the Far East for the immediate future. We are prepared to assist to a great extent Japanese citizens who wish to develop the natural resources of Siberia in a peaceful way, and to allow them to take part in our industrial and business life. We are willing, in case China

gives her consent, to relinquish some of our rights in the East-Siberian railway and to grant Japan the Southern branch of this railroad, and to extend to Japan other advantages by the importation of Japanese products to Russia. We are willing to renew with Japan the trade treaty and the fishing agreement, which agreement was always a source of prosperity for the people of Japan, because the Russian fish is not only the principal food of the Japanese but also serves as fertilizer for the rice fields. We have communicated this to the Japanese Government, and we have started with this Government unofficial discussions. The people of Japan must know this and must know the value of these concessions, concessions which even as other things which happen in Russia are kept secret from people, as for instance the fact that Russia would extend the hand of friendship to the people of Japan and offers to establish mutual relations with this people upon a healthy and permanent basis. The people must know that if they refuse to grasp the hand of friendship, the responsibility rests upon those classes in Japan who, in the interest of their own greed, have kept these things secret from the people of Japan. If the destiny of history should bring it about that Japan, misguided and blinded, should decide upon the insane step of trying to strangle the Russian Revolution, then the working classes of Russia will arise as one man for the protection of that which is most cherished and valuable to them; namely, the protection of the results of the Social Revolution."

It appears from a proclamation issued by Ukraine, that General Denikin has practiced the most merciless terrorism against all national and democratic movements in Ukraine, and the head of Ukraine's diplomatic representation in Sweden and Norway, Mr. K. Lasky, has stated to *Social-Demokraten* of Stockholm, that this chief of the mercenaries even attempted to suppress Ukrainian national schools and the national language, and also knew no bounds in his arrests of officials and leaders chosen by the people. It is also clear that he is attempting to deprive the Ukrainian peasants of their land and similar peasant uprisings are occurring in the Ukraine to those which occurred last summer in eastern Russia as a result of the great defeats which were inflicted upon General Kolchak in the course of his advance from Siberia against the Bolsheviks.

—From an Editorial in *Social-Demokraten*,
Copenhagen, October 18, 1919.

Georgia Prepared for Denikin

"Izvestia" reports a meeting of the National Assembly of Georgia, at which was discussed the danger threatening the country from Denikin's volunteer army. Gegetchkori, the Prime Minister, announced that Georgia was fully equipped for a war against Denikin, and Voitinsky, in the name of the Mensheviks, proclaimed a war against Denikin to be the duty of all Socialist parties.

—*The Call*, London, Dec. 4, 1919.

Great Britain's Baltic Policy

By O. PREEDIN

TWO SIGNIFICANT ACTS

First Article:

NOVEMBER 11, 1918, will be a memorable date for the new states that were formed out of the Russian border provinces, particularly for Latvia, which received two shocks on that day: firstly, the armistice terms between the Allies and the Central powers, which were signed on that day, provided in their 12th point that the Imperial German troops of occupation *should remain* in this region; and secondly, on the same day the British Foreign Office handed to Meierovic an official document signed "faithfully, Arthur James Balfour," which expressed "the deepest sympathy" with "the aspirations of the Lettish people and its desire for liberation from the German yoke" and expressed a "readiness to grant provisional recognition to the Lettish National Council as a *de facto* body."

The conduct of the representatives of the German Imperial Government in the Baltic region differed in no wise from their conduct, say, in Belgium, except that it was more brutal and atrocious. The rule of the sword was resorted to here not only for the purpose of intimidating the people of the occupied region into submission, but also for the purpose of *clearing* the region and preparing it for the intended German colonization. It is therefore easy to imagine the trepidation that was caused among the natives of this region—both among those who still remained there as well as the hundreds of thousands who escaped beyond the occupation border into Russia—by the armistice terms which *forced* the German occupation troops *to remain* in the occupied regions and which, as if to make matters worse, left these troops under the command of the officers appointed by the late German emperor. The Allies' recognition of the junker bands as missionaries of "order," even if it were but temporary, was a surprising novelty in the history of this region.

No less surprising was the other event which was of historical moment for Latvia—the recognition by the Government of Great Britain of "the Lettish National Council as a *de facto* independent body." The surprising thing about this act was not that it contained an expression of "deepest sympathy for the aspirations of the Lettish people" which was in direct contradiction with the above mentioned provision of the armistice terms, but the fact that the very existence of the "Lettish National Council" was an absolute mystery to the people of Latvia.

To be sure, the mystery was soon cleared up. On November 18, 1918, somewhere in Latvia a meeting was held of some kind of representatives of numerous "parties" and they declared themselves as the "National Council of Latvia," that is, as that same "independent body" which had al-

ready been recognized by the British Government as the *de facto* body on November 11, that is a week before it had come into existence. This "Council" elected as premier the agriculturist K. Ullman, who formed a "Provisional Government" in which the post of "Foreign Minister" was given to that same Mr. Meierovic who had the great honor of having received from the British Government the above mentioned historical document and of whom Arthur James Balfour wrote in this document: "In the meantime His Majesty's Government will be glad to receive you as the informal diplomatic representative of the Lettish Provisional Government."

In a speech delivered October 6 this "Minister of Foreign Affairs" expressed particular gratitude to England for her "granting *de facto* recognition to Latvia at a time when as a matter of fact there was no Lettish state in existence."!!

In spite of the many unclear questions and still unclarified secrets in connection with these events of November 11, one thing is absolutely clear: both of the above mentioned acts constitute the first aggressive step in the Baltic region by the British lion. While he is still hiding in the darkness of diplomatic secrecy, he stretches forth two of his paws—one in the form of the junker troops and the other in the form of the selected "Provisional Government of Latvia."

Heretofore this aggression had only been planned, but now it was *practically* commenced. Others besides Germany and Great Britain had plans for "the solution of the Baltic question." Arnold J. Toynbee did not exaggerate when he wrote in 1915: "In the question of the Baltic the future peace of all the European powers is at stake."⁴

"... Russia will have neither the will nor the power to tarry longer from setting her own house in order; she has sinned against the National Idea in the past no less than her present antagonists..."¹

This was said at the time when the then ally of Great Britain, the late Nicholas II, was still the ruler of Russia and when he could not even imagine that his rule would in the near future be replaced by the rule of Workmen's Soviets; nor could any one then imagine that the prophesied conflict in the Baltic region would begin under the pretext of fighting these Soviets.

Nor did Prof. Lawrence M. Larson have in mind the struggle against Bolshevism when he wrote, about the end of last year, with reference to Latvia

⁴ See "Nationality and the War," by Arnold J. Toynbee, London, 1915, p. 349.

¹ Ibid, p. 304.

and Esthonia: "There is scarcely any other region in Europe that offers more serious problems than this strip of coast on the East side of the Baltic."²

And now A. A. Berle, Jr., a member of the American peace delegation, at a meeting in Carnegie Hall, New York City, reports³ that already about the end of 1917, France, Great Britain and Japan had concluded a secret treaty dividing Russia, according to the terms of which Great Britain was to get *the Baltic provinces* and Caucasia with the Caspian

Sea, France—Ukraine, and Japan "an indeterminate share" or the right to figure out with the United States how much of Siberia she could take."

The very first open steps of Great Britain in the Baltic region, the acts of November 11, 1918, showed clearly that her aim was nothing less than seizure of this region. Secret diplomacy could be used in this case only to conceal the methods of seizure and the bargains with her aids, without whom such a large undertaking could not succeed.

Greeting of Norwegian Youth to Russia, the Crucified Country

SPEECH OF STUDENT SCHANCKE-JONASEN, AT A MEETING IN CALMEYER STREET ORATORY HALL, CHRISTIANIA

We, the youth of today, entered upon the life of youth when cannons thundered in Europe and bloody weapons were deciding the fate of peoples; we entered the work of youth when victorious gentlemen had drawn the new face of peace; we entered a world where the temples of both the spirit and the hand lay in ruins; we found a world thrown to the ground. Well were we neutral, but we would not have been human had we remained unaware of the world war; had we not been chiseled into men by its bloody steel. We stayed at home and observed everything that happened out there; we were silent and listened—but we were always outside. We became therefore the taciturn youth.

From the ugly pictures that sneered at us on every side we learned to see humanity in all its nakedness, and we gained a great deal of human scepticism and suspicion at the same time. But these could never lead so far as to make us pessimists and scorners of everything human. We were an old youth then, but we are not an old youth now. For the secret of youth is that we have faith and hope,—faith that humanity is really greater and better than it appeared to us,—hope that we may be able to create a new world more true and upright than the one in which we were born. For that reason we are not a youth that yearns back to the idyllic and the romantic. For that reason we are not a youth that can worship only happiness and beauty,—a youth that ensnares itself in the Fata Morgana of dreams. We are a youth that shouts for the truth because we have seen a glimpse of it. It has become a ray of light to us, and therefore we are a social youth.

The faith which has risen within us will drive us to a struggle against social injustice, against national power, against mine or yours, to struggle for ours, to struggle for the idea of internationalism. We have therefore become an international youth which places universal humanity above national humanity.

We felt, very often, during the long years of the war, that we were only servants, doing the work

of servants for the big men. We were grateful for the crumbs which came to our poor tables and reached us at last. But a fire burned within us nevertheless. We fumbled and looked, we hoped and longed, and we were taciturn again—until today, when the orders came, the orders from the west. Now we have to speak. We can no longer be quiet. Now or never! For what do these feudal gentlemen of the west demand of us? They demand a service which is worse than any ever demanded by a landlord or of a feudal slave. They demand that we shall take a part in the starving of a whole people—that we shall join the ranks of the executioners and destroy a whole nation!

And what have the people of this nation done, then? What terrible crime have they committed that they should be subjected to such inhuman punishment? Their workers and peasants have with incredible, superhuman, energy carried out their ideals,—a deed which will always shine in the history of humanity. They have furthermore pledged themselves to pay for the guilt of the old regime. They ask for peace, peace so that the workers may go on with the realization of their ideals. And what is the answer to their cry for peace? Cannons, bayonets, war. And when this all proves unavailing they seize that most bloody and inhuman weapon, the hunger war. And we shall take part in this? We shall be forced to take this atrocious weapon into our hands and wage war against the Russian people with whom we are living in peace? We must cease to be free men and women, we must lose the last degree of human worth, we must morally go aground if we share in this atrocity.

We will not be criminals!

And therefore we protest and shout as far as our voices will reach, a vehement NO,—a No that breathes our humanity against their inhumanity.

We have no means of knowing what our own government will answer. But we demand that it shall not give a so-called neutral reply, a reply which says neither yes or no, an Ihlenian* reply. What we demand is a reply with horns and teeth, an open and frank and honest NO.

*A manifestly disapproving reference to a Norwegian statesman named Ihlen.

²See "Territorial Problems of the Baltic Basin," by Lawrence M. Larsen, prof. of History, University of Illinois Bulletin, vol. XXI, No. 18, December 30, 1918, p. ii.
³See New York Tribune, Dec. 16, 1919.

The bureaucratic secret-chamber policy which has been carried on in our country might just as well end now. And we demand this time a reply that speaks out in the full light of day.

And out of this ringing *no* a living *yes* will rise to the suffering Soviet Russia. We are not her enemies. We are her friends, her brothers. And we cannot longer witness how she is tormented, tortured, and how she suffers. Our passivity will be turned to action. Our silence will turn to words. We cannot longer witness how she is tormented, torturer-hunger ravaging people to death without offering them all possible help. We demand that food and other necessities be sent to Soviet Russia, and as soon as possible. We will not participate in a crime that kills the old and destroys the new generation in Russia. We could not look the new Russia in the face without feeling the Cain agony burning within us. Think of the new generation in Germany. Its silence has turned into dreadful speech. We therefore demand that Norway reopen the broken trade relations with Soviet Russia.

When the apostle of the west came sailing across the Atlantic ocean with his great brief of reconciliation and liberty to humanity,—that brief which is now enshrined at Versailles and treated as a historic curiosity,—one of his points especially came radiantly to meet the small and suppressed nations and gave them such great hope and such rich promises. Self-determination! That a people who culturally and historically belong together may live their own free life, may work and rest in peace in their own land, and fight their way forward to that form of life which is best for themselves,—it would be the first and greatest commandment in the Bible of the Rights of the Peoples of the World. And what has Russia done for the small, suffering, and suppressed nations? She has given them their liberty, every one,—Finland, Livonia, Esthonia, Courland, Ukraine.

The great gentlemen at Paris gave words and promises, but Russia has redeemed them and made them reality.

And just because we ourselves have felt the pain and suffering of being a small and helpless people; because we ourselves have wandered on the long desert trail which finally brought us to 1905†—for these reasons we greet Soviet Russia as the liberator of small nations. We therefore demand that the Norwegian Government reopen diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia.

Youth can never be neutral. That would be against its innermost nature. And therefore we cannot and will not take any part in the greatest crime which has ever been committed against any people in the history of the world. It is our youthful love of justice and feeling for justice that is insulted and offended, that revolts and demands justice for the Russian people.

Russia,—the country with the living suffering soul, the country with the big beating heart, with

the fervent, ever-burning faith,—the land of promise. Her whole history is an epoch of the Golgotha of a people. Her whole poetry is a drama of a people who have emptied the bitter cup of suffering.

Truly Russia has become the crucified Christ among nations.

But because we know that greatness and truth come first out of suffering and pain we see with joy the first rays of the sun of liberty in the east, rising over the suffering country in the east.

We are assembled here tonight to form a living rebellion against injustice. We hope that the youth of Sweden and Denmark will follow our example. Then shall our voices swell the chorus rising over the whole world.

Then the cries of agony will cease. And an ocean of beating hearts and welcoming voices will rush to meet you, suffering Russia. We are a world of friends.

Official Denial of the Finnish White Guards' Lies

*Who Have Been Trying to Stop the Peace Between
Esthonia and Russia*

Telegram from Moscow.

Sometime ago a Helsingfors telegram was published in all the papers of Stockholm, in which was reported a speech by Trotsky, given at a special meeting of the Soviet of Petrograd and which concerned the peace offer made by Soviet Russia to Esthonia. This speech, however, had been distorted by the paper of the White Guard at Helsingfors, *Hufvudstadsbladet*.

The Peoples' Commissar of Foreign Affairs at Moscow has made public the following denial: "The Helsingfors paper, *Hufvudstadsbladet*, publishes the lying assertion that Comrade Trotsky declared at a special meeting of the Soviet of St. Petersburg that we offer Esthonia peace and meantime grind our teeth with rage at that country, and that we would, at the first opportunity, direct our guns against her. The press department of the Peoples' Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has dispatched a radio containing the most categorical denial of this malicious slander and of this assertion, which is false from beginning to end, and protests vigorously against the unlawful actions of the press organs which are endeavoring to prevent the bringing about of peaceful relations between Russia and Esthonia by their conscious lies and absolutely unfounded assertions. The Peoples' Commissar for Foreign Affairs, authorized by Comrade Trotsky, declared that he has not expressed the above mentioned phrase, either in the Soviet of St. Petersburg, or any other occasion or at any other place."—Translated from *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, Stockholm, Oct. 25, 1919.

†The year in which the personal union between Norway and Sweden was dissolved.

Right Social Revolutionaries Also Favoring Bolsheviks

"Our previous tactics were false. . . ."

THE Vienna *Red Flag* has received, via Stockholm, the following proclamation of the comrades of the Social Revolutionary Party in Ufa:

To all Members of the Social Revolutionary Party!

Our organization had been charged with the task of gathering its forces under the slogan "Down with the Soviet Government"; now the historic march of events has placed the organization in Ufa before the hard and responsible task of defending and working for the realization of a current that is now making itself felt in the lower strata of the party. It has become evident to all that the action attempted in Samara, in Ufa, and in Siberia, can lead only to a collapse and to the counter-revolution, for the reason that the leading elements of the party, its Central Committee, have detached themselves not only from the masses in general but also from the party in particular, are deluding themselves, and seeing only what they want to see. The reality has exceeded the worst fears. The Central Committee in Samara and Ufa remained inactive, although it had the power to influence its members. By supporting the stupidities which the Cadets and other counter-revolutionary parties were eagerly propagating—"the Army stands outside of politics"—the Central Committee and the responsible party elements delivered the army into the hands of the black counter-revolutionists, for by subscribing to this principle they gave the officers an opportunity to organize under a very definite and well-understood principle, although there had been a possibility of entrusting the formation of the army to an experienced and efficient party comrade, an officer of the general staff who was in Samara. It was necessary to reckon with the possibility that with the management of Col. Gall, provocateurs and traitors would be at work.

But members of the party who are familiar with the Samara affair see clearly that the collapse is the result of the complete detachment from the masses, of the lack of understanding for their aspirations. The opinion of the party members who are not leaders and who are in a position to judge much more effectively the status and the sentiments of the workers, has been utterly disregarded.

In these days of trials and tribulations which the country is experiencing we must not shut our eyes to events, nor continue to repeat the old slogans and uphold the old banner. We must have the courage to look the truth in the face. All illusion and self-deception must be put aside. We must do what there is to be done, whatever will save the party and raise it to its former moral standard. We must not forget that if we want to build up we must begin with the founda-

tion; this foundation our organization now desires to lay, and to this task we urge all our honest and courageous party comrades. Our position is entirely clear, there is in it no ambiguity, we are not afraid to say what we think. We know that we are on the path of the Social Revolution and we confess openly that our tactics have been false. We say that the dictatorship of the Soviet in a critical period of the class struggle is historically right, inevitable, and well founded. Experience has taught us that the bourgeoisie is the bearer of lies, of deception, of treachery, and of villainy. And we see only one way open to us—the way of close co-operation of all revolutionary parties and of the most ruthless fight against the bourgeoisie. Herewith we enter upon the path that leads to the ending of civil war within the proletariat. We extend our hand to all revolutionary parties and will honestly traverse with them the path that leads either to triumph or to general destruction. We realize that we are entering upon this path at a time when the Soviet Government finds itself in a difficult situation. Famine, the result of the complete collapse of the means of transportation, which again is the result of the four years of war and of the present civil war, is driving those of the masses who are not accustomed to sacrificing their selfish interests, to all sorts of adventures, particularly when, through the fault of the Central Committee they are led to believe that they may cover themselves with the flag of the Constituent Assembly. This flag is still upheld by the Central Committee, although it is forced to acknowledge the impossibility of the Constituent Assembly.

But to us it is clear that the collapse of the Soviet Government would mean the downfall of all the Socialist parties, for the historical march of events has obviated the possibility of adopting a middle course, and the collapse of the Soviet Government would inevitably be the bourgeois-reactionary dictatorship. Further experiments in this direction would be a crime against the proletariat and against the whole people, a crime that could not be justified by any resolution, by any philosophical arguments and sophisms. We are entering upon the path of reality after having tested all possibilities, and we say that we do not seek any improvement in our condition with the aid of the large landowners, the bourgeoisie, and the reactionary officers, and with the aid of the Entente imperialists—that we should consider this a disgrace.

Fully aware of the responsibility we have taken upon ourselves, we enter upon the new path, and nothing can make us diverge from it. We shall not merely sneak and pass resolutions, but we shall act as well. We are working with the Soviet organs, fully aware of their importance and of

our responsibility toward the workers in doing so. And we appeal to all our comrades to act similarly. A common socialistic front, the unification of all those who are participating in the upbuilding of the lives of the working people, the defence of the workers' and peasants' republic against all attacks from within and without, the endeavor to set ablaze everywhere the fires of the social revolution—these are the slogans that shall direct us in the future. It does not matter to us that we have been regarded with distrust—we shall take our stand now, and we shall remain true to it. We say openly and honestly that we shall have the proper understanding of the tasks of these mo-

ments, and with pride we observe that the flame we have started is encircling over wider groups.

A hard path lies before us. The hard struggle that confronts us will require all our patience. But we shall remain loyal to the mottos we shall inscribe upon our banner; we shall courageously pursue our way, upon which we want to be joined by all those who understand the need of this moment as we do, and to whom the fate of the people and of their ideals are as dear as they are to us.

Long live the union of the workers of the whole world!

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY PARTY
ORGANIZATION IN UFA.

Peace Terms Brought by Colonel Malone

THE following terms of peace were drawn up in October, 1919, by the Russian Soviet Government, and brought to England by Lt. Col. Lestrangle Malone, M.P. for presentation to the English Parliament:

It is proposed to the Allied Governments to cease all hostilities on all fronts of the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Lithuania, Lettland and Finland; such an agreement to be made sufficiently long in advance of the day of the actual cessation of hostilities so that all groups could be notified and no new hostilities should take place after the stipulated day; such an armistice to take place pending a peace conference to be held in some neutral country and with the understanding that wireless or direct telegraphic communication will be provided for the use of the Soviet Government.

The armistice is to last two weeks and may be extended by mutual agreement, and no group may take advantage of the armistice to transport troops and war material on the territory of the former Russian Empire. The conference should discuss peace on the basis of the following principles, which are not subject to revision by the conference:

1. All existing *de facto* governments which have been established on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Lithuania, Lettland and Finland, may remain in possession of such territory as is in their hands at the time of the making of the armistice, provided that the conference may grant changes of territory, in which case the people inhabiting such territory shall themselves determine their final disposition.

The Russian Soviet Government and all other governments established on the territory of the former Russian Empire, as well as governments of the Allied Powers who are hostile to the Soviet Government, shall bind themselves not to attempt violently to overthrow any government established on the territory of the former Russian Empire, and all other governments shall confirm this agreement.

2. The economic blockade shall be abolished and commercial relations reestablished between

Soviet Russia and the Allied countries, on condition that merchandise brought from Allied countries shall be distributed on an equal basis for the benefit of all classes in Russia.

3. The Russian Soviet Government shall be entitled to unhindered transit on all railroads, and to the use of all ports, on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Lithuania, Lettland and Finland, which are necessary for the transportation of passengers and merchandise between Soviet Russia and the open sea; details of this provision shall be stipulated at the conference.

4. Citizens of the Soviet Republic of Russia shall have a right freely to enter Allied countries as well as the States established on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Lithuania, Lettland and Finland, and to enjoy there the rights of living and protection, provided they do not interfere with the policies of these countries.

Citizens of Allied, as well as of other countries above mentioned, shall have a right freely to enter the Soviet Republic of Russia and to enjoy there the right of living and protection, providing that they do not interfere with the internal policies of the Soviet Republic. The Allied Governments as well as the governments established on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Lithuania, Lettland and Finland, shall have a right to send to the various Soviet Republics official representatives who shall enjoy full freedom and immunity.

The Russian Soviet Republic shall have a right to send official representatives enjoying full freedom and immunity to the Allied countries and to countries that have been formed on the territory of the former Russian Empire.

5. The Soviet Government, and other governments established on the territory of Russia shall grant a general amnesty to all Russian political opponents, political violators, and political prisoners and to all who have in any manner aided Soviet Russia.

This amnesty shall be extended to all Russians who have aided or fought in armies engaged

against the Soviet Government as well as those who have been engaged in hostilities against other governments established on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Lithuania, Lettland and Finland.

All prisoners of war in Russia who are not citizens of Russian states, as well as all other citizens of foreign countries in Russia, shall be granted an opportunity to return to their homeland. All Russian prisoners of war, in whatever country they may be situated, as well as all other Russian citizens abroad, including soldiers and officers and those who have served in foreign armies, shall be given an opportunity to return to their homeland.

6. Immediately upon the signing of this agreement all military forces of the Allied and other non-Russian governments shall be withdrawn from Russia and such governments shall cease to render military aid to governments established on the territory of the former Russian Empire.

The Soviet Government and the anti-Soviet Governments which have been established on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Lithuania Lettland and Finland, shall simultaneously and in the same proportion decrease their armies to a peace footing immediately upon the signing of the peace agreement.

The conference shall determine the most feasible and efficient method to control this simultaneous demobilization and the cessation of the aid to anti-Soviet Governments.

7. It is proposed to the Allied Governments who have acquainted themselves with the statement regarding Russia's foreign debt made by the Russian Soviet Government on the 4th of February, 1919, that it should be a part of this agreement

that the Russian Soviet Government and other governments established on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Lithuania, Lettland and Finland, should collectively undertake the responsibility for the obligations of the former Russian Empire to such foreign powers who are included in this agreement and to private citizens in such States. The Conference shall determine the details of the payment of these debts with due consideration of the present financial position of Russia.

The statement of the Russian Soviet Government on February 4, 1919, (in the reply to the Principos invitation) regarding the payment of foreign loans, was as follows:

"In view of the particular importance which is attached not only by the press, but also by the numerous declarations of the representatives of the Entente governments, to the question of Russian loans, the Soviet government first of all declares its readiness to make concessions in this matter to the demands of the Entente powers. It does not refuse to recognize its financial obligations to its creditors who are subjects of the Entente powers, leaving the precise formulation of the manner in which this point is to be enforced to the special treaties the elaboration of which is to be one of the tasks of the proposed negotiations.

Secondly, in view of the difficult financial position of the Russian Soviet Republic and the unsatisfactory condition of its credit abroad, the Russian Soviet government offers to guarantee the payment of interest on its loans by a certain amount of raw materials, which should be determined through a special agreement."

Note of Protest By Chitcherin in Aland Question

The Entente Governments have no Right Arbitrarily to Decide this Matter.

(Private to Politiken.)

Moscow, Wednesday.

THE People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, despatched the following radio telegram on October 2nd: "To the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Paris. To the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, London. To the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Rome. To the Secretary of State, Washington. To the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Tokio. To the Foreign Department, Stockholm. Copy to the Foreign Department, Helsingfors.

"The radio telegrams from the big stations in the Entente countries report that the representatives for the five important Allied powers in Paris have decided to act on the question of the awarding of Aland to Finland or to Sweden.

"Considering that no treaty between Russia and Finland has decided in detail the boundaries of the latter country, and on account of this no recognition of the power of Finland over the Aland Islands can take place without hearing from Russia, still less the presentation of the Aland Islands

to Sweden; and considering further that the geographical position of the Aland Islands at the inlet of the Finnish gulf closely connects the fate of these islands with the needs and interests of the people who are living in Russia, the Russian government which, as always remains faithful to its declared and unchanged principle of the self determination of the right of the working masses of every people and will not force its power upon any country, claims that the governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the United States of North America which thus arbitrarily decide the fate of the Aland Islands are usurping a power which does not belong to them and will dispose of this territory without the will and knowledge of the people whom this question concerns, and against the will of the working masses.

"The Russian Soviet Government declares that it does not acknowledge any agreements in regard to the Aland Islands which have been made without its participation, and categorically protests

against the action committed by the above named governments, and declares that it will consider all such decisions as absolutely void, and as made in the same way used by the absolutist governments

more than one hundred years ago, that is by unjust usurpation of the highest power over other people. "The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs."
CHICHERIN."

Czernin on Soviet Russian Negotiations

The Sunday edition of the *Vossische Zeitung* (Berlin) is printing as a serial story an account by Count Czernin of his reminiscences of the negotiations that were held at Brest-Litovsk, about two years ago. After remarking that the period from December 28, 1917 to January 4, 1918, represents a recess in the negotiations, Count Czernin passes on to us the impressions of his first meeting with Kühlmann after the close of the recess. His story runs as follows:

"I went to Kühlmann, breakfasted with him, and talked over the events in Berlin. There seems to have been an awful shakedown." (This is a reference to the great strikes that were taking place in Berlin in January, 1918 as a result of the commotion aroused in Germany by the Brest-Litovsk negotiations.)

"Kühlmann had proposed to Ludendorff that the latter accompany him to Brest and take part in the negotiations. After a consultation of several hours, however, it transpired that Ludendorff himself did not know what he wanted, and suddenly declared

that he considered it unnecessary for him to go to Brest; at most he might spoil things there. God grant that this man may have more such lucid moments! It seems that his whole grudge is rather due to jealousy of Kühlmann than to objective motives, for the world must not obtain the impression, that it was diplomatic skill, and not exclusively military successes, that brought about the peace."

Czernin then gives his impressions of the Ukrainian delegates. "But the transfer of the Conference to Stockholm, which was proposed by the Russians, would have meant our end. For it would have been impossible to keep away the Bolsheviks of all countries from that city, and the thing that we have been attempting to prevent with all our power, namely, the taking of the reins by this class, would inevitably have come to pass." Czernin delivers the following judgment on Trotsky: "Trotsky is doubtless an interesting, intelligent man, and a very dangerous opponent. He has a striking oratorical gift and a swiftness and aptness in reply, such as I have rarely seen; and in addition, he has all the impudence of his race."

MANIFESTO OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE UKRAINIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Translation of the Manifesto on the Opposite Page

TO the Workers and the Peasant Poor.

The all-Ukrainian Congress of the Bolsheviks, convened at Kiev on January 5-8, resolved as follows:

To regard the party's central committee of the old convocation as dissolved and to elect in its stead a new personnel of the central committee, entrusting to the same all party matters and the safeguarding of the interests of the workers and the peasant poor. While realizing the tasks of the congress, the central committee of the Communist party of the Ukrainian bolsheviks proclaims the revolution in the Ukraine to be in danger. In order to counteract the criminal plots of the capitalists and the bourgeoisie, the central committee deems it necessary to create a united socialist front. Condemning the separatist actions of Piatakov, the Central committee demands the ceasing of anarchistic acts against the peaceable and inoffensive citizens of the Ukrainian Republic. The German bayonets, the Hetman adventures, have left a painful impression on the lives of the workers and peasants. The Allied imperialists are preparing to make use of anarchy, and, instead of German bayonets, are sending Turkish janizaries, the Senegalese and the savage Roumanians. The Central committee, in the name of the all-Ukrainian congress of the bolsheviks, demands for the sake of tranquility for the proletariat, the stopping of military operations in the territory of the Ukrainian Republic and brands as rascals and traitors all those

who will not obey the authoritative appeal of their supreme organ—the Central committee demands action in regard to the anarchist bands which have gathered at the boundaries. The Ukrainian bolsheviks have their new centre in Kiev and this centre knows better than the plotters the situation of the Ukrainian worker who needs quiet, revolutionary order, and a further socialist struggle based upon democratic principles. Long live the proletariat! Long live the Third International! Down with anarchy and reaction!

We, Ukrainian Bolsheviks, wish to live in peace and harmony with those Ukrainian socialists who sincerely wish to aid the workers and the peasants. The Soviet government of Russia has already concluded a peace with the Mensheviks-Internationalists and the toiling intelligentsia;—the Central committee of the Ukrainian bolsheviks sees in this the salvation of the Ukrainian bolsheviks, as well as of the Ukrainian democracy, against the approaching danger of foreign intervention. Only after we have strangled the anarchy and the counter-revolution shall we save, with united forces, the revolution in Ukraine. The Central committee has faith in the bright mind of all members of the Communist party and, with the help of the members, it will undertake a struggle both with the anarchists and the counter-revolutionists.

Chairman of the Central committee L. STOLITSKY
Secretary G. CHUDNOVSKY

МАНИФЕСТЪ

ЦЕНТРАЛЬНАГО КОМИТЕТА ПАРТІИ УКРАИНСКИХЪ КОММУНИСТОВЪ (БОЛЬШЕВИКОВЪ).

Рабочимъ и крестьянской бѣднотѣ.

Всеукраинскій съѣздъ большевиковъ на засѣданіи своемъ 5—8 января 1919 г. въ г. Кіевѣ постановилъ, считать центральный комитетъ партіи стараго состава распущеннымъ и вмѣсто него избрать новый составъ центр. ком., поручивъ ему всѣ дѣла партіи и охрану интересовъ рабочихъ и крестьянской бѣдноты. Осуществляя задачи съѣзда, центральный комитетъ коммунистической партіи украинскихъ большевиковъ признаетъ революцію на Украинѣ въ опасности. Для противодѣйствія преступнымъ замысламъ капиталистовъ и буржуазіи, ц. в. находитъ необходимымъ создать единый социалистическій фронтъ. Порицая сепаратныя дѣйствія Пятакова, центральный комитетъ требуетъ прекращенія анархическихъ выступленій противъ спокойно проживающихъ мирныхъ гражданъ Украинской Республики. Нѣмецкіе штыки, гетманская эпопея оставили тяжелый отпечатокъ на жизни рабочихъ и крестьянъ. Союзные империалисты готовятся воспользоваться анархіей и, вмѣсто нѣмецкихъ штыковъ, прислать намъ турецкихъ янычаръ, сенегальцевъ и дикихъ румынъ. Центральный комитетъ именемъ всеукраинскаго съѣзда большевиковъ, во имя спокойствія пролетаріата, требуетъ прекращенія военныхъ дѣйствій на территоріи Украинской Республики и назоветъ всѣхъ тѣхъ негодяями, измѣнниками, кто не пойдеть за авторитетнымъ призывомъ своего верховнаго органа—центрального комитета украинскихъ большевиковъ. Обращаясь къ Совѣтской Россіи, центральный комитетъ требуетъ воздѣйствія на анархическія банды, скопившіяся у ея границъ. Украинскіе большевики имѣютъ свой новый центръ въ Кіевѣ, и этотъ центръ знаетъ, больше другихъ провокаторовъ, положеніе украинскаго рабочаго, которому нужно спокойствіе, революціонный порядокъ и дальнѣйшая социалистическая борьба, основанная на демократическихъ принципахъ. Да здравствуетъ пролетаріатъ, да здравствуетъ III интернаціоналъ! Долой анархію, реакцію! Мы, украинскіе большевики, хотимъ жить въ мирѣ и согласіи съ тѣми украинскими социалистами, кто изъ нихъ искренне хочетъ помочь рабочимъ и крестьянамъ. Совѣтское правительство Россіи уже заключило союзъ съ меньшевиками-интернаціоналистами. и трудовой интеллигенціей—центральный комитетъ украинскихъ большевиковъ видитъ въ этомъ также спасеніе и украинскіхъ большевиковъ и всей демократіи Украины отъ надвигающейся опасности иностраннаго вмѣшательства. Объединенными силами мы спасемъ революцію на Украинѣ только тогда, когда задушимъ анархію и контръ революцію. Центральный комитетъ вѣритъ въ свѣтлый разумъ всѣхъ членовъ коммунистской партіи и съ помощью своихъ товарищей предприметь одинаковую борьбу, какъ съ анархистами, такъ и съ контръ-революціонерами.

Предсѣдатель ц. к. *Л. Столицкій.*

Секретарь *Г. Чудновскій.*

The Tragedy of Vladivostok and What It Means

An explanation of the mysterious revolution in Vladivostok last September, announced a Soviet wireless dispatch, and its suppression through the collaboration of the Kolchak and Allied troops is contained in an article in a recent number of l'Humanité (Paris). We quote the following:

EVENTS of an exceptional gravity have recently taken place in Vladivostok.

A Reuter dispatch from Peking, published by the *Times*, announces that the Allies have suppressed at Vladivostok and at Irkutsk a revolutionary movement headed by General Gaida, ex-commander-in-chief of the Czecho-Slovak troops. This movement, says the dispatch, had for its aim the overthrow of the military dictatorship and the convocation of a Constitutional Assembly. It was directed by the Social Revolutionaries and by the Populists.

According to all the information that we have at our command, we are certain—and the English Minister of Foreign Affairs confirms this—that it was simply a movement thoroughly anti-bolshevist and merely democratic.

This movement was also thoroughly anti-Kolchakist, for the regime of oppression under which Kolchak has put Siberia for more than a year has become odious to the whole country.

For several weeks the revolt was secretly being prepared at Vladivostok. General Rozanov, the representative of Kolchak, sent troops to suppress it, but they only increased the disorder in the city. A number of Russian soldiers and *foreign troops* were assassinated. The Allied command then determined, on September 7, to demand by an ultimatum the immediate withdrawal of the Kolchakist troops. On the 29th of September our famous ally, Kolchak, gave an order to Rozanov "to remain in Vladivostok and not to retreat under any circumstances." A second ultimatum, addressed this time to Kolchak himself, demanded that the troops of Rozanov should not appear in the city, especially at night.

According to our reports, neither Kolchak nor Rozanov paid any attention to these orders on the part of the Allies. The people, maddened by the brutal acts of Rozanov, answered with a revolutionary movement.

And it was this nationalist revolutionary movement, directed by Gaida and by the Social-Revolutionary *friends of the Entente*, supported by the regional Duma of Siberia and all the democratic elements of the country—it was this movement, which sought the convocation of the Constitutional Assembly, that the Allied representatives have just suppressed!

Our friends of *Pour La Russie* (On Behalf of Russia), Minor, Stalinski, Lebedev, et al., are uttering cries of alarm—with reason. They were already betrayed by the Entente when they fought on the Volga. They were betrayed at Omsk, a year ago, when Kolchak executed his coup d'état. All their efforts have been continually paralyzed by

us. The Entente is responsible for the fall of Kerensky, for the coup d'état of Omsk and for the new coup d'état at Vladivostok. She stabs in the back the Ententophile Russian democracy in order to sustain the Kolchakian and Denikinian reaction, which is flirting with Germany while demanding our billions.

Badly advised by the Sazonovs and by the Maklakovs, the Entente is accumulating blunders upon blunders. It is she that is keeping up the civil war in Russia. It is she that is preventing, by her reactionary policy, the restoration of peace in that immense continent.

Humanite adds the following:

We may add, by way of comment, that these events have torn the last shred of respectability from the aims of the Allies in Russia. The intervention of the Allied powers was nominally to bring about a Constitutional Assembly. In Siberia they suppress all movements which have for their aim the calling of a constituent body. In Russia proper the Soviets, in order to challenge the hypocrisy of the Entente, have offered to summon a Constitutional Assembly, if by this means the Entente could be dissuaded from continuing her war upon this inoffensive people. Any Constitutional Assembly elected in Russia would vote to retain the Soviet system of government. But is it Constitutional Assembly that the Allies want so much in Russia? Or is it rather the conqueror's booty—financial concessions, indemnities, etc.? Litvinoff, the Soviet plenipotentiary, at the beginning of his negotiations with the English M. P., O'Grady, declared that the Soviets are willing to grant the financial concessions that the Allies seek—are willing to pay the price of ransom to bring peace to the Revolution.

Lenin Head of the Committee to Combat Antisemitism

The New York *Jewish Daily Forward* of December 31, 1919, published the following cablegram from its Paris correspondent:

"The Moscow Government organized a special committee to combat anti-Semitism. The committee is headed by Nikolai Lenin, the Bolshevik Premier and includes Maxim Gorky, Lunacharsky, Bukharin, Gorbunov, and Posadov."

The cablegram also reports an interview with General Romanovsky, a Denikin man, who had recently come to France:

"Newspaper reporters interviewed General Romanovsky on the situation of Denikin's army. The General told them that of late Denikin's headquarters had been in Odessa. Asked why Denikin had discharged all Jewish officers from the Volunteer army, the General replied that this was done for their own sake, because the Jewish officers could not have lived in the army. He added that for the same reason the Jews who have still remained in the army will also be discharged."

The Next Number of

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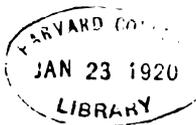
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3. **Another Letter** by Jacques Sadoul. The distinguished Frenchman again sends a letter from Russia, more recent than those printed by us in No. 1 of this year's issues.
4. **Polish Strikes as Demonstrations for Soviet Russia.** The story of an interesting popular procession.
5. **Theatres and Movies in Soviet Russia.** This article recounts, in popular form, the scenario of a feature film shown in Russian picture houses.
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Petrograd Soviet Workers at the Front

A LETTER OF ZINOVIEV TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF RUSSIA
DEPARTING FOR THE FRONT

Soviet Russia is fighting its last heroic struggle against the attacks of reaction. Determined and conscious of the goal, the masses of the workers are ready to defend the achievements of the revolution. As a contribution to our knowledge of the attitude of the Russian Communists, who are leading the masses in battle, we reprint herewith Zinoviev's letter:

DEAR COMRADES! On September 27, the Central Executive Committee of our Party expressed the wish to see a number of active comrades working in Petrograd departing for the front. On October 2nd, in three sections, a detachment left Petrograd, in which there were *twice as many* comrades as the Central Committee had expected in its decision. On October 3, we received from Moscow a telephone communication to the effect that our comrades had already left that city and gone to the Southern front.

In the course of these two years we have often carried out mobilizations in Petrograd, but they have never proceeded so *smoothly and easily*, and with such broad cooperation on the part of the comrades, as on this occasion.

Comrades, you know that among the many party members who have now left for the Southern front, there are members of the Central Executive Committee of the Party, of the Petrograd Executive Committee, the best workers in the trade union movement, chairmen of district Soviets,—in a word, the most precious and active members of our organization.

Your sole care, comrades, was: Will there be no cessation in the work at Petrograd? Will the movement succeed in advancing in this city, where everyone has so many duties, and where so much

depended on the energy of each individual? But a few days have elapsed since your departure, and yet we can already report to you that your fears were not founded, and that extensive work is being continued in the districts. New forces have been found to replace our comrades who have left; the work will not cease for a moment. Everyone of your districts considers it to be his honorable duty to keep the promise given to you before your departure for the front: namely, to maintain labor at the same height at which it has been during your presence in Petrograd.

Petrograd is a remarkable, a marvelous city. You have seen how the workers and workingwomen of Petrograd accompanied you when you left the city for the front. Without preparation, without previous agreement, many thousands appeared at the railroad station. You remember what mood they were in. Firm determination to fight to the bitter end, an unshakable faith in our victories, could be read in the eyes of each person that was there to see you off. The workingmen and workingwomen of Petrograd have suffered during the last few years more than any others, and perhaps that is the reason why they now hold so firmly together. Among the workers of Petrograd there is still the same enthusiastic feeling as in the first days of our war against the White Guards.

Comrades, a serious task faces you. Not only the workers of Petrograd, but also the Central Committee of our Party, as well as the whole Party, have imposed a heavy burden upon you: to support our whole army on the Southern front, to give it all the aid in our power, in order to destroy Denikin, the last serious enemy of the Soviet Government. We need not particularly emphasize the fact that the best workers of Petrograd have never asked for high positions at the front, and have never refused to do the most difficult work. They have always furnished an example of rigid military discipline and indomitable courage. It is self-evident that you will maintain this tradition anew by your work.

I have a favor to ask of you, comrades: Do not lose touch with our Petrograd organization. As far as your time permits, keep us informed as to your work and as to the entire military situation. Do not get out of contact with the organization with which you have been working thus far. Send us reports about your experiences, and tell us in what way we can help you. Send us copies of the reports that you forward to the Central Committee. Give us the opportunity to support you in your demands! Your work will perhaps not allow you much leisure time, but I hope that you are anxious to maintain your relations with us. Till we meet again, dear comrades!

O. ZINOVIEV.

Petrograd, October 4, 1919.

The War in Russia

(Strategical and Political Reflections)

"THE French Revolution," says Clausewitz, "gave to politics and to war a different character, a character the great Frederick had foreseen, just as one cannot tell on the eve of some great event in what way things will turn out.

"The French Revolution, by the strength and the energy of its principles, by the enthusiasm it created in the people, had thrown the whole weight of that people and of all its resources in the scale where it had only placed before a reduced army and the limited means of the State.

"Troubling little about political alliances, in which ministries anxiously discussed war or treaties, a discussion which weakens the State and subordinates the brutal element of the fight to the reservations of diplomacy, the French army was proudly advancing through nations and saw, to the astonishment of itself and of others, how the natural strength of a State and some simple great motive were superior to the artificial combinations existing between the nations."

(From "The Principles of Strategy," by Ferdinand Foch, New York, 1919.)

The Russian Revolution also gave to politics, and to war also, a different character, which neither Clemenceau nor Lloyd George and other politicians nor General Foch himself had foreseen.

The powerful people's army of Soviet Russia, the new development of the principles of its strategy and tactics, caught the world coalition unprepared, unmobilized, politically as well as militarily, and they were overwhelmed because the whole Russian nation took up arms in the defense of its most cherished interests: Independence and Liberty, as the French had in the past, and so long as this is the case, the enemies of Russia can never expect that their aggressive governments will be backed by all the peoples concerned.

In the same book, "The Principles of War," General Foch categorically advises that: "War must not, however be waged arbitrarily or blindly" (p.

20), as said Marshal Moltke, whom General Foch admires in these words: "The man who did well whatever he did, an appreciation barely sufficient for a man who elevated to the point of genius his method of serving his country." What then would General Foch have said about Trotzky? That the Allies did not act in Russia according to the advice of the commander of their armies is a fact beyond discussion; they just waged the war in Russia arbitrarily and blindly. This war, according to B. Roustam Bek, in *The Nation* of December 20, 1919, was "The Blind War." "There was no harmony in the action of all the tactical units, or co-operation or coordination of diplomacy. There was anything but unanimity in the reactionary coalition which undertook armed intervention in Russia. There was no attempt at a serious investigation of the political situation in Russia. The interested governments tried to guess at it, looking through the spectacles of their old-fashioned officials, and consequently they underestimated the revolutionary spirit of the Russian nation. Trotzky was scorned and mocked alike by Russian military refugees and by the British War Office. Even France, a country with revolutionary traditions, refused to believe that Trotzky would ever be able to build up a force strong enough to resist the invasion of Russia by a well-organized counter-revolutionary army supported by all the Great Powers."

. B. Roustam Bek further continues: "A movement of purely strategical character, the war against Russia was begun without a serious reconnaissance, except for information collected from ignorant British agents and business men returned from Russia, as well as from Russian refugees, mostly members of the old regime, who anticipated personal advantage from armed intervention. There was no seriously prepared military plan for his gigantic campaign. The officers and men of the expeditionary forces were not even told whom they were going to fight . . . Conse-

quently, there was neither strategical intelligence in the Russian adventure, nor political determination. The British General Staff was not acquainted either with the topography of Russia, or with the ethnographical and historical characteristics of the country. Russia was less known to the English officers geographically than Sahara. . . . "Waging this blind war against Soviet Russia," says Bek, "the short sighted Allied politicians for more than a year failed to realize that the Reds had under arms not fewer than two million well-equipped and splendidly drilled men, that there were about one million additional men in training; that within two years the Soviet officers' training corps had supplied the army with 40,000 young officers from the working and peasant class. They also overlooked the fact that Russian industry, though insufficient for a population of 180,000,000, could easily supply all the needs of an army of eight millions, without any outside help, and that the inexhaustible resources of raw materials were sufficient for all needs. They exaggerated the significance of the proposed blockade of Russia, forgetting that the army of an agricultural country cannot be starved by blockade, and that the blockade therefore only brings useless suffering upon the peaceful citizens of the industrial centers. They refused to see that armed intervention and blockade together could do nothing but increase the national spirit of the population, and thus strengthen the party which controlled the government. The political situation was mixed in the minds of the Allies in a jumble of uncomprehended terms. Allied statesmen would not understand that the Bolsheviks were a political party and that they alone were able to save Russia from Anarchy and to unite the Soviets in one federal republic."

Despising Trotzky's strategical ability, the Allied military advisers, limited to their experiences of trench warfare, did not realize that the war in the vast area of the Russian plains and Siberia would be waged by means of a very complicated tactics which certainly would require a suitable staff of experienced strategists and tacticians and it could not be Trotzky alone who was responsible for the realization of his titanic task. Neglecting the opinion of General Foch, the Allied statesmen also ignored the advices of the famous Marshal Von der Goltz, also highly respected by the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied armies.

"Thanks to the technical development of the military art" says Von der Goltz, "today the General-in-Chief can no longer direct everything. Even a genius requires a staff of helpers, filled with initiative, and well trained. How much more does a general of no more than ordinary ability need to be assisted. The command of an army is too complex for a single man. At the same time, certain technical questions require special knowledge," "And so," said General Foch (*The Principles of War*, p. 22) "lacking a sufficient genius, where can we find the means of efficiently carrying through the undertaking of a war with such masses of men, unless it be in a body of officers rendered efficient

by method, by work, by science, guided by a similar spirit, obeying the same mental discipline, and numerous enough to handle and guide the heavy machinery of modern armies?."

Well, there, in Russia, such a genius was found, and he was able to collect just such staff of helpers as the French General is suggesting.

According to the special cable from London of December 30, 1919, to the *Public Ledger*, "the Red army now winning in Russia is commanded by experienced generals": General Tcheremisoff, professor of the Staff College, and former commander of the late Twelfth army; General Klembovsky, also a former professor of the same College, and, during the Great War, the Chief of Staff of the South West front; General Zinkovitch, former Chief of Staff of the late sixth army; General Selivatchev, former commander of the Fourth Division from Finland; General Badouss, former commander of the sixth Division; General Sytine, former Adjutant-General on the Rumanian front; General Egorieff, former army corps commander; the famous Engineer, General K. Velichko, whose name remains foremost amongst the world military engineering authorities. Even such a monarchist as the great artillery expert, General Beliaeff, is with the Soviets. There are also many other names of importance, as for instance, Professor General Nessamoff, of the Staff College, General Nadejny, Svechine, Bonch-Bronovitch, Sniessarieff, Vakharlovsky, former professor of the late Michael Artillery Academy, Lovsky, and Potapoff. General Pnevsky, the former chief of the aerial forces more than a year ago joined the Soviet Aviation. As reported, the mortal blow dealt to Kolchak in Siberia was delivered under the command of the famous General Evert, former Cossack Ataman, whose glorious services during the war were so valued by the Allies, and General Gouki, also of the late Russian army, who took Kieff from Denikin by means of a skillful manoeuvre which has been described in our former articles.

All these Generals are in the field with the operating armies, but there, in the Central General Staff, in Moscow, there are working a number of first class strategical brains, like Generals Brussiloff, Parensoff, Plustchik-Plustchevsky, whose names we have already mentioned on several occasions, and many others whose names are still unknown to us.

And under such guidance, the new generation of officers of the Soviet army is in training on the battle field—a fine training! A real war college for Russia!

And these soldiers, whose strong patriotism and love for their native country brought them even to the point of compromising with their political views, were called by Harold Williams "the renegades."

The message of this British agent, which appeared in the *New York Times* of January 5, 1920, i. e., after the debacle of Denikin, is very significant, and we cannot pass it over in silence.

"*Rostov on Don*, Dec. 22.—Denikin is not beaten. This is the crucial moment of the struggle. On

their side the Bolsheviki have superiority of numbers. They have highly trained and lavishly paid renegade Generals, assisted by German mercenaries, acting in the capacity of instructors and technical experts."

We take the liberty to ask Mr. Harold Williams, who, during the years 1914, 1915, 1917, 1918, devoted so much space in the British press to descriptions of the extraordinary military ability of many of the above mentioned Russian Generals whom he considered much superior to the Germans, how it suddenly happened that they lost their ability and required the aid of German instructors, and technical experts. We may with absolute definiteness affirm that the generals whose names were given by the *Public Ledger* correspondent, do not need the support of experts of any nation in existence, in the world, least of all at the moment when they are teaching the whole world how to fight the foe. On the other hand, how dares Mr. Harold Williams call these brilliant officers "renegades," when they are leading the *Russian* people in the life and death struggle for the existence of their country? Mr. Harold Williams is wrong; the renegades are those Russians who are linked to Japan, England and France, and leading the enemies of their country not only against the Soviet armies, but against the innocent Russian population, and aid in starving them to death. The murderers of Russian women and children, acting not for the interest of their bleeding motherland, but for their own personal interest—they are Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich, Vrangél, Semionov and others, they are the renegades and traitors to their country.

Further on, Mr. Harold Williams admits that the Soviet army has "also a new and well equipped striking force of cavalry, including Don and Kuban Cossacks," whom Harold Williams also calls "renegades."

Who then are not renegades in Russia?

We presume to venture that during his long stay in the chaotic headquarters of the Denikin rear, Harold Williams lost control of his thought centres, for it is difficult to explain his pathetic declaration in the same letter that "Denikin will not be beaten." "I have no hesitation in saying," continues this *N. Y. Times* correspondent "that on the issue of this struggle in the bitter Winter weather in the Russian steppes, depends the stability of Europe."—But in spite of that, Denikin is beaten and out of existence, having shared the fate of his comrades Kolchak and Yudenich. Europe still remains as stable as ever and it seems that the old lady is gradually recovering her composure, after the heavy blow which the Soviet army had dealt her.

That Denikin is finally defeated we have sufficient facts to prove.

After a series of heavy fights in December, in South Russia, resulting in the annexation, by the Soviets, of the Donietz industrial region, the Red army succeeded in cutting off the Eastern Denikin group of General Vrangél from the beaten main forces of Denikin.

Tzaritzin was captured after being attacked across the frozen river and a big French arms factory fell into the hands of the Soviets. Practically Vrangél's forces are now encircled, about to be annihilated at the first favorable opportunity.

According to despatches from London, of January 4, the Soviet forces continued their pursuit of the defeated Denikin armies left by their chief, who embarked on a battle ship and later resigned in favor of General Vrangél. In the direction of Berdiansk (on the shore of the Sea of Azov), the Soviet troops have occupied the Makarenko station, and in the direction of Mariupol (south-east of Yekaterinoslav), approached the important railway junction of Yuzovka, capturing in that region 11,030 prisoners, 22 guns, 52 machine guns and other booty, while in the Taganrog district the best of the Denikin division under General Markoff was annihilated, while the remainder, 67 officers and 1,200 men with 12 guns and 50 machine guns, were captured.

On January 7, Taganrog was occupied by the Soviet forces, and Odessa, seriously threatened, was hastily prepared for defense by its commandant, General Shilling. The fall of the port of Mariupol was another news item of strategical importance. It became clear that the advancing Soviet columns, one after the other, are pushing the battle line until it coincides with the coast line which indicates that the pursuit is being accomplished in a most speedy way, crushing mercilessly the beaten and fleeing enemy. News that a single Soviet division, according to the *N. Y. Times* of January 8, 1920, had captured 4,000 prisoners, 220 guns, four tanks, four armoured trains, and an aviation base, proves that the victory over the Denikin army is complete, and that the strategical pursuit has been completely successful. One may understand the gravity of the position of the invaders when one takes into consideration also that in the Sarepta region the captures included 20 locomotives and 1000 railroad cars, and 3 armored trains. (*N. Y. Times*, Jan. 8, 1920).

The success of the Soviet army against Denikin was due to—besides the superiority in numbers, and in high command, over the enemy,—the fact that the geographical conditions of the country forced the tactics of the hostile parties back to those of the Napoleonic epoch, when cavalry played a very important role in battle. It is recognized by modern strategists that cavalry must be separated from the infantry, and advantage must be taken of the moment when a success has been obtained by artillery fire. The open plains, as at Wagram or St. Privat, which were desirable for the strategy of Napoleonic days, at present offer serious obstacles when the attack is a frontal one; consequently cavalry, in modern warfare, cannot act together with infantry. It is very interesting to note how tactics have changed since Napoleonic times. For instance, the battle of Leipzig was begun by cavalry, and at Wagram the cavalry occupied the open places between the villages, a move that would be counted an absurdity in the present war. But in Russia the tac-

tics returned precisely to the Napoleonic method, and Denikin, whose army was mobilized half from the Cossacks, acted successfully thanks to his superiority in the numbers of his cavalry over the Soviet army. The Denikin forces always used cavalry, together with infantry, and this was more effective than the use of tanks and poison gas and other modern war inventions, which had but little importance in the Russian steppes. The Soviet General Staff at once realized the importance of increasing the cavalry and succeeded in this completely. For a country like Russia, which, in pre-war times, possessed 37,500,000 horses (especially since the Kirghizian steppes and Eastern Siberia and Turkestan have been included in Soviet Russia, and the greatest part of the Cossacks have joined the Red army), this was not a very difficult task to accomplish.

Consequently, Denikin was beaten by the same method which he had applied against the Soviets.

Large bodies of the Red cavalry appeared in his rear and did absolutely the same thing which, some months before, Mamontoff with his 13,000 Cossacks had succeeded in doing in the Kozlov and Tambov regions behind the lines of the operating Soviet forces. The difference from the raids of Mamontoff was this: that the Soviet cavalry was much more numerous and penetrated in the Denikin rear, several tens of thousands of horsemen, divided into several detachments.

Such a complication, certainly, the Allied strategists, with their narrow minded method—that of trench warfare and bombardment from the air of defenseless towns at short distances—were never supposed to meet.

The situation in Siberia does not inspire us with any anxiety. We have always expected that the Soviet army at last must meet the Japanese somewhere east of Lake Baikal, where the advance guard of the invaders undoubtedly will be Semionov with his bands, consisting partly of the Amur and Ussuri Cossacks, and partly of the fragments of the annihilated Kolchak forces, probably with the assistance of the Czecho-Slovaks; but we nevertheless suspect that the local Cossacks, after the extraordinary victories of the Soviet armies in Russia, and the open sympathy of other Cossack forces with the Soviets, will not support the invasion of East Siberia by Japan. This is a great question, on which the latest events only could give us a positive answer.

In the opinion of Lieut.-Col. B. Roustam Bek, expressed in the *New York Call* of January 1, 1920, "Japan is to meet Denikin's fate." Having accomplished successfully its strategical problem of fighting on inner lines, and victoriously defeated the enemy on the Northern front, Eastern front, Turkestan front, North Eastern front and at last in South Russia and Ukraine, the Soviet general staff now turned its armies against Poland, says Colonel Bek, "and in a very short time will destroy opposition there. Japan will be next, and unless Japan is prepared to carry on a war for some ten years, under almost impossible strategic conditions, that

country need have no hope of any sort of success. . . . Unless the Soviet republic agrees to a compromise, the Mikado's forces will be thrown out of Siberia in short order."

We presume to venture that after Semionov's bands are defeated and the ataman himself has joined his retired colleagues, the Japanese, being a very practical nation, may start direct negotiations with Moscow, because it is difficult to find a new suitable person to be appointed as a new head of the "All Russian Government," after the fall of Semionov; after all, these appointments must be very costly, and do not justify the expenses.

The occupation of Dvinsk is a matter of no importance, and we must be prepared for some temporary occupation, by the invaders, of certain points along the western frontier, until the full concentration on the Polish-Lithuanian front will be accomplished by the Soviet armies. We shall not have long to wait, because, in the possession of the Soviets there are more railway lines directed toward Poland and Lithuania than are at the disposal of those two countries, and the abundance of the captured cars, trucks and locomotives certainly will make it easy for the Soviet army to accomplish its new concentration swiftly. And, in spite of all these brilliant successes of the Soviet arms, the Soviet Republic again offers a Peace to aggressive Europe, and now the European and American statesmen have to decide: either an immediate peace for all the world may be established, or a war for many years has to be waged, a war of exhaustion, more costly and terrible than was the Great War, now so abortively ended.

Supplementary Note (to January 11th)

Events in Soviet Russia are proceeding with extreme rapidity. Already on January 6th there were reported from London the details of an uprising in Vladivostok, which had taken place on January 3d, 1920.

There were great disorders in the town, the message said. Large numbers of government and railway workers, dock laborers and electric railway employees revolted.

Declarations were issued, denouncing the Allies and repudiating the concessions given to Japan by the Peace Conference. Anti-Japanese agitation spread like wild fire. Absolutely all the Russians are protesting against the attempt of the Japanese to occupy Siberia, which is supposed to be approved by the Allies. Kolchak has fled from Irkutsk, and, according to the latest information, his personal safety is endangered because his path of retreat is cut off. We presume to venture that in view of conditions in the Siberian theatre of war, it would be a difficult task for Kolchak and his staff to escape, and it is very probable that he has been already captured by the Soviet troops or by the Socialist Revolutionaries, for whom he also represents a very important trophy.

The town of Krasnoyarsk was captured by the Soviet army during the first week of January, 1920, and though this town is situated about 650 miles

west of Irkutsk, it was reported that Irkutsk was also captured by the Reds (the *Globe*, Jan. 11, 1920). This news item proves that the Soviet forces which have been operating in central and eastern Siberia, in the rear of the enemy, have reorganized their dispersed forces, and have formed a considerable strong army out of guerilla detachments, which now is cooperating with the Soviet forces advancing from the west.

There is no doubt that all the three armies of Kolchak no longer exist, as may be seen from the cable of the *New York Times* of January 10th, which relates that the remainder of these forces have surrendered and 60,000 prisoners have been already counted.

On the other hand, in the South Russian theatre of war, the situation is brilliant. The city of Novocherkask, the capital of the Don Cossacks, has been captured. The former headquarters of Denikin, the base of his supply, Rostov-on-Don, also fell into the hands of the victorious Soviet forces. The booty of the Soviet army during the last offensive is enormous, and even the *New York Times*, which, with real pain in its heart, is publishing the news about the successes of the hated Bolsheviki, admitted that there were captured from the reactionaries in the present offensive only: 400 guns, 100 machine guns, 11,000 rifles, 18 armored trains, 200 locomotives, 10,000 wagons and large stores of food and munitions, as well as 35,000 prisoners.

Consequently, the Soviet army holds all important ports on the Sea of Azov. On the Caspian sea, Derbent and Petrovsk, as well as Krasnovodak and GuriEFF, have been also captured. The latter is a very important oil district, with inexhaustible sources of naphtha, which was developed almost exclusively by British capital. This district, according to the opinion of experts, is richer in oil than the famous Baku and Caucasian districts, and has been very little exploited. We have on several occasions warned British diplomats that their delay in the peace negotiations with Soviet Russia would cause them great troubles in Asia, and again we are right. According to the despatch of January 8th (the *New York Times*, January 10th), "Direct railway communication between Transcaspia and European Russia has been secured by the Reds, who will be able to concentrate important bodies of troops in Turkestan, with a view to carrying out possibly far-reaching plans westward toward the Caucasus region, and southward toward Persia and Afghanistan." "Bolshevik authorities," continues the message, "had announced their intention to penetrate into Persia by way of Khorassan, as soon as they could secure control of the Caspian sea, and recent reports have indicated that Soviet garrisons along the Khorassan frontier have been heavily reinforced."

In Zhitomir and Vicinity

The *Lebensfragen* of Warsaw, the central organ of the Jewish social-democratic (menshevist) organization of Poland, published in its issue of November 19 the following statement of a person who had arrived from Zhitomir, Ukraine, a short time before.

About the end of August the Bolsheviki evacuated Zhitomir, which was then occupied by the so-called Galicians; that is, the Ukrainian troops that come from Eastern Galicia. At one time these troops were hostile to Petlura, but later they combined and formed one Ukrainian army.

At first these "Galician" troops acted very badly toward the Jewish residents of Zhitomir: many Jews were beaten up, tortured, and plundered. The Jewish soldiers among the Galicians, who numbered about ten per cent of the troops, tried to resist and to prevent excesses against the Jews, but their efforts were of little avail. Much more effective were the efforts of the Galician command, which put an end to the abuse of the Jews, punishing the soldier thugs.

During all the time that the Galicians stayed in Zhitomir a very strong pogrom agitation was carried on by the local anti-Semites, especially by the former officials of the Czar's regime. The intelligentsia—teachers, physicians, engineers, etc.—also participated actively in this disgraceful agitation.

These "intellectuals" are well characterized by the following fact: during a Jewish pogrom which occurred in the early part of 1919, a woman teacher of a local school led all the school children to the scene of the pogrom to participate in the murders and plunder. . . .

But the government, as I have already mentioned, prevented the occurrence of pogroms, though the local commissar of the government frequently showed his anti-Semitism in his announcements.

In the middle of September the Galicians began to evacuate Zhitomir, and rumors spread that the city would be occupied by the Poles. But as soon as the Galician troops left, the city was occupied by the Red soldiers of the so-called Southern group.*

These Red troops accomplished a march from Odessa and Kherson in some twenty-one days. They were terribly tired, hungry and ragged. Nevertheless, there was splendid discipline among these Soviet troops and there was not a single case of robbery or abuse on the part of the Red guards.

*This group is composed of guerilla detachments, unlike the regular army of Soviet Russia.

Great Britain's Baltic Policy

By O. PREEDIN

Second Article

GERMAN IMPERIALISTS AT THE SERVICE OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM.

1. THE UNITED STRUGGLE AGAINST THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE OF LATVIA

In this difficult undertaking Great Britain received invaluable assistance not so much from her allies as from her "enemy"—the German imperialists. The how and wherefore of this is now clear from some secret documents which have recently become public. Owing to the quarrels in the Baltic region with regard to the division of the booty a good many of the diplomatic secrets have been exposed.

The "social-democratic" Government of Germany, continuing the aggressive foreign policy of the overthrown emperor, found itself serving Great Britain not at all because of the armistice terms.

Under the pressure of the Lettish refugees returning from Russia the Eighth German army, which had heretofore oppressed this region, had fallen to pieces. Together with this army the wonderful "Provisional Government" of Ullman-Meierovic had to keep on retreating. As early as December 7, 1918, when popular indignation was only at its beginning, the "Provisional Government" consented to permit the so-called Balts, the German Junkers of the Baltic region, to organize their own army—the Landwehr. But this army could not stop the revolutionary waves; it was only a challenge to the people and it strengthened the revolutionary movement.

Von Kalthen, the commander of the Eighth German army, tried to organize a volunteer army to fight the revolutionary local populace, which was everywhere organizing its Councils directly responsible to the toiling masses. But he found very few volunteers.

About the end of 1918 the revolutionary population of Latvia had driven out the counter-revolutionary bands from almost the whole country. On January 3, 1919, the city of Riga was taken by the forces of workers' Soviets, and Ullman's "Provisional Government" transferred its residence to a British warship, while the German volunteer troops, the Landwehr and Ullman's "troops" found refuge around the port of Libau, under protection of a strong fleet.

Precisely at this time in Libau began the organization of the so-called "Iron Division" of the German volunteer troops for the struggle in Latvia under the command of General Von-der-Goltz, who had come here from the punitive expedition to Finland. The German "social-democratic" Government spent enormous sums on this undertaking. According to certain data from German governmental sources, the expenses on the "Iron Division" from the treasury of Ebert's Government reached about 800,000 marks a day.

The labor and the money spent on this army

brought temporary successes to its organizers. The army grew enormously, and the soldiers of this army at times fought very stubbornly. On May 22, 1919, Riga was occupied by these troops, and soon all Latvia was cleared of the Soviets.

The appearance of this army as well as all its activity was for a long time surrounded with secrecy. The attitude of Great Britain toward this army, directly as well as through her "Provisional Government of Latvia," was all the time very peculiar. They acted as if they were encouraging it and at the same time holding it back. Various groups in Germany, beginning with the "revolutionists" of the Scheidemann and Noske brand and ending with the sworn monarchists, equally supported this army, were equally solicitous of its fate, and tried equally to suppress the exposure of the Independent Socialists and Spartacans concerning the horrible atrocities committed by this army. And this army itself, in spite of its fine equipment, its high salary and the motherly care of the Noske-Ebert Government, constantly manifested a kind of feverish anxiety, as if they were afraid of losing something that seemed to be within their reach. As time passed they became louder and louder in asserting their *right* to settle in Latvia and to receive a land allotment, and were supported in this by the Ebert Government.

With regard to these claims and active demands of the volunteers of the "Iron Division," a considerable correspondence passed during the last few months between the Baltic governments affected by them, and a good many disclosures appeared which throw a light on this interesting bloody counter-revolutionary plot.

2. THE "PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF LATVIA" AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE "IRON DIVISION"

That the demands of the volunteers of the "Iron Division" concerning the right to settle and to get land—without land such a right, particularly at the present time, would be meaningless to the 100,000 volunteers—should have been denied by the "Provisional Government of Latvia" is quite natural. In the first place, to satisfy these demands it would be necessary to drive out all the native, Lettish, peasants in order to make room for these Germans to settle: all the arable land of Courland would scarcely be enough for 100,000 peasant economies. Secondly, even the least recognition of this demand would place the "Provisional Government" in an extremely dangerous situation, for the native population has already had experience with such colonization and is extremely hostile toward it.

It was not surprising therefore, that Meierovic, the "Minister of Foreign Affairs" of Ullman's

"Government," in a letter sent to the German ambassador on August 2, not only denied the alleged promises on which the volunteers based their demands but characterized them as "criminal deception on the part of certain private persons," hinting thus at the "Balts."

Resenting this charge, the "Balts," not denying that they have made such promises, sent on August 18 a letter to Meierovic in which, among other things, they wrote:

"The large landed proprietors of the Baltic region had given their promise with regard to the land allotments for the German soldiers, believing firmly that the treaty signed December 29, 1918, by representatives of the Provisional Government and by the German commissaire Winnig was in effect."

Mr. Meierovic's forced reply to this letter had a rather curious history. The reply was published in the issue of September 1919 of the Lettish chauvinist newspaper "Socialdemokrats" and expressed extreme indignation at the attempt of the German-Balt-barons to explain that they "promised land to the German soldiers on the basis of the treaty of December 29, 1918, which was not even in existence." (Italics ours). But some time later this newspaper printed a note calling attention to an "error," namely, that instead of "was not even in existence" it should have been "is no more in existence."

This "error" is partly explained by the fact that on September 5 the Berlin *Vorwärts* published a certain secret treaty, which is so characteristic for the "revolutionary" Government of Germany and the "National Lettish Government" that it is worth while citing it in full:*

Riga, December 29, 1918.

"Treaty between the plenipotentiaries of the German Nation and the Provisional Lettish Government.

"1. The Provisional Lettish Government declares its readiness to grant, upon request, full citizenship in the Lettish state to all members of foreign armies who have been active at least four weeks in the Association of Volunteer Formations in the struggle to free the territory of the Lettish state from the Bolsheviki.

"2. The German Baltic citizens of the Lettish state receive the right to join the National German Volunteer Association. On the other hand, for the duration of the campaign, there will be no objection to the use of German officers and non-commissioned officers as in-

structors in the Associations of the German-Lettish companies of the Landwehr.

"3. The right conceded to the German Balts in the treaty of December 7 to organize seven national companies and two batteries in the Association of the Landwehr is expressly guaranteed by the Provisional Government, even if paragraph 2 of the present arrangements should lead to the temporary dissolution of the German-Balts association. In case the number of the Lettish companies of the Landwehr is increased, there is to be a corresponding increase in the number of the German companies.

"4. The lists of enrollment and discharge of volunteers made necessary for the carrying out of paragraph 1 will be sent to the Provisional Government at least once a week. On the basis of these lists the contracting parties will determine which German citizens have earned the right to citizenship according to paragraph 1.

(Signed) AUGUST WINNIG,
German Envoy in Riga.
K. ULLMANIS, Premier
FR. PAECEL.
J. SAHLITS.

(Fr. Paegel and J. Sahlits are members of Ullman's "Government").

This document has not been published in Latvia and is not known to the broad masses there. Ullman's "Government" would not dare to publish it. It would be too dangerous to do so, despite the fact that in September, 1919, this treaty was considered as "no more existant" by all the governments affected by it, excepting only the "revolutionary" government of Germany, on the basis of point 292 of the Paris treaty, which annulled all the treaties that had been concluded up to that time between Germany and Russia or the new states formed on the territory of the former Russian empire.

To understand and to appreciate the full significance of the above mentioned treaty it should be remembered that the "Provisional Government of Latvia" was but the Lettish agency of the British Government. Without the consent of the latter this treaty could not have been concluded.

The "Iron Division" was organized on the basis of this treaty. The participation and the responsibility of the "Provisional Government" and, therefore, of Great Britain in this undertaking is obvious.

Organization of the Whites in Russia

The Moscow International and Its Military Technical Organization.

IN connection with the White Guard conspiracies recently exposed at Moscow, the newspapers of Moscow and Petrograd published in the first half of October some interesting documents that were

found in the houses of several members of the secret White Guard organization. The Moscow *Izvestia* of October 5th published selections from two secret letters:

"In a coded letter of July 14, 1919, found at the house of Borovoy (one of the members of the conspiracy) but written by Steininger," says the

*We quote the translation from "Current History," November, 1919.

periodical, "there were suggestions of a White Guard organization existing at Moscow. In this letter we read among other things:

Three political organizations are working here in contact with each other (there follow the initials of the names of these organizations) and the as yet unknown to you League for the Liberation of Russia—its backbone consists of the cadets (the well known political party)—which issues hand bills, and has other activities of no slight importance. To the "National Left" belong all of the former, for V. G. has returned to us, after having made an attempt to escape to Kolchak, and whose temporary absence was very noticeable. We are all for the present alive and are keeping up the courage of the other. Chernozvitov has been arrested and is now in Moscow, where a number of arrests have taken place among the members of the military organization in that city. With the death of Bezpalov and the exhaustion of our funds, our relations with the remains of this organization stopped. We beg you to send us money without delay, otherwise the work must stop. And yet our work could be particularly useful and valuable. We have planned to unite all the military-technical organizations under our leadership."

"This letter," the newspaper adds, "revealed not only the fact that the conspiring cadets were supported absolutely by General Yudenich but also that a definite relation existed between the Petrograd and the Moscow groups. The house-searches and arrests undertaken at Moscow revealed the existence of two White Guard organizations—one which was political and at whose head were the Cadets; and another which was military-technical, and which sought adherents among the former officers' corps. Important results in this connection were obtained by the searches in the house of the well-known Moscow cadet and land-owner N. I. Shchepkin. There was found in an inkwell, lying in a wooden chest in his house, a report written in his own hand to Denikin, concerning the distribution, the codes, and various other details of the Red troops, etc. The plans of the conspirators at Moscow and of Denikin's Cadet spies are already apparent from Shchepkin's letter of August 22nd, which follows below, addressed to the other side of the front:

August 22nd, new style.

From the United Central Alliance for Liberation and the Council of Social Functionaries.

The action against the Bolsheviks is disintegrated: a plan is set up and then withdrawn, a new one follows, etc. These disturbances are harmful. After each outbreak within a country there usually comes a terror with sacrifices, mass executions, in the conquered places, and disillusionment among the people. We must undertake a united stroke all at once. Although the center is exhausted and about to pass away, it is nevertheless ready to hold out if it knows that in place of mere spasmodic efforts, there will be a gathering of forces and in a few months a united blow and the liberation. Advances and retreats give the impression of weakness and this simply serves the uses of the Bolsheviks. In the center of Russia—in Moscow—there may come a moment when they will begin to murder all non-communists. (This is of course a provocatory lie, with which a justification is sought for the conspiracy, for in Soviet Russia all are highly esteemed who wish really to do honest work for the welfare of the Republic, regardless of their political views. Rosta). The population will then be obliged to take to arms and an attempt will be made to throw off the yoke. This may happen in a few weeks. For this eventuality you must provide us with aid and point out where we can obtain it and whether we shall send messengers to inaugurate communications, in case we should succeed in seizing Give us all technical data necessary for transmitting radio communications. You can do all this simultaneously, without concealing your whole plan from us. You have never told us anything, and yet you console us like children, with promises. We beg you to inform us of the Entente's decision with regard to us, and of the role assigned to England, to Poland, to Finland, the Germans, etc. What agreements are taking place? We are convinced at Moscow that the Germans are playing a double game, that they are negotiating with the Bolsheviks. There are constantly German delegations here. Moscow is crowded with German prisoners of war. Tell us whether you are convinced that the center can be rescued before the coming of the cold. Do not deceive us with mere hopes. If you are not convinced of this, tell us frankly. Tell Kolchak, by way of Stockholm, that Moskvina has arrived at Moscow with the first consignment of fruit, the other consignments still missing. It is hard to work without money. Fire-arms and cartridges are dear. The political groups, including the greater part of the Mensheviks and almost all the Social-Revolutionists are working with the greatest harmony. We are of the opinion that before the Constituent Assembly there is no necessity for a temporary government; a supreme ruler would be sufficient (that is a military dictator. Rosta). One section of the Social-Revolutionists is with us: Volsky and others have separated from the Central Committee and are working together with the Bolsheviks. The Left Wing of the Right Social-Revolutionists are bragging that they attempted to murder Kolchak, Denikin and a few others. In your messages only relate what you can vouch for. We are in the greatest unrest. Denikin has launched an attack, but we fear that he may be weak and that we may have a repetition of the same affairs as with Kolchak. We dare not believe the reports of the occupation of Kronstadt by Admiral Beatty, and the defeats of the Reds at Yambourg. The feeling among the population at Moscow is very favorable; the workers will be neutral in the fight. The peasants will take care of the commissaires in the provinces (Shchepkin is here repeating the old White Guard lies concerning the peasants and workers. Events in Russia clearly show that the workers and peasants are fighting for the Soviet power all over. Rosta). The deserters ("green army") may be used to a certain extent. Your watchword must be "Down with the Civil War!" "Down with the Communists!" "Free Trade and Private Property!" Say nothing about the Soviets. The extraordinary Commission has been transferred from Petrograd and Kiev to Moscow. Persons taken as hostages have been brought to Moscow from all sides. We do not know how things stand at Kiev. We seldom have news from the South, in fact none at all for a month and a half; and what we have had was really verbal. In Petrograd they are practically wiped out; the connection is broken. Write and send directly to Moscow to the addresses that will be given by the messenger. Be careful in using names and addresses, for there are spies all over." (He means that Moscow is on the track of spies of Denikin and Kolchak. Rosta).

The above document proves clearly that the Russian White Guards have their treasonable organizations all over Soviet Russia, on the model of the Hadjetlaché* bands, which are plotting treacherous attacks on the Russia of the workers, and which are maintaining secret relations with Kolchak and Denikin.

—From *Izvestia*, Moscow, October 5, 1919.

*The reference is to a band of murderers who operated at Stockholm until the summer of 1919, under the leadership of Colonel Mohammed Bek Hadjetlaché, and who murdered several persons in order to obtain their money, but under the pretext of political murder. The matter was rather fully discussed in No. 24 of *SOVIET RUSSIA* (Vol. I, Nov. 15, 1919).

Impressions of a Traveler in Soviet Russia

THE Prussian-Russian frontier which I had crossed in 1909, I did not find in 1919. War and revolution had swept aside the trim German frontier officials in Eydtkuhnen, as well as the tall Russian gendarmes in Wirballen. The double eagle is flown, the German bird of prey brought down. Candles no longer burn before the holy image in the Russian waiting-room, gone is the whole pretty order here, just as there all the disorder. A broad land—the war territory—lies waste, destroyed, between the real “Germany” and “Russia.” The destruction is all but immeasurable, at which, for five years, the hand of man has worked. A single wall of a railway station, with the inscription, “Smorgon,” is reminder that behind this ruin there was formerly an industrial city of 80,000 inhabitants. The leather factories of Smorgon were notorious for the diseases which claimed yearly thousands of the proletariat. Poison gas and Krupp missiles have leveled to the ground this robbers’ nest of Capitalism; its reconstruction is reserved to a new spirit, the spirit of Socialism!

One discovers this new spirit as soon as he sets foot in Soviet Russia. How enormously different from what it was at one time! The first railway station in Russia formerly presented a picture of the most evident class differences. Here the noblewoman, the favored creature of a centuries-long exclusive family position, and the most refined physical cultivation, who, with every imaginable luxury travels in the international sleeper from the fashionable Ostend baths to her estates in the Russian steppe. And the elegant officer, the fat-bellied merchant, and close by the common people in their rags, the peasants with foot wrapping and bast shoes. These contrasts are no longer apparent in the outward aspect of the Russian Soviet Republic. The bourgeoisie wear no more diamonds, for they have been seized by the Soviet government, and the working people have received their confiscated furs and coats.

Nothing on the journey threw so much light on the spirit of the new Russia as a little experience at a station between Vilna and Moscow. On a siding was a train that seemed to have come out of a fairy tale. All of the cars were covered from top to bottom with paintings in the liveliest colors, and larger than life-size. In pictures of artistic merit was represented the constructive work of the proletariat in the coming reign of Communism, with emphasis placed upon the part that books were to play. For this train out of a story-book was a *traveling library*. In charge of experienced teachers and librarians a collection of the best books travels through all of Soviet Russia, stops at the smallest and remotest places and distributes books and newspapers among the population. Besides this “Lenin” train, which I have seen in Minsk, there are several other trains which impart knowledge and light to the people. “Books are for

man what windows are in a house,” I read among other beautiful inscriptions on the library train.

Just as this method of bringing knowledge to the people in a gaily painted train, everything that is done in Russia for the working people has an uncommon energy and strength. Despite the scarcity of the necessities of life, and the prevalent need and outward impoverishment, the spirit of the working-class is nowhere depressed. The clear-thinking proletariat knows that hunger is a consequence of the long period of capitalist mismanagement, and of the economic confusion that dates from as early as the Russo-Japanese war, and he says: “If the Bolsheviki cannot give us bread just now, neither can any other government.” The apathetic servile devotion which made the Russian people the unwilling tools of the Czarist government, has given place to a proud feeling of strength, and a self-consciousness such as one seldom finds among the west-European proletariat. Even the small peasant from the remotest corner of Soviet Russia, the man who can neither read nor write, knows: Now there are “no more masters, now we are men, and all alike!”

Among the measures that were passed by the Soviet government for the benefit of the working people, none has worked so direct and beneficent an influence upon the life of the worker, and especially the *woman worker*, as that designed to combat the *house famine*. In Moscow, Petersburg and other industrial centres part of the proletariat had lived under the most terrible conditions, while the villa quarters of the Petersburg “Islands,” the palaces, and the mansions of the princes, at Moscow, were renowned. The Soviet government has reduced the house famine by *apportioning* the dwellings. The bourgeoisie had to crowd up closer and make room for the workers. No act of the workers’ government has so gone to the heart of the burghers. Their newspapers being suppressed in Russia, the bourgeoisie began an oral campaign of calumny against this apportioning of dwellings. They went so far as to say that the workers would not gladly enter the homes of the rich, and that only vagabonds and criminals would be induced to “dirty” the houses of others. As a matter of fact, in the beginning, after the house apportioning, there were great difficulties to be overcome. In an elegant 10- or 15-room house in which perhaps an old general lived with his retinue, suddenly two or three proletarian families had to be lodged. The salons with their silk hangings, the fire rococo furniture, were regarded as being highly unpractical by the working folk, with their healthy needs. All the splendor quickly disappeared. Gradually practical beds, tables, etc., were procured, and now things have reached the point where the workers live in airy rooms that are fit for men.

The workers’ children no longer crowd together in dirty courts, or on the streets, but attend kinder-

garten, and childrens' schools, where their physical and spiritual welfare is cared for. The working-woman has ceased to be a beast of burden, she is a free member of society, and has the same rights and the same duties as the man.

The proletariat exercise not only the political power, but also stamp their impress upon the entire outward life. The fine cafés and restaurants are closed, but on the other hand there are the "Soviet Dining Halls." The elegant automobiles, sleighs, and carriages, have disappeared from the street scene, the large stores and merchant houses are nationalized, and will be conducted by the state. The bourgeoisie no longer set the fashion in the streets, they have disappeared from the surface: some have fled abroad with their money-bags, others have crept into their holes, but the larger part have, of necessity, taken to work and made themselves proletarians. The street scene in a city like Moscow is dominated solely by the proletariat. Everywhere one sees workingmen and workingwomen, in the streets, in the theatre, in the lecture halls, at the gatherings and the concerts. The participators in the opening congress of the Third Communist International (begun March, 1919), will always remember the great festival concert that was given in the Moscow Theatre in honor of the International. The splendid, spacious house, the Czar's box, the boxes of the princes and ministers, all the tiers, were occupied exclusively by men and women proletarians. The orchestra, which formerly played hymns for the Czar, sounded the mighty tones of the "International." And the applause with which the speeches of the Russian and foreign members of the congress were received, showed that for the Russian workingmen, "International" and "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" were no empty words, but living ideas, for which they fight, for which they understand how to make sacrifice, and to triumph in their name.

—*Die Kommunistin.*

Calm

To N. L.

Calm,
As the wind on the mountain,
Clear-blowing, mighty in stillness.

Calm,
As the mid-ocean billow,
Swelling and falling unbroken.

Calm,
As the deep-vaulted heavens,
Serene 'mid the scurrying cloudlets.

—RALPH GORDON.

We are not printing a military map in this issue, but next week's SOVIET RUSSIA (No. 4) will contain a short review of the military situation to date, as well as two new military maps, to show the present fronts in European Russia and Siberia.

The Oak

To N. L.

I

An oak in the forest, I stand,
Stretching my arms, lifting my head to the sunlight.
Winds creep, leaves fall through my immortal
branches;
Steadfast I stand, nor heed the failing of frailty.

II

Now breath of the storm approaches,
Seething in rain and in lightning;
Piteously they bend, my comrades,
Weak to the gusts and the thunders.
Lo as I tower above them,
Defiant to wind and to water,
Singing my song of triumph,
Chanting of strength never-vanquished,
Vainly they look to me,
Yearning in all their frail being,—
"What is thy strength, O Unconquerable?
"Tell us," they sigh, "or we perish!"

III

And this is the song I sing them.

IV

"Of the air, of the sun, of the waters,
Of the earth, of the illimitable heavens,
Loving all things, I flourish,
Embracing all things, I prosper.
"Sweetly the grass grows beneath me;
Tenderly sheltered, the sapling
Twines in my arms its frail branches,
Leaning and resting upon me.
Birds in the warmth of love,
Build their nests in my bosom;
Breezes enamoured of May
Play in my sweet-laughing leaflets;
Sunbeams dancing and kissing;
Raindrops tinkling and gleaming
Hang rainbow jewels upon me,
Radiant with love and with gladness."

V

This is the song I sing them,
As the breath of the storm hushes softly.

VI

The sun is alive in my branches.
Earth and Heaven smile. Through glimmering
drops of rain
I look about me.
Fair is the earth as an Orient bride
Hung with treasure of pearl.
Glad is the forest.
Not an emerald blade,
Not a tender sapling is broken.
For all who have heard my song
Stand unconquered, triumphant.
"Love," says the twig to the leaf;
"Love," says the bird to its nest-mate;
"Love," whispers softly the wind;
"Love," sparkles gayly the water.

—RALPH GORDON.

Oct. 28, 1919.

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About Russia

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MENTION has been made in New York papers several times within the last two weeks of the occupation of the City and Khanate of Bokhara by the Soviet troops. As the city of Bokhara is only 200 miles from the border of Afghanistan, alarm is expressed over the possible contact of Soviet propaganda with Afghanistan, and, through that country, with India and Persia.

Now, it is not impossible that the people of India may behold in the example of the Russian Soviet Government a great promise of the realization of their own liberties (the article by Mr. Taraknath Das, in last week's *SOVIET RUSSIA*, suggested as much), but it is very doubtful that such ambitions would be inspired by Soviet propaganda, or that actual contact between Soviet propaganda and India is needed to make them feel that way. The same may be said of Persia, which is absolutely safe, as well as India, from any aggression on the part of the Soviet armies as long as it does not aid in the organization of counter-revolutionary action against Soviet Russia. One of the earliest acts of the Soviet Government, in the first month of its existence, was the renunciation, by open proclamation, of all claims to exploitation in Persia, claims that had been staked out by the Czarist Government in a special treaty with England. In other words, the Russian people, after the power was theirs to rule their own country, voluntarily announced that they had no intention of continuing a predatory policy in Persia, and several official Soviet declarations have since repeated this pledge.

If attempts are made, however, to organize armies on Persian soil for the destruction of the Rus-

sian Revolution—aggressive action by the Soviet Government would then not be out of the question. But any restlessness or discontent in Persia and India at present should not be explained by Soviet propaganda, but by the internal conditions of those countries.

But it is quite possible that the fears which have been expressed as to an invasion of India and Persia by the Soviet forces may simply be another way of saying that if counter-revolutionary armies attack Soviet Russia from Persia, they will meet with resistance on the part of the military forces of Soviet Russia. We clearly expressed, in the introductory article of our first issue this year ("1920 and After") the fact that this was the situation in Poland—that the Allies were stating, when they revealed their fears for Poland, the truth that Poland could not attack Soviet Russia with impunity; that Poland would be in danger of military action from Soviet Russia, because of the counter-revolutionary forces being prepared by the Allies, notably by France, in Poland. What is true of Poland may also be true of Persia,—and England has been showing strong desire recently to conciliate the latter country, if only by wining and dining the Shah in England.

NEW Yorkers, like the dwellers in all great cities, become somewhat jaded as to the sensations that can be imparted to them by the art of the theatre. Particularly in the field of the moving picture, there is little in the way of horror that has not been devised for their amusement. But there is now being produced in New York, under the name of "Starvation," a moving picture feature that includes, at its end, a series of incidents that make even the most hardened "picture-fan" grasp with the shock that can come only from an appeal to the most primitive and elemental forces.

The film drama in question ends with a series of executions of Bolsheviki by detachments of soldiers in the armies opposing them. Several times the spectator beholds groups of three Bolsheviki walking to the places assigned to them, after which platoons of six or eight soldiers raise their rifles and fire at the three men, at a distance of fifteen or twenty feet, and the three immediately and spasmodically collapse into the graves that have apparently been prepared for them in advance. The soldiers, with their officer, then walk up to the grave, and are seen looking into it, presumably with the object of dispatching any of the executed who might appear to be not quite dead. Whether they fire their rifles into the grave or not it is difficult to judge, as the non-military onlooker cannot detect the smokeless powder's appearance.

Another scene shows Bolsheviki stripping themselves of their clothing, preparatory to their execution, presumably in order that the resources of the country may not be wasted. Two of them are then executed by being shot in the back (see *SOVIET RUSSIA*, No. 20, "The Death of a Red Regiment").

Particularly novel, however, for the picture-

goers, is the scene in which two men, after having mounted the gallows, adjust the noose about their own necks, after which they are pushed into space to complete their hanging. One makes no sign, apparently dying at once, without noticeable convulsions; the other desperately clutches at the rope about his neck, and dies in that position, after a struggle of a half-minute or more.

The assumption of the author of the scenario, to judge from the inscriptions that are displayed between pictures, is that all Bolsheviki are shot after capture, there being no suggestion that any meet with a different fate. The men facing execution in these pictures show no outward signs of fear. But the subject is one on which the amateur should now yield the floor to the professional, who therefore, in the form of the film-critic of the *N. Y. Times*, is quoted for the information of the readers of SOVIET RUSSIA.

"Mingled mercy and horror, greatness of heart and villainy of soul, marked the presentation last night at the Manhattan Opera House of the film "Starvation, the Camera Drama of a Hungry World." Offered to the public as a "tremendous picturization of Herbert Hoover and the American Relief Administration Work," it happily pictured scenes bound to make the American glad at the warmth of nature and businesslike efficiency that fed millions of starving children, while it unhappily and irrelevantly dragged in ghastly executions of Bolsheviki by German firing squads, and even more excruciating hangings of Bolsheviki for some unnamed crime by some unnamed enemy. While those parts of the film which preached the gospel of mercy were such that even the horrible effects of starvation had only a salutary effect upon the spectator, those which impressed man's inhumanity to man left one cold with an unmeliorated terror.

"From the Baltic to the Black Sea heavily laden American steamers are shown streaming into the ports of all the stricken people of Europe except Soviet Russia. In the little towns of Courland, Ukraine, Latvia, Esthonia, Poland, Hungary, Belgium, and Turkey are seen long lines of stunted, emaciated children, fed at the hands of the American Relief Corps. Surging lines of hungry women, standing for hours before relief stations, awaiting the daily ration of white bread; gaunt, bearded men, anxious lest the supply give out before their turn arrives—all these pay tribute to America who helped to keep alive those for whom the victory had been won. Pictures of the worst cases of children—with protruding bones, swollen abdomens, and tight eyelids—brought sympathy and tears and relief at the thought that America was doing something to alleviate their sufferings.

"Nearly two hours of the sufferings of Europe could only leave one heavy sorrow, but the audience was aroused to full expression of its feelings once during the evening, and that was when the picture of Paderewski drew forth a volume of hisses and an equal din of applause."—*New York Times*, January 10, 1920.

Esthonia Makes Peace

Esthonia is a tiny country occupying the angle between the Baltic and the gulf of Finland, west of Petrograd. Its people are related to the Finns, and both are supposed to be of Asiatic origin, but the Esthonians have their own well-marked characteristics, and are strongly nationalistic. That so little has been known of them is due to the fact that since 1721, as a result of the conquests of Peter the Great, they have been merged with Russia as one of its Baltic provinces. But long before that, Esthonia, because of its geographical position, had been the football of rival powers, including Sweden and the Teutonic Knights; German historical maps show the German realm extending precisely to the frontier which is now to separate Esthonia from Russia, and at which the German armies stopped as though staking out the bounds of empire.

The drawing of this frontier has been the chief cause of delay in the peace negotiations between Estonia and Soviet Russia which opened at Dorpat on December 3. Russia was ready to grant in principle the right of self-determination, but Esthonia held out for a strategic frontier and hostilities were resumed. Moscow very frankly reported by wireless that its armies, after gaining ground, had been driven back by a heavy gas bombardment, and the territorial concessions now made may reflect the outcome of this not very serious fighting. The strip of territory involved is not very wide, and it has been evident throughout that if both sides were sincere in their purpose to make peace they would not let so small a matter stand in the way.

As yet the negotiations have not gone so far as the signing of an armistice, reported Thursday, but the armistice is the virtual equivalent of peace preliminaries, and includes a full settlement of the main points in dispute. This is a diplomatic victory for the bolsheviki, offsetting their surrender in regard to the frontier. Esthonia had desired to postpone troublesome questions and to avoid friction with the allies by concluding an indefinite armistice. But the Soviets desired peace and knew that the people of Esthonia were averse to continuance of the war if peace could be had. It was a favorable time, therefore, to negotiate a treaty, and unless the allies intervene, peace between Esthonia and Russia will soon be an accomplished fact. That the other Baltic states and Poland are drifting in the same direction seems certain and the terms of the settlement between Esthonia and Soviet Russia will be likely to promote this movement.

From the imperialistic point of view the terms granted to Esthonia are quixotically liberal:—

"In accordance with the principles oft proclaimed by the Soviet Russian government of the right of all peoples to a free determination of their nationality, even to the complete secession from the state to which they belong, Russia recognizes without reservation the independence of the Esthonian state and freely abdicates for all time all the sovereign rights which belonged to Russia with respect to Esthonia's land and people in accordance with former state orders, as well as those rights given under international treaties. Esthonian land and people shall have no obligations whatever with respect to Russia because of the former connections of Esthonia with Russia."

So passes, if the bolsheviki win, a title based purely on military conquest nearly two centuries ago. The Esthonians are no more Russian than they were in the days of Peter the Great. They desire independence, they are fully competent to govern themselves, and by the idealistic principles of the revolution which the bolsheviki adopted the mere bigness of Russia confers no right to rule a small neighboring people against their will. It is not difficult to understand why the Esthonians, after fighting vigorously and successfully to put down bolshevism in their own country, should have declined to keep on fighting for the pan-Russian, who refused to promise the independence which Soviet Russia stood ready to grant. The treaty with Esthonia goes far to explain the dismal failure of Entente diplomacy in Russia.

—*Springfield Republican*, January 3, 1920

Statement by Mr. L. A. Martens, Representative in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

Washington, Jan. 10, 1920.

I regret to say that the romantic stories printed in many papers about my whereabouts and movements are most unfounded. There is very little mystery or romanticism about the whole thing. I came to Washington two weeks ago, after having been notified that a Committee had been appointed by the United States Senate to investigate my activities here as the Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. I went to New York to see my family about New Year's Day, and returned to Washington, Sunday, January 4th. It was and it is my desire to furnish the Senate Committee with the most complete data and other information about all my activities, and about the desire of the Russian Soviet Government to establish friendly relations with the United States, and also to refute wild and unfounded charges made against me. Wishing to concentrate upon preparation for this investigation, I accepted an invitation from a friend in Washington to stay with him for a few days and instructed Mr. Nuorteva, the Secretary of my Bureau, to advise me immediately if summons from any official sources should be presented. I read in the newspapers stories of plans on the part of the Department of Justice to arrest me, but no such official information reached me or Mr. Nuorteva personally. Last night officials of the United States Senate came with summons to appear Monday before the Senate Committee. Mr. Nuorteva brought the Senate official to me. The subpoena was served on me while I was visiting for a couple of hours the family of a friend. All assistance was given by my staff to facilitate the serving of the subpoena.

I do not know of any reason why the Department of Justice should want to arrest me, and I have had no official notification of such plans on their part. My work in the United States has strictly confined itself to the presentation of arguments in favor of the establishment of friendly relations between the United States and Russia, and there has been no interference whatsoever on my part, or on the part of my Bureau, in the internal affairs of the United States. If any such charges are brought up it will be found, if I am given a full opportunity to state the facts, that such charges are based either on misunderstanding or on malicious misrepresentation, and I am confident that I will be able to dispel all misapprehensions of this nature.

Newspaper reports that United States officials plan to take action against me on the allegation that I am an enemy alien, if true, are amusingly incredible. The United States is not at war with Russia, and being a Russian citizen I cannot be an enemy alien. I understand that some people desire to take advantage of the fact that I was born in Russia of

German parents, and that because of the well-known practice of the former German Government, justly condemned here in America, to regard the children of its subjects, although born and raised elsewhere, as citizens of that country, I have had some annoyance. The facts of the matter, however, are that since 1917 I have been legally a citizen of Russia, the country in which I was born and raised. I have documentary evidence of my Russian citizenship. If anybody wants to create complications on this point, it is only additional evidence of the complete lack of any real foundation for any charges against me.

I hope that the investigation before the Senate Committee will clearly bring out before the American public the whole uncolored truth about Russia, and I feel confident that a fair and thorough investigation will dispel the bitterness artificially created against the workers of Russia.

At any rate it is clear that now that the Russian Soviet Republic has been in existence for two years and that at this particular time its strength and stability has been gloriously demonstrated by the complete victory of the Russian worker's forces over the reactionary Czarist elements in Russia, the world as a whole will find it possible and absolutely necessary to establish relations with Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia has no unfriendly designs on the United States. On the contrary, it sincerely wishes to dispel the clouds which prevent an understanding at this time. We do not want to impose ourselves upon the American people. We only know that relations will be established sooner or later and if my presence is not desired in America, somebody else will be the medium received by the United States Government for the establishment of such relations. If I can in any way lay the foundation for these relations, I shall have fulfilled my mission.

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Theatres and Movies in Soviet Russia

The Geneva newspaper, La Feuille, has recently printed a series of articles on Russia, the author of which is a Russian who does not wish his name to be used (probably in order not to attract the attention of the police authorities, particularly those of Geneva). Some time ago he spent four months in Russia and was in contact with all classes: the bourgeoisie, the Mensheviki and the Bolsheviks. He is not himself a Bolshevik, but is eager to do justice to the efforts of the Soviet Government now in power. His remarks on theatres and movies are very interesting.

THERE are in Petrograd small shops, but I also saw luxurious stores: these were the sales-rooms for flowers, yea, flowers! Oh, the power of love! War, famine and disease are decimating the population; death in every form is lurking everywhere. And yet, there goes a man who cheerfully obtained a bouquet, for much money, in order to lay it tenderly at the feet of his fair one. There are flowers in Petrograd—and this means something, for it signifies that the smile of woman has lost none of its magic and that in the heart of man youth has not yet died. So the situation cannot be so desperate. But there are not only flowers; there are also operas, plays, concerts, movies, and balls. The theatres are always full and you must always secure a seat in advance. They are playing—and with consummate art—pieces written for the old repertoire, which, moreover, was a very rich one. No new dramas have been written in the Soviet era. The new republic has not yet produced any prominent talents and the old talents are no longer producing. Is it because they are angry at the Government? Not precisely, but their talent was born and developed in a bourgeois milieu and has not yet had time to adapt itself to the new conditions. Their talent is rooted in the old regime; for many years they studied the types of that age and accumulated a rich store of observations from which they drew their creations with the aid of their imagination. The milieu which they rendered so precisely no longer exists; the types they described so well have disappeared. The great mass of observations from which they created their works is no longer of any value, and the writers of old have found themselves devoid of tools when they met the new life face to face. The workers' revolution, without desiring it, has impoverished them artistically and it is perhaps for this reason that they feel hostile to the Soviet Government. We repeat, they are playing plays of the old repertoire—and also foreign classics—but if the pieces are old the public is new: it is an attentive, enthusiastic public. "Of course," said an actress to me, "we were not overjoyed at the idea of playing before an audience of workers and soldiers after having played for distinguished people; but we were soon convinced that we had lost nothing by the change. The artistic sensitiveness and the enthusiasm of the new public completely made up for the loss of the old, and it seems to me we are playing better than before." The actors play much; they often make tours to the front; but they travel under the best possible circumstances; and the Soviet Government is doing everything it can to

assure them of everything. For they are endowed with an important mission: to raise and refine the artistic taste of the workers and peasants. And in most cases the actors are discharging their task with passionate zeal.

Almost all theatres have been nationalized; some have been organized as a sort of federation, and last May I read in the art journals of Kharkov discussions of whether it would be best to nationalize the theatres or to hand them over to the artists of the nation. But the arrival of Denikin put an end to these discussions as well as to many other things.

The theatres in the Soviet Republic are a powerful instrument for the artistic development of the people. The movies, on the other hand, are much used for revolutionary propaganda. Old films are still produced, but there are also many new ones which have as their subject the life of the workers and peasants, or the successes of the Red Army, or episodes of the workers' revolution. The latter have a certain historical interest. For instance, there is one that bears the name of Lunacharsky, Commissar of Education. Its story is as follows:

In a damp, cold cellar there lives an old worker with his daughter, a little girl of twelve or fourteen. It is morning, but day has hardly dawned. The worker awakes, dresses himself painfully, for his limbs are stiff with the cold, and, without eating any breakfast, he proceeds with dismal resignation to the factory, where he goes about his daily grind. In the evening he returns home, but on the way a poster attracts his attention, since a number of workers are standing before it, reading it and gesticulating at the same time. He stops and reads this ordinance of the Soviet Government, which says in substance the following: "Unhealthy dwellings and wretched cellars may no longer be inhabited by workers. For reasons of public health (and also from general considerations of revolutionary tactics) the workers in the centre of the city are to occupy all the empty houses of the bourgeoisie, and also the inhabited dwellings, if the number of rooms is in excess of the needs of the present inhabitants." Our worker likes this ordinance. How nice it would be to have a clean, bright, warm flat! How comfortable, to be able to rest in a livable room after the day's work! But how should he dare to make himself at home in a bourgeois house? And sadly he returns home, where, after a scanty meal, he goes to sleep on a hard bed.

In the same house, there lives a professor of chemistry, with his wife and son, a gymnasium

student, fourteen or fifteen years old. The scholar's flat is a handsome one. He is just returning from the university, where he is giving courses to a hundred indifferent and inattentive students. His dinner is ready for him, and, in spite of the poverty in the city, his favorite luxuries are also served. After the meal he runs through the papers. He reads the ordinance, smiles, and yet shows traces of nervousness in his merriment. The bell rings; the embarrassed servant girl announces the arrival of a Workers' Committee. They are two members of the Committee who have looked up their old comrade living in the cellar, and have made him follow them in order to inspect the learned man's flat. The apartment is spacious, and two additional occupants will not crowd it. So the old worker and his daughter become tenants of this bourgeois home. The luxury and comfort delight and charm them. They feel the soft arm-chairs and are pleased with them; they look with pleasure at the pictures, and carefully pass their hands over the beautiful tapestries. But it is tea-time, and the worker courageously advances into the parlor in order to get a kettleful of water, where he finds the family of the professor gathered about a steaming samovar. Making the best of a bad bargain, the professor invites the intruder to take a seat at the family table. A conversation begins, which is at first awkward, but becomes more animated when the worker proposes to the scholar that he deliver lectures to the young workers. "Perhaps that is not such a bad idea. I shall think it over."

But where is the little tom-boy daughter? She didn't dare to come into the parlor, and the young gymnasium student, gallant, also perhaps a little curious, goes off to take her a cup of tea. Buried in the recesses of an arm-chair, the young working-girl gives the professor's son a very bad reception, for is he not her class enemy? Did not his gymnasium sign a petition in favor of the Constituent Assembly? This reception in no way repels our young man, however, and soon the little one is listening in an interested manner to his accounts of life in the gymnasium.

We are now shown the course in chemistry as given to the professor's new audience. Young workers are listening attentively to the old professor and are following with flashing eyes the experiments that are to open a new world to them. The lesson ends with an ovation, and the applause of the students follows the professor out into the street. He is now contented, the old, blasé professor and skeptic; he is delighted with his students, whose enthusiasm rejuvenates him, spurs him on and opens new prospects to him. He no longer regrets the severity of the ordinance which has permitted him to come in closer contact with the workers and make himself their friend.

But the outside world makes its influence felt. The Finns, egged on by the Entente, once more attempt to settle their score with Red Petrograd. In answer to the appeal of the Committee for the Defense of the Revolution, the workers come pouring out of all the factories. There are drills in the

streets. Regiments march by. Our old worker, in spite of his white hairs, can no longer restrain himself. The workers' revolution has restored his life to him—more than he had ever expected; he will defend his new life; he rushes to the front, confident that if fate has decreed that he is to perish at the hand of a Finnish, a French, or an English bullet, it will not matter. His child, his comrades, will no longer know the slavery of capitalism! He entrusts his daughter to the professor's family and hastens away. Wounded in battle, and not yet healed, he hurries back to his Petrograd, now free from danger.

We are now again shown the family table. The old wounded worker occupies the place of honor, and seated about him are the scholar and his wife; the gymnasium student and his girl comrade, our tom-boy of the earlier scenes. Delightedly and attentively they listen to the enthusiastic accounts the wounded man gives of his battles and his past. But whence comes this noise, this applause, this shouting? They rush out on the balcony. It is the workers' regiments, returning from the front, with Red flags, bearing the inscription: "Proletarians of all lands unite!" "War on the Palaces, Peace to the Huts!" The regiments halt before the house of the professor, unfurl a banner with the inscription: "Long Live the Concord Between the Hand-Workers and the Brain-Workers!" And in a tremendous ovation they express their approval of the old scholar who has revealed a new world to them, and of the old worker whose courage has helped them to victory. They also greet the young gymnasium boy and his little comrade, for they also, we must add, have performed the workers' republic the service of exposing a counter-revolutionary plot in the very heart of Petrograd, while the workers were fighting at the front.

"AN UNINVITED GUEST IS WORSE THAN A TARTAR"

Dalni Vostok (Vladivostok, Semi-Official Reactionary), Oct. 10, adapts some well-known Russian proverbs to Allied intervention:—

"An uninvited guest is worse than a Tartar."

"When a pig is placed at table, in a moment its feet are on the table."

"He who has a very good memory is a long way from Versailles."

"Better than a hundred friends are a hundred roubles."

"Too many nursemaids make the child scream at the top of its voice."

"They love the Russians as their own soul and shake them like a pear-tree."

"Don't open your mouth for another man's cake—or you will choke."

"A calf across the seas is worth but half a kopeck, but according to the rate of exchange it is worth a million"

Litvinoff at Copenhagen

THE negotiations at Copenhagen between Mr. O'Grady and M. Litvinoff for the exchange of British and Russian prisoners have been broken off by the Soviet Government.

The divergence between the two sets of proposals was very wide, and there was little prospect that any compromise could have been arrived at except by drastic reduction of the Soviet conditions.

According to a statement by Mr. O'Grady, M. Litvinoff demanded, in return for a complete surrender of British prisoners, not only Russian prisoners in Great Britain, but all those in Archangel, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Belgium, and Germany. For all the Russian prisoners of war in England, including officers, he offered only British privates and N. C. O.'s. The British officers in Russia were to be surrendered only if 225 Russian prisoners were released from Archangel.

MR. O'GRADY'S STATEMENT

Mr. O'Grady yesterday at Copenhagen made a statement to the following effect to Reuter's correspondent:—

The wireless correspondence which preceded the conference, and which we had before us in our discussion of preliminaries, would surely prove to any reasonable person that Mr. Litvinoff's sole purpose in coming to Copenhagen was to discuss the exchange of British prisoners of war and British Nationals in Soviet Russia for Russian prisoners of war within the British Government's jurisdiction and those Russian Nationals in Great Britain who are sympathetic with the Russian Soviet Government.

M. Litvinoff, however, took the view that the word "jurisdiction" meant the whole of the Russian prisoners of war in Archangel, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Belgium, and Germany, and it was in accordance with this view that he subsequently dictated the final terms that were rejected by the British Government refusing to recede from its original purpose, as disclosed by the wireless correspondence, the Soviet Government instructed M. Litvinoff to proceed no further, and thus broke off negotiations.

In the course of the negotiations I offered him concessions, which I maintain any reasonable man even in Soviet Russia would accept as fair proposals. His reply was that if he were to return to Russia with such proposals he would first be greeted with laughter by the nation; then a salvo of artillery, and, finally, be shot himself.

Litvinoff's Terms

He therefore turned down the proposals without consideration, and proceeded to dictate his own, which I declared no Government could be expected to accept. These proposals, which he maintained to the end, were in brief:—

1. British privates and non-commissioned officers to be released in return for all the Russian prisoners of war in England, including some 28 officers. The British Government should bear the cost of their transport to the sea board, and provide sea transport hence to an Esthonian port.

The British Government replied that it had no jurisdiction over the prisoners in the hands of the Archangel Government, that it could not and would not instruct the Danish Government to release the 1,700 prisoners in Denmark, but if the Danish Government agreed to their release the British Government would provide the transport facilities.

Seeing that the Inter-Allied Commission in Berlin had never met, and that even if it existed the British Government was unable to arrange for a Soviet representative to sit thereon without consulting the Allies, the British Government contended that M. Litvinoff's condition was impossible for execution; that the Soviet Government had a seat on the Commission.

Respecting Russian prisoners of war who have escaped from France and Germany into Holland, Switzerland, and Belgium—

2. The Archangel Government to be instructed by the British Government to release the 225 prisoners there in return for which the 22 British officers in Russia would be released.

3. The Soviet Government to release the British women and children in Russia if we would instruct the Danish Government to send back the 1700 escaped Russian prisoners of war now in Denmark, and the British Government to provide facilities and arrange for the passage through Esthonian territory to the Russian frontier at Pakoff.

The male British civilians to be released on the understanding that the British Government instructed the Inter-Allied Commission (which M. Litvinoff alleged meets in Berlin) to consider the repatriation of Russian prisoners, and as regards the Russian prisoners of war captured in Mesopotamia and the Caucasus, who are now interned in Persia, the British Government agreed in principle to the release and repatriation of them.

On receipt of the British Government's reply, M. Litvinoff informed me that the Soviet Government gave a definite and blank refusal and threatened to break off negotiations.

Regarding his personal relations with M. Litvinoff, Mr. O'Grady said that they were very courteous and friendly, and the only difficulties that arose concerned the differing purposes which we were commissioned to effect.

My own instructions were very clear. M. Litvinoff, however, had very wide credentials which empowered him to deal with matters that could only have been dealt with effectively by an international commission. The final terms submitted to

the British Government could only have been dealt with by such a body.

Treatment of British Prisoners

While Mr. O'Grady has received no assurance regarding the future treatment of British prisoners, he said: The information which I possess from persons who have recently either left or escaped from Russia bears out M. Litvinoff's statement that the prisoners of war are well treated so far as the conditions in Russia now permit, and that the British civilians' welfare is on the whole satisfactory.

M. Litvinoff stated that the British prisoners of war were better fed than the Red Army, and that as regards food the British civilians were at least on an equality with Russian Soviet citizens. Furthermore, he quite willingly agreed to the despatch of warm clothing, extra food, and money to both British prisoners of war and civilians.

—*Press Association.*

M. LITVINOFF'S ACCOUNT

In an interview with Reuter's correspondent M. Litvinoff, asked to state briefly the Soviet Government's minimum demands at the present moment for exchange and repatriation, stated them as follows:—

First, the repatriation of about 225 prisoners captured by the troops under British command in North Russia before its evacuation by the British troops, according to the list submitted, and also

of nine Russians taken in the Caucasus by the British.

Secondly, transport facilities for the return to Russia of Russian prisoners as present in neutral countries, subject to such neutral countries, agreeing thereto.

Thirdly, that just as General Denikin is represented by Colonel Brandt on the Inter-Allied Commission which has charge of Russian prisoners in Germany, so the Soviet Government shall have a representative on the Commission, and that these prisoners shall in course of time be repatriated to whatever parts of Russia they voluntarily choose, whether to places in the Soviet Government's territory or in Kolchak's or Denikin's territory.

Fourthly, a Soviet representative shall be permitted to stay in a neutral country to see to the execution of the agreement.

His personal relations with Mr. O'Grady (whose fairness he admitted) had been smooth. M. Litvinoff added he had received no communication from the Allies on the question. He had not taken and did not intend to take further steps in the matter. He remarked: We should have to leave the matter to the Red Army. We understand from Mr. Lloyd George that he wished us to deal first with Kolchak and Denikin, and that is actually what our Red Army is doing, and doing it successfully.

—*The Manchester Guardian.*

December 20, 1919.

Fredrik Ström Not Allowed to Go Ashore in Denmark

Was to Have Met Litvinoff for Discussion Concerning the Swedes in Russia, and O'Grady for Humanitarian Purposes

(Private Telegram to Politiken).

THE following sensational telegram from Fredrik Ström to Politiken arrived from Malmö on Sunday.

After having received in legal order a passport to Denmark the undersigned left for Copenhagen on the night train last night, via Hälsingborg. The purpose of the trip was partly to meet Litvinoff during his visit to Copenhagen and discuss the proposition of making it possible for Swedes to return home to Sweden or to have food sent them from Sweden,—about which I have already negotiated with the Swedish foreign ministry,—and partly to further discuss with the English government representative, O'Grady, a proposition from the English Quakers' Society to send condensed milk to the starving children in Petrograd, about which the Society has been negotiating with me.

At the visé of passports in Helsingör, I was informed that a refusal had been issued by the Danish government. Upon my asking the reason for this decree I was told that the motives were not known, but that a similar order had been issued to the passport visé at Copenhagen, thereby closing the way from Malmö. They referred to a communication which lay upon the table. My journey to Denmark was thus known in advance, which is evidence

that the Danish political police have a spy at the Swedish governor general's office, who reports about the Swedes who ask for passports to Denmark; or else that the Swedish and Danish political autocracies are co-operating, under the supervision of the Entente. Thus the Swedish authorities officially grant me a passport asking the Danish to let me pass "free and unhindered" while secretly advising them to stop my journey. This is their gratitude for my efforts to help Swedish citizens in Russia, at the request of their relatives in Sweden, and after consultation with the Swedish Foreign Minister. After I had entered my protest against this refusal to permit me to continue my trip, I was taken on board the ferry to Hälsingborg. I intend to protest by telegram to Minister Stauning, and will also inform Litvinoff as soon as he reaches Copenhagen.

FREDRIK STRÖM.

The above telegram speaks for itself in a way that makes further comment superfluous. The fear of Bolshevism is now so great that in a meeting between Litvinov and Ström for certain quite humanitarian purposes a great danger is seen, which must be prevented. It is not known whether it is the Danish, the Swedish, or the English authorities

who stand behind this proclamation, which is just as stupid as it is pitiful. Perhaps it takes place with the coordinating willingness of all three. It is, however, evident that this proclamation, from a Swedish point of view, signifies a great disfavor towards those countrymen in Russia for whom great pity is officially felt. If the Swedish government is serious in its endeavors to give these men an opportunity to come home it must understand that the treatment of Ström—about which it cannot very well be ignorant—is not intended to facilitate the arrangement of matter, because only he could manage it in this case.

The unveiling of the intimate relations of the Swedish passport authorities with the police of other countries is apt to arouse some interest, even if it is not surprising to find the espionage system so well developed in Sweden.

In England it will without doubt lead to rather unflattering opinion of the Scandinavian countries, that a Swedish Social Democrat who wanted to see the English labor and government representative in a humanitarian matter, and upon behalf of the English Quakers, has been brutally prevented from doing so.

We shall return to the matter later. Already we have a sufficiently ridiculous expression of the enormous fright and fear of the international reactionaries at the mere mention of the real Socialism—Bolshevism.

—Translated from *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, Stockholm.

Details of the Object of Fredrik Ström's Journey.

Politiken is today able to publish two documents which make clear the shameful nature of the refusal to allow Fredrik Ström to land in Denmark, both from a Swedish and a humanitarian standpoint, a measure which appears all the more shameful, if—as seems to be indicated by certain conditions—it occurred because of the request of the Swedish authorities.

Before undertaking this journey, Ström had gotten into communication with the Swedish Foreign Department and proposed that the occasion of Litvinoff's arrival in Copenhagen should be made use of in order to negotiate the sending home of the Swedes now sojourning in Russia. The proposal was received, it appeared, benevolently; Consul Heilborn represented the Foreign Ministry in the matter. At his request, Fredrik Ström wrote a special letter to Litvinoff recommending this procedure. This is the letter which we are publishing below together with the letter to Consul Heilborn, in which the other is enclosed:

1.

To Consul Heilborn,
Foreign Department,
Stockholm.

In connection with our telephonic conversation of yesterday, in which you said that His Excellency Hellmer would gladly see a conversation come to pass between the Soviet Government's representative Litvinoff and some representative of the Swedish Foreign Department, on the occasion of Mr. Litvinoff's approaching visit to Copenhagen,

in which the question of the status of the Swedish citizens remaining in Russia might be discussed, together with the possibility of extending aid (foodstuffs) to them from Sweden, and an eventual arrangement for their return, in exchange for certain Russians and Finns now living in Sweden who wish to go to Soviet Russia, you as well as the Foreign Minister expressed the desire that I should in an open letter to Litvinoff, which might be handed to him by your representative, express the views which I had verbally stated to you.

I herewith have the honor to hand you the desired letter to Litvinoff and simultaneously emphasize the fact that I am likewise ready to do all that I can to aid in obtaining a positive result from the negotiations.

Very respectfully,

Fredrik Ström.

2.

Dear Comrade Litvinoff:

In accordance with the wish expressed by you in your letter from Moscow under date of August 6, I spoke to the Swedish Foreign Minister on the possibility of holding at Stockholm the negotiations mentioned in this letter between you and the representative of the English Government, concerning the exchange of prisoners between Russia and England. As it has since become known that these negotiations are to take place at Copenhagen at the end of this month I communicated with the Swedish Foreign Minister, through Consul-General Heilborn, and stated what I had learned from your letter above-mentioned, namely, the feasibility of discussing certain open questions between Russia and the neutral states, through a meeting with you, in connection with your stay in Scandinavia because of the matter of the exchange of prisoners between England and Russia. I particularly emphasized, in connection with Sweden, that on several occasions relatives of Swedes living in Russia had applied to me deeply concerned over the fate of the latter, and had tried to obtain information which I was unfortunately as a rule unable to give them. I pointed out the possibility that through negotiations with you perhaps an occasion might be obtained for such Swedes in Russia as might so desire, and as were not accused of serious crimes in Russia, to return to their home country in exchange for certain Russian citizens and Finnish political fugitives now in Sweden, who desired to return via Russia. I was thinking particularly, in this connection—in addition to certain prisoners of war who fled to Sweden from Denmark and Germany—of P. Kuraydov, Secretary of Vorovsky's legation, who had been in a sanatorium for tuberculosis at the time of Vorovsky's departure, as well as of his wife and little daughter, who are all delicate; and who, since it has turned out to be impossible for them to obtain passports to proceed to a country with a milder climate, have several times expressed their wish to return under escort to Russia. The same is the case with a number of other Russians, and also with a number of Finnish political refugees who are very eager to go to Russia. I shall most pressing urge that such an exchange of Swedes in Russia and of certain Russians and Finns in Sweden may come to pass. Should such an exchange not come to pass in the nearest future, it appears to me to be particularly desirable that, through negotiations between you and the Swedish Government, some alleviation might be obtained, particularly for the Swedish women and children now in Russia, by arranging for the delivery of certain foodstuffs to them from Sweden, since they, being foreigners, and cut off from their home country, are suffering distress. I believe that such an arrangement would be of a certain importance, and would counteract the international misrepresentations of Soviet Russia which are so frequent.

In the Swedish press there have also been many reports of the alleged gross violations and plunderings of the Swedish Consulate and the Legations in Russia, in which costly furniture and works of art are alleged to have been destroyed, etc. In connection with your letter of August 1, I told Consul-General Heilborn the reason for the searches of the Consulates of the neutral countries and

went so far as to deny that plunderings and destructions had accompanied these searches. It would be desirable that detailed information on this matter should be delivered by you to the representative of the Swedish Foreign Department. Finally, I have informed the Swedish Foreign Department that if I can in any way obtain a positive result from eventual negotiations on these humanitarian questions between the two countries, I will gladly do so, and therefore desire to participate and hope for an eventual agreement between you and the Swedish representative. In this also I believe I have your approval.

After conversing with Consul-General Heilborn on these questions and after his consultation with the Swedish Foreign Minister, the latter expressed a wish that I might present my views in a letter sent to you. In this present letter, which I am handing open to Consul-General Heilborn, I am complying with this wish.

With the heartiest greetings.

*Yours faithfully,
Fredrik Ström.*

These documents clearly show the baselessness and shamefulness of the Danish refusal to allow Frederik Ström to land. We now address these questions to those concerned:

1 Was this refusal issued with the knowledge and by the desire of the Swedish Foreign Department or the Swedish Police?

2. If such is not the case, should not the Foreign Department have some interest in having this unjustified and insulting refusal cancelled?

—*Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, Nov. 25, 1919

Impressions of Moscow a Year Ago

The publication of the letters of Captain Sadoul, one of the members of the French Military Mission in Russia who had the courage and the intelligence to find out the truth about the Soviet Government, has been held up for months by the censorship and the state of siege at Paris. This has been recently removed, and there is now available in France a volume of 400 pages of Captain Sadoul's "Notes on the Bolshevik Revolution." These notes or letters cover the period from October 1917 to the end of January 1919.

Although, as was to be expected, the French military courts have convicted Captain Sadoul of treason, the publication of his letters has aroused such strong sentiment among the working classes of Paris that it is extremely unlikely that the sentence will be carried out.

We published two weeks ago three of Captain Sadoul's earlier letters from Petrograd. We are publishing herewith a translation of the most illuminating extracts from a later letter, this time to M. Jean Longuet, the French Socialist leader:

Moscow, January 17, 1919.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I have been nailed down in bed for more than three weeks with a kind of typhus. I am battered, exhausted, and empty. I wish, however, to take advantage of the departure of a part of the French Military Mission and of a delegation of three Soviet comrades who are going to negotiate in France for the return of the Russian troops, to try to address a few words to you.* As a foreword I beg you to excuse the desultory character of the lines you are going to read. They are dictated by an invalid.

A personal matter first.

The greater part of the officers of the Mission who return to France have just spent three months in the Moscow prisons, where they were under detention for espionage—and very legitimately, too. Indeed, they have done here the vilest kind of low police work, of sabotage, of provocation, of counter-revolution. They are nearly all militant reactionaries, who hate not only the Revolution, but democracy as well.

All these persons know that when I return to France, if the bad fortune of the times should wish that I come back under a socialising or even a revolutionary ministry, the revelations that I might make upon their behavior in Russia would create a scandal that ought to be extremely dangerous for

them. They have decided to prevent my return by all means possible. They tried at first to have me killed. But I was warned in time, and we have been able to prevent an assassination, which would have provoked disagreeable reprisals.

They are thinking now of a legal assassination, that is to say, a sentence. They are cooking up against me I don't know how many dirty intrigues.

They could justly accuse me of having participated in revolutionary action, in internationalist, even in Bolshevik agitation. I should not think of defending myself against such imputations. But in order to better discredit his ideas, these men, following an ancient formula, immediately try to drown a man under calumnies. Friends tell me that they seek to represent me in France as having made use of my soviet relations in order to play dirty tricks upon my comrades. . . .

Captain Sadoul then goes on to defend himself against the campaign of calumnies. So far from acting as informer upon the other members of the French Mission, Captain Sadoul retarded their well-merited imprisonment for more than a year. He also prevented their trial and execution, and finally brought about their liberation.

Not being in France to work with our comrades, I can at least continue, in these decisive hours, to act in the role of messenger (when I have the exceptional opportunity to send a letter) to my companions of the French struggle, so badly enlightened still upon what is going on here. And, moreover, what interest there should be on the part of our working class in being exactly informed upon the fifteen months' experiment of socialist construction carried on by the Russian Communists,

* Interesting material on these three representatives, whose names were Manuilsky, Davtian, and Madame Armand, will be found in No. 7 of our old *Bulletin of Information* (April 14, 1919).

for which the proletarians of the entire world owe a debt of eternal gratitude! But I do not wish to come back today to the extraordinary results obtained through skill, tenacity and through Bolshevik faith in the enormous work of social transformation undertaken in October, 1917, and so brilliantly pursued since that epoch. I have kept you informed from day to day of this work of destruction of the old regime and of the creation of a new society, a gigantic task, realized by giants.

I wish to content myself this time with citing a few facts taken at random, recent events, precise and certain, which illustrate the unbelievable cynicism of the policy undertaken by the Entente against the Revolution, and which justify the cries of alarm which I have uttered for so long to our too naive comrades, deceived by the hypocritical official declarations of our so-called democratic governments.

In the Baltic Sea, the English Admiral commanding the Allied squadron has just published the following order of the day:

1. Sink without warning any German vessel navigating under the red flag.
2. Sink purely and simply the boats commanded not by officers, but by elected sailors.
3. Shoot down any crew in which is to be found a single Bolshevik.

The Governments of the Entente are backing up all the criminal attempts against Bolshevism. The pseudo-socialist ministers who are at present governing Poland, are their lackeys. Now these ministers have just committed an unheard of crime in causing to be executed four members of the delegation of the Russian Red Cross, fortified by all manner of documents and safeconducts, and placed under the protection of Denmark. This crime could not have been committed but with the instigation, or the complicity, of the Entente.

Against Bolshevism, too, the Allies have just invented a new arm. Foch is imposing upon Germany a Commission of Control charged (without any agreement having been made with the Russian Government) with the protection(?) and the repatriation of the Russian prisoners. One must have a great deal of naiveté to believe that Foch and Clemenceau have been moved by philanthropic motives to impose this new armistice condition. The truth, the shameful truth is different. This Commission of control is charged with conducting an inquisition upon the Russian prisoners and the task of dividing them into two classes: the wicked, that is to say, the Bolsheviks, or those likely to become Bolsheviks, who will be isolated, tortured and retained in Germany; and the good, that is to say, the anti-Bolsheviks, or those likely to become anti-Bolsheviks, who will be directed toward Poland, then enrolled willingly or unwillingly in the Polish legions or in the companies of white guards, paid, armed, fed by the Allies, and destined for the grand offensive against Bolshevism. . . .

The Entente gathers up against the Soviet Republic all the peoples incapable of resisting its will.

. . . She has torn from Finland a declaration of war against the Esthonian Soviet Republic, a declaration for which one cannot understand either the reason or the pretext. She is trying equally to force the Scandinavian states into military action. From now on she forbids them to continue commercial relations with Russia, and in order to be more sure of their obedience, she obliges them to recall their diplomatic representatives from Moscow, as she had previously constrained Switzerland to expel the Bolshevik legation and Holland to refuse entrance to the Soviet representatives, which she had at first agreed to accept.

It is necessary to note in passing the vast campaign of economic encirclement, the pitiless blockade established against Russia. If the Entente is obliged to renounce all armed intervention, direct or indirect, she hopes at least to conquer Bolshevism through bringing about industrial ruin and famine. Holding in her hands the wheat granaries of Siberia, she is already beginning to starve out this unhappy country, and already she has condemned to death hundreds of thousands of innocents.

But the siege is a method that is too slow, for the time passes. Each passing month consolidates the power of the Soviets and aggravates the symptoms of revolution in the Western countries. That is why the Entente has decided not to abandon military operations. She supports directly by her money and her munitions, on all the four points of the compass, all the enemies of the Soviet Republic. . . . On the north, on the south, on the east, everywhere are monarchists. They are the only protégés of the Allies.

The example of Siberia is significant. There was at Ufa, at Cheliabinsk, at Samara, and finally at Omsk a "government of the Constituent Assembly," composed of social revolutionists like Chernoiff and Avksentieff, the friend of Kerensky. The Allies made use of these poor naive creatures as long as they considered it worth while, but they were never in sympathy with them. On the first occasion, they supported and brought about a coup d'état. The Socialist-Revolutionist friends of the Entente are in flight or in prison and Kolchak reigns now at Omsk. His counter-revolutionary activity ought to give full satisfaction to the French General Janin, who works at his side at Omsk, and who could very well imagine himself restored to the court of Nicholas II, where one spoke very highly of his discrete elegance. . . .

I now come to the internal situation. The Allies wish to destroy the Revolution and the Russian state. The design is so manifest that all the Russians have come to understand it and are reconciling themselves one with another in the face of this danger. Many Russian patriots who are neither Bolsheviks nor even socialists have entered into the red army in order to defend Russia, menaced by the foreign foe.

As for the diverse socialists, seeing that not only Bolshevism but all the conquests of the Revolution

the internal work by the Allied bourgeoisie, they have been directed against the Bolsheviks and against the common front. This alliance, which has had tremendous consequences for the internal political situation, might have seemed impossible six months ago. But one can remember the splendid isolation of the Bolsheviks who supported them throughout. The united front of the Allies was necessary to bring about this miraculous adhesion, which will certainly work for the safety of the Revolution. To be sure, this union seems to leave intact the differences of program. It has been brought about for the chief purpose of creating a compact front against the invader. But it creates also a habit of working in common which ought necessarily to bring a rapprochement of the anti-sovietists with sovietists, and indeed, leads them to make nearly all the manner of concessions. The partisans of the old regime alone abstain from this union—the men of the right and the cadets, that is to say, the disgraceful monarchists. . . .

The intellectuals group themselves more and more around the power of the Soviets. Maxim Gorky has rallied to it without reserve, at the head of professors, artists, poets, and celebrated writers; he works actively in the Bolshevik organizations. For long months already, the greater part of the official scientific institutions, notably the academy of Sciences, have collaborated, in the domain of their customary activity, with the government, which in its turn has outlined to them grandiose programs of statistics, of prospection and of putting to use the enormous productive riches of Russia. This formidable work is already very far advanced. It ought to be extremely beneficial for the future of the country. On the other hand, the Soviet power grants without question the credits which are asked for by the savants, who have never been treated to such a feast, and who, all politics aside, bless the heavens for having entrusted the destinies of Russia to these intelligent ministers. It is the same with the engineers, chemists and inventors, who by the thousands are devoting themselves both to questions of military technique and to questions of economic reorganization. The wish expressed by Lenin and Trotzky, ever since October 1917, has been realized: to the strong arms which have made the Revolution have been added now the brains which ought to assure its conquests. . . .

The internal work of organization is proceeding apace. The difficulties are enormous. The iron band of the Allies and the counter-revolutionists has not been slackened enough for Bolshevism to have at its disposal the foodstuffs, the fuel and raw material which it needs. But the effort continues with a prodigious tenacity. Success seems certain, and it would be attained rapidly if France, England, and the United States, finally renouncing their Russian policy of meddling in the internal affairs of the country, should bring to Russia the alimentary and economic help which she needs and which they hypocritically promise. But these as-

sassins think of nothing but of killing the Revolution.

The socialization of distribution, after that of production, is going on rapidly. The conduct of the industrial enterprises is far from being what it should be, alas! Lack of fuel, lack of raw materials (the mines and the principal centers of production, are out of Soviet hands), lack of working discipline. [*Since these lines were written, as the reader knows, many of these difficulties have disappeared, following the capture by the Soviets of the mining regions of the Ural.—Ed.*]

But it must not be forgotten that the Russian industry created by foreign capital and foreign technique bore up only under the support of specialists from the West, of directors, engineers, foremen, etc.—all from the West. And there was not one industrial enterprise of any importance that was not directed effectively by Englishmen, Frenchmen, and above all by Germans. The brusque disappearance of these foreign specialists (dispersed by the war and by the Revolution) has thrown Russian industry into a state of disorganization which the good will of the Russian specialists was not sufficient to obviate. I speak, it is understood, of those who did not practice sabotage. But it must be kept in mind that the saboteurs are more and more rare, and that the bourgeoisie, as well as the intelligentsia, has resigned itself little by little to serve a regime whose stability it is beginning to understand.

In default of foreign bourgeois specialists, it is necessary that French and German comrades come here, at the very earliest, in order to put into running order the economic machine, which cannot go on without them, no matter what government be in power, and which cannot do without them before there will be formed new groups of Russian specialists, truly capable of directing and administering—that is to say, before many years to come. . . .

Captain Sadoul then goes on to discuss the problem of the new bureaucracy under the Soviet regime, and how the problem was finally met through revolutionary discipline and the various peace proposals of the winter of 1918-19 with which the reader is doubtless familiar. At the time of Captain Sadoul's writing, the election returns showed that seventy per cent of the people were Sovietists, but by this time the number must have been considerably augmented. There never was any justification for the Allied refusal to negotiate with the Soviet regime on the ground that it was a government not representing the people.

If French soldiers continue to suffer in the Polar regions and risk receiving bullets when the war is terminated and they should be back at their fireside, the fault (*Capt. Sadoul goes on*) is not with the Soviet Government. I know that in his desire to have peace, cost what is may, Chicherin has proposed (I have had numerous conversations upon this subject with all the Soviet leaders, especially with Lenin) to the French Government to repeal the decree of the annulment of the debt and to regulate in the fashion most satisfactory to it, this question of interest to so many small holders in

France. Of course, no response came to this proposition, so embarrassing for people who wish no peace at any price. Clemenceau has decided to reestablish the monarchy in Russia.

I believe even that the French government shows more bitterness against Russia than England herself. It is the latter that proposed recently to the Soviet power to come to an understanding with it in order to assure it a place at the peace conference, by the side of the representatives of the various counter-revolutionary states. A rather puny concession! Moreover, Pichon did not wish to grant even that. He protested, and England renounced the plan. . . .

I come to a close. Once more I repeat that the honor, independence, and the most elementary self interest of the French proletariat demand that it act immediately to obtain by all means, and if need be by revolutionary means, this program:

1. The non-intervention of the Entente in the internal affairs of Russia.
2. The withdrawal immediately of all the Allied troops now in Europe or Asiatic Russia.
3. The cessation of all political intervention, direct or indirect, by material or moral support given either to the counter-revolutionary Russians or to states within the confines of Russia.
4. The explication of the agreements already entered into with the aim of intervention or of bringing about intervention by counter-revolutionary Russians and the border states, and the repudiation of these agreements.
5. The recognition of the power of the Soviets, now more solid and popular than ever, after fifteen months of existence.
6. The resumption of diplomatic relations, including the sending of a representative Frenchman (a Socialist), to Russia, and the acceptance of a Russian representative in France.
7. The sending to Russia of a delegation of socialists, of syndicalists and of technicians charged with making an inquest into the situation created by the communist power.
8. The admission to the Peace Conference of delegates of the Bolshevik government as representatives of the Russian people.
9. The cessation of the economic blockade which is putting Russia on the verge of industrial ruin and famine.
10. The resumption of commercial relations and the signature of an economic entente which might contain clauses extremely advantageous for France (wheat, flax, wood, fisheries, mines, railroads, etc.).
11. The sending to Russia of a few hundred, or better, of a few thousand administrators, engineers, foremen and skilled workers, more especially metallurgists, who would bring a decisive aid in the industrial work of the young socialist Republic, notably in what concerns the most urgent work of the reparation of the rolling stock of the railroads and the organization of transports. . . .

It is useless to insist upon the moral advantages which would result from this industrial crusade undertaken by the French proletariat in Russia. The

comrades could very quickly cultivate affectionate and lasting relationships with this people, so hospitable and gentle, still big and naive, but so worthy of being loved, and so superior to our Western populations, who have been too much policed, too much mistrustful, too much selfishly inclined and too sceptical. They are worthy of being loved for their simple and profound goodness, for this true idealism which has permitted them to place themselves so suddenly in the advance-guard of the civilized world.

And, moreover, our comrades will not sojourn in vain in this vast laboratory of socialism which constitutes Russia. Example is worth more than any kind of lesson. The passage from capitalism to socialism is not an easy enterprise. It will demand yet months, and no doubt, years of experience, years of groping, and years of adjustment. It is evident that it could only be realized completely after the proletariat of one or two great European countries, having finally understood the lessons of this Revolution, will have come to join its efforts with those of the Russian proletariat. Then, too, as said Lenin, when the old society dies, we cannot close up its corpse in a coffin and put it under ground. The cadaver decomposes in our midst. It putrefies. It infects us ourselves. We are obliged to struggle for the creation and the development of the germs of the new society in an atmosphere vitiated by the miasmas of the bourgeoisie in its putrefaction. It cannot be otherwise. It will always be in a capitalist state on the point of decomposition, and in the midst of incessant combats, waged against infection, that any society will pass from the capitalist to the socialist regime.

But despite the frightful difficulties, the maximalist realizations are tremendous, and worthy of all our admiration. The workers who shall have examined them from near will carry away such a remembrance that they will force themselves, certainly, some day to attempt a like social transformation—adapting it, of course, to the national social forms. The militants who will come back to France after a stay of a few months in the Russian Communist Republic will be rich with sociological experiences and prepared for the tasks of the future.

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The Russian Soldiers in France

THE DRAMA AT ST. OUVEN CAMP—TANKS DRIVEN AGAINST MEN WHO ASK FOR BREAD—SIX DEAD, A SCORE WOUNDED

Frequently the issues of SOVIET RUSSIA have contained accounts of the manner in which Russian soldiers are being maltreated in France, as well as copies of official demands by the Soviet Government for their repatriation. A reference to the new index to the First Volume of SOVIET RUSSIA will result in the obtaining of interesting material on this subject. We are printing below, from a French weekly, an account of one of the worst of the persecutions of former Russian soldiers in France. A similar affair was reported in "La Vie Ouvrière" for July 9, 1919, and reprinted in SOVIET RUSSIA, Nov. 29, 1919.

TRUTH ultimately comes out of the ditch in which the scoundrels which it is to unmask are anxious to bury it.

Two facts on which we had hitherto been imperfectly informed have finally been brought to light.

Through the letter of a French soldier, we had been informed of the orgies of death in which a French officer had indulged at Toul on the bodies of Russian soldiers. We had made an attempt to publish this letter; the censorship definitely forbade it, and we yielded. A few weeks later a letter from a Russian soldier was brought to us, which told still more serious things, things that have ended in the assassination of seven Russian prisoners. Ignoring this time the formal objection of the censorship, we published this letter in *La Vie Ouvrière* of July 9th. The League for the Rights of Man, whom we asked to intervene in this matter, requested information from us in a letter which we published a fortnight later. One of our comrades communicated to them the letter that had been brought to our office. The League for the Rights of Man promised to start an inquiry. We have better information than the outcome of the inquiry by the League for the Rights of Man, which was too much occupied with the defense of the retired Ministers

to get excited about the violation of the Rights of Men in the persons of Russian prisoners.

Today the victims have succeeded in breaking through the ring around them, and in shouting out the truth in two long letters which were published in the *Internationale* of December 1st.

The Death Orgies at Toul

At the present moment there remain in France about 60,000 Russian soldiers who are treated worse than prisoners of war. Some belonged to the Russian troops fighting on the French front, and who had survived the offensive of April 16, 1917, in which, before the Fort of Brimont, 10,000 of them went into battle and three or four thousand returned, and who had survived also the camp of La Courte (Creuse), where French 75's were fired at them.

The others, for the most part, had been prisoners in Germany, who passed into France after the armistice. They were distributed to various camps; in certain camps they were more or less free; elsewhere enclosed in barbed wire fences. Usually they were badly fed, often famished. Many preserve a favorable memory of the two months which they spent under the surveillance of the Americans, but after January, 1919, the United States entrusted to France the duty of taking care of them:

"At this time begins our sad Odyssey. We were encamped in three forts near Toul. In the first few days

the French Command displayed benevolence toward us, but soon Russian officers of the former Czarist regime arrived, who undertook the task of transforming us into soldiers for the counter-revolutionary army."

They Refused to Fight for Denikin

After three months, marked by privations, by days in prison, by a hunger strike maintained for four days, the *Commandant d'Armée* (153rd Infantry) of the Fort of St. Michel published a note according to the terms of which there was to be taken a list of names of the Russians who had come from Germany, allegedly with the object of repatriating them.

The Russian soldiers answered in the following letter:

"We, the Russians in the fort, answer that we cannot give the information desired, since we have already been asked several times for it, on the ground that the information was useful in repatriating us, while actually it was used for an entirely different purpose. We have been told that this information was asked of us in order to get us into the Foreign Legion or similar bodies (Denikin, Kolchak, and Co.).

"Consequently, having been deceived several times, we shall not again give any information to the military authorities until we shall have been assured that we are to be under the protection of the International Red Cross. Its Committee is to take us in charge before our return to Russia. We shall then give all information cheerfully and correctly."

The Russian prisoners thus refused, on the 23rd of May, to permit themselves to be enlisted in the Denikin army. The commandant answered their refusal by withholding from them 135 rations of bread.

"You must die of hunger or permit yourselves to be enrolled as a volunteer in the counter-revolutionary army!"

"Give us bread!"

The prisoners went all in a body to demand their bread rations from the commandant. One of them expressed this demand, but unsuccessfully. They must either sign or do without bread. The commandant ordered them to disperse, otherwise he would give orders to fire on them.

"We were hungry,—we repeated our request, and we remained in the bastion. Five minutes had hardly passed when the commandant returned to us and repeated his order that we disperse. We answered:

"Give us bread.' The commandant gave the order to the armed guard to set up before us some machine guns, and then he again called upon us to withdraw, saying that if we did not at the third call, he would order us to be fired at. 'We are hungry.' Such was our answer, and we turned our backs to the machine-guns, waiting for what would come. Three calls—then, three times in succession,—*Click, Click, Click*—three successive salvos were discharged.

"What can this be? We were still standing, none dead, none wounded. They had fired with blank cartridges, doubtless to frighten us.

"After the third salvo, the commandant approached us and declared that we should no longer be asked to give our names, and had our 135 rations

of bread distributed to us on the spot, the rations that had been withheld from us.

"We now had our bread, but we had gone through a terrible mental shock, the nervous reaction of which, on many of us, caused them to become ill."

At the St. Ouen Camp

From Toul they were transferred to the camp of St. Ouen, a branch of the camp at Maily. There they found other comrades; together there were three thousand of them there in the month of June.

The situation was worse than at Toul. There was less soup and only one ration of bread to four men. On the second day of their stay, after a protest by their interpreter, the bread was increased to one ration for two men, but the other foodstuffs remained as scarce as before.

On June 12th a delegation came to demand a full distribution of foodstuffs in accordance with the regulations. After having tried threats and caused the cavalry to advance with drawn sabres, as well as brought up machine-guns, the commandant was forced to recognize that these demands were well founded, and to promise to give tea and coffee as beverages, for many of the men had become sick because of the impure water.

These promises not having been kept, the prisoners returned to the commandant. This was June 20th.

"We appeared before the house of the commandant and repeated our demand. He answered that he would give us satisfaction on condition that we should submit to discipline, and that we should salute the French officers as well as the Russian officers. Considering ourselves to be no longer military persons we categorically refused. Then he declared that we might stay two or three days before his house but that it would not lead to his making any concessions to us. However, tanks had been brought up to the camp. The commandant went to look for the tankists. We stayed outside of his house from noon until eight o'clock at night. When we left the place we declared to the commandant that we would liberate ourselves at once, for we were not given anything to eat at the camp and we did not wish to continue suffering hunger.

"When we had dispersed and returned to our cantonments the camp was already surrounded by detachments of cavalry, infantry, and tanks. The commandant declared to our interpreter that if one man should try to quit the camp he would open fire on the whole camp. We went to bed and the night passed quietly."

The Drama of June 21st

Tired of suffering hunger, the comrades of the camp of St. Ouen decided, on June 21st, to assemble, in order to find protection in the persons of their superior officers. The French officer in command at the camp was waiting only for this. Running on ahead of our sortie party, he turned revolvers, automatic guns, machine-guns, upon us, as well as cavalry and thirty small tanks.

To the men,—“What do you want?”

We answered,—“We are hungry, comrade. Give us something to eat.”

“We were soon answered with the order to disperse and to go back to our barracks, and at the same moment the cavalry fell upon us in order to disperse us.

“Four of our comrades were seriously wounded by the horses. Finding that we did not disperse, they sent the tanks against us. In order to prove our pacific intentions we held up our hands, in spite of the threats to fire upon us.

French Soldiers Refuse to Fire

“At this moment the officers commanded the soldiers to prepare to fire. Two soldiers lowered their guns and refused to shoot at us. When the officer observed this he showered invectives upon these two soldiers, but our class-conscious French comrades refused to fire, throwing their guns to the ground, after which they were immediately arrested. A French officer summoned the interpreter and communicated to him the order that we retire to our barracks. When the interpreter turned to us to transmit the officer's order he was struck in the face by the officer with the butt of his revolver, and the officer then seized him and wanted to arrest him. Then the comrades, seeing their interpreter thus maltreated rushed to rescue him, which was what the officer was waiting for. Passing his hand over his shoulder, he fired at the soldiers behind him. This was the signal, and immediately he fired also on one of our comrades, who fell dead at his feet. Immediately a disordered fusillade began. Guns, revolvers, machine-guns, were sputtering. During this fusillade, two French soldiers were wounded and one horse killed. We were lying on the ground, and when the fusillade ended, four of our comrades were lying dead with their heads crushed by explosive bullets; another comrade's brains were oozing from his head; two others had terrible wounds in the lower abdomen, caused by explosive bullets. They died almost immediately. Six others were seriously wounded by the same missiles, and thirteen slightly wounded by ordinary bullets.

“Finding that this terrible assassination had not given the desired results, in other words, that we had not dispersed, for we were still lying on the spot, one of the assassin officers commanded the *tankist* (pilot of a tank) to pass with his tank over the bodies of the comrades who were lying there. ‘He had become bored with firing at men lying down.’

Now the Tank Pilot Refuses to Obey

“The unhappy tankist, mounting his machine and seeing at his feet the frightfully mutilated bodies, the crushed heads, with brains issuing from them, was terrified, and as if chained by the sight, he could not take his eyes off the pitiful spectacle before him. Great tears flowed down his cheeks. After the officer had given the order for the second time, the tankist regained control of himself, turned to the assassins and refused to obey the order,

saying to his superiors, ‘Arrest me.’ It was immediately done. Six men took hold of him and carried him away. He had been so paralyzed by the impressions of the terrible sight.

“We were without anything to eat that day because the sum of money intended for current expenses was devoted to the purchase of wine for the soldiers who had obeyed ‘their sacred duty as soldiers.’ They were on a spree for two days ‘on the blood of Russian soldiers.’ French soldiers who had more conscience refused to take part in this orgy, declaring that they could not drink Russian blood.

“This refusal led to their arrest and imprisonment.

“Our comrades who fell as victims of the assassins were taken during the night to the village of M—— and buried in an out of the way corner of the cemetery, not like human beings but like animals. In order to obviate the possibility of an autopsy which might reveal the condition under which they met their death, the place in which they were buried was carefully trampled down so that no one might suspect that this was the place in which seven poor Russian soldiers, assassinated by French officers, were resting.

“Seven dead, a score wounded, French soldiers arrested, probably court-martialed and sentenced,—that is the sum total of this 21st day of June, 1919.”

A human life, we are well aware, is quoted at a low price now that the universal butchery is over. Yet, before these seven bodies of Russian soldiers who were savagely assassinated for having asked for bread, for having refused to go to fight in the counter-revolutionary army, before this pool of innocent blood which cries out for justice,—can French workers continue to remain impassive?

Shall we not force our rulers to treat in a dignified and human manner the 60,000 Russian soldiers who are in French camps? Shall we not force them to stop sending them into Denikin's army, under the threat of machine-gun fire? There are crimes what no one dares commit except in the dark and in hiding. But let these assassins know that no darkness can longer hide them, and that they will have to render an account of their crimes before the bar of a well informed public opinion,—and more even than that.

P. MONATTE.

—From *La Vie Ouvrière*, Dec. 26, 1919.

Bound Volumes for 1919

Those who have ordered bound volumes will have to bear with us for a week or so longer, as there has been an unavoidable delay in the preparation of the Index. We can still accept a few more orders for these volumes, with the understanding that they will be ready for delivery in February. The price is \$4. for the complete set of Soviet Russia, for 1919, attractively bound in cloth; over 600 pages of text and maps.

The War in Russia

(Strategical and Political Reflections)

"THE lesson which France and the world should draw from the war is the lesson of prudence," said Marshal Foch, in an interview published in *Excelsior*, January 9, 1920 (*N. Y. Tribune*, January 12). If this is the case, then how are we to understand why the Allies—and France in particular—are encouraging Poland and little powerless Latvia to undertake a new bloody adventure, which undoubtedly must have the same fate as the much more solidly organized adventures of Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich?

From a purely military standpoint, we cannot consider such a move of the Allies as a prudent one. First of all, the aggressors have to fight the Soviet Army in Russia, which may be considered as very favorable to the defenders. History and recent events prove this in full. On the other hand, the Polish-Latvian army, in order to carry out successfully this offensive against Soviet Russia, must be at least twice as strong (numerically) as their enemy, and this condition is unattainable, even in the case of a most energetic support of the attacking army by the Allies. Had this offensive been begun simultaneously with the famous drive of Yudenich on Petrograd, when the Soviet armies were fiercely engaged in Siberia and in South Russia, the situation of the Soviet forces might by this time be considered as very grave indeed. But now, the military position in Russia is quite different to that which existed even as late as December, 1919.

Practically, at the present moment, Russia has only one fighting front, and this is the Polish-Lithuanian front, because we cannot consider as a front the so-called Siberian front, where the enemy has been finally and completely annihilated, and the whole population of Siberia has risen against the foreign invaders. On the other hand, if the Siberian Soviet army is to meet the Japanese, it certainly will be a local conflict waged by means of local forces, supported by reserves which the Soviet General Staff has definitely set apart for operations in that part of the Republic. Moreover, the Siberian theatre of war is too far away from the western front to have any effect on the development of the military operations along the Polish-Lithuanian fronts. The late Denikin front, being definitely destroyed, need not be reckoned with, because here a general annihilation of the remainder of the beaten enemy's army does not require any longer the presence of the regular army, and certainly will be accomplished by the revolutionary population. Therefore, the greatest part of the Red army, after its glorious fight against Denikin, can be used against the Poles and Letts—if not at once, in the first lines—then at least as a powerful reserve—from a military standpoint a magnificent reserve.

It is sufficient to look at a military map of Russia to understand that the concentration of the Soviet army on the western battle front will be a matter of no difficulty, especially at the present time, when the Soviets have captured so many locomotives and numberless quantities of rolling stock from the defeated enemy.

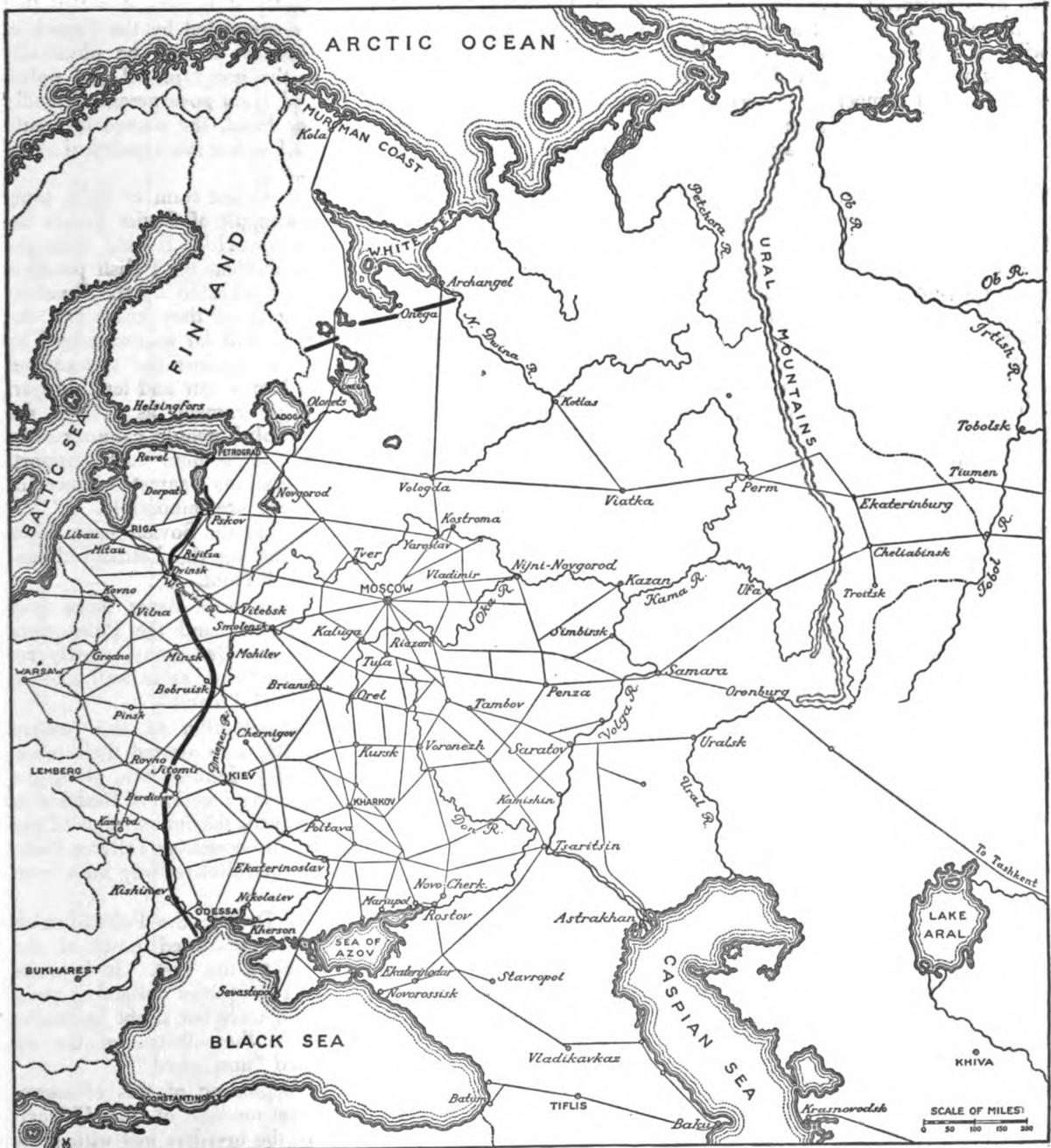
The rear of the Soviet army is organized on purely strategical principles, and the whole country is under the full control of a strong and determined government, whose strategical aim is to annihilate the invaders, and whose political aim is to free all the States of the former Russian Empire from the influence of the Imperialistic countries of the European coalition, offering them an absolute independence and self-determination of their people.

In quite a different position are Poland and Latvia. According to the cable to the *New York Globe*, from Riga, January 14th, the Bolshevik movement is in progress in Latvia, and especially in Riga and Libau, or, in short, the Lettish population is revolutionarily infected, in spite of all the efforts of England and France to prevent such a movement. We already have sufficient examples to demonstrate that drastic measures against such a movement, especially when the army is fighting on the front, can only hasten the outbreak of revolution, and we can definitely state that after the first important check to the Lettish army, the revolution in Latvia will be an unavoidable fact. On the other hand, we know perfectly well that the Lettish army never had more than 10,000 men, and even putting forth the most superman efforts of the whole nation there cannot be more Lettish soldiers than 20,000; the balance of the so-called Lettish forces are the British and French, camouflaged by the name of "the Lettish army." According to the cable of John Clayton to the *Chicago Tribune*, of January 14, about 40,000 Letts are attacking the Soviet army. Well, we are ready even to let him double this figure, and even then the Soviets can meet the invaders by numerically much superior forces.

Tales like that of Michael Farbman, from Riga, January 14th, published in the *Globe*, to the effect that 2,000 Letts prevented Colonel Avaloff-Bermondts from crossing the Dvina and defeated their assailants, who were six times as strong as the whole Lettish army we shall leave to the hysterical people who believe them, while we are firmly of the opinion that the Von der Goltz army, under Avaloff-Bermondts, thanks to British reinforcements in Latvia, was outnumbered and consequently beaten. And there is nothing surprising in this. Avaloff-Bermondts, in order to join Yudenich, had to pass through Riga and undertook this dangerous operation in the presence of the British fleet in

The Military Situation in European Russia on January 15, 1920

Note that the line of the front is in the West only; the Eastern front has been pushed so far into Siberia that the reader must look for it on the map given on page 79. The Southern or Caucasus front will become more definite when the new English army, being brought through the Black Sea, has reached its new positions.



— INDICATES THE PRESENT FRONT.

the Gulf of Riga, probably counting on the British cooperating as the Allies of Yudenich; otherwise it is difficult to understand how he was allowed by such an experienced General as Von der Goltz, to play "va banque" without any reserves at his disposal.

In a statement to the Associated Press, the Lettish Foreign Minister, M. Meierovic, declared that the only object of the offensive was to retake Latgolia, which is claimed as a part of Latvia. "We will not consider peace with the Bolsheviki," said the Minister, "until our frontier is cleared and some form of democratic government is established in Russia." On the other hand, according to the *Chicago Tribune* of January 15, the same Minister tells us that "as soon as the frontier is reached, we'll be content with defensive action."

Consequently, there is no strategical aim in all the Lettish movement, because, when he speaks about a defensive while he attacks the enemy with determination to reconstruct his central government, Mr. Meierovic is condemning his army to death in advance.

We must not neglect the fact that, as has been reported from Washington to the *Sun* (January 13), "the Lettish delegates, who are in Moscow, are willing to discuss the cessation of hostilities if the Bolsheviki will acknowledge the independence of Latvia."

How many times has the Soviet Government answered this proposition in the affirmative? We know well that the Lettish people are seeking peace and there must be a frightful drama enacted in Latvia, which government, as it exists on British money, is forced to lead the Lettish people to complete annihilation.

It is a fact beyond discussion that the Soviet Government did all possible in order to avoid a sanguinary conflict with the Letts. There was a favorable moment for the Soviet armies to invade Esthonia and Latvia, and if the Soviets have refrained from taking Narva, this was not because Narva could not be taken (every person of military education will agree that it certainly could easily be captured), but only because the Soviet Government did not want useless bloodshed, being certain that peace with Esthonia would be signed.

On the Polish front the situation, in general, is similar to that on the Latvian front, with the difference that the Poles are militarily stronger than their little Ally. A part of this army, namely, that part which was formed from the First Polish Musketry Army Corps of the late Russian Imperial Army, and the Polish Legion, arrived from France, present a well drilled, fully equipped, and highly disciplined force of about 100,000 men. The remaining part of the so-called Polish army is of a very low quality. It is well known that only the Polish nobility and the so-called "Shliakta" were the real fighters during all the wars in Polish history, and the Poles were obliged to hire Ukrainians, and more especially, Zaporozhian Cossacks, in order to fight the Turks, and even Moscow.

After the Cossacks turned against the Poles, their military fortunes went down, and consequently, their political existence collapsed. The present Polish army is poorly equipped and can in no way withstand the opposition of the Soviet military forces.

Having in their rear Germany, Austria and Hungary, the Poles are practically cut off from France, and consequently it is very doubtful that they will be properly supported by the French at a critical moment, because it will be physically impossible, owing to the geographical and political isolation of Poland from governments friendly to her. On the other hand, the economic conditions of Poland, as well as her inner political situation, are alarming.

The Polish peasants do not want to fight, especially after the real strength of Soviet Russia became known to all the world. Having been the victims of a German invasion, the Polish peasants will realize what a new invasion by the Russians would mean, and as long as they know that the independence of Poland will be acknowledged by Moscow, they will rebel against the government which is forcing them into a new and terrible war. Therefore the Polish government, as well as the military portion of the Polish people, cannot reckon on national support, and without such support, successful military operations against a powerful and well organized enemy are impossible.

We must not forget that the Soviets have never held strong armies either on the Lettish-Lithuanian front or on the Polish front.

Against the Letts there were never more than 15,000 Reds, with 70 guns, and the Poles were kept back by a very weak Red army, mostly recruited from Lithuanians, who, as is well known, are the greatest enemies of Poland.

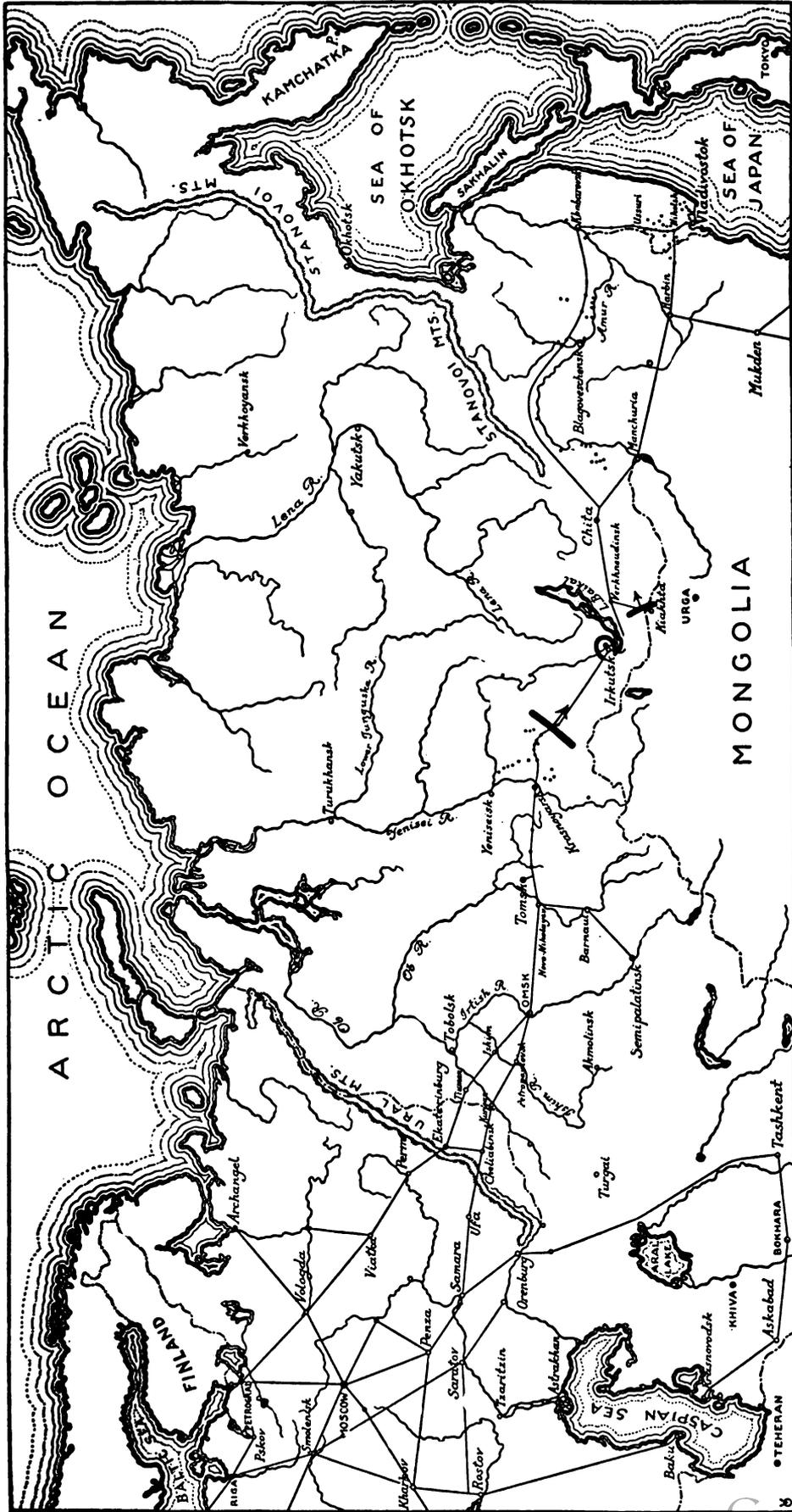
This is the general situation of the present enemies of Soviet Russia, who started their unexpected offensive on Friday, January 9th, along the whole front, with the railway junction of Reshitza as their objective in the north, the intersection of the Petrograd-Warsaw and Moscow-Riga railway lines, as well as the important parallel railway lines from Dvinsk southward.

After the capture of Dvinsk, the Polish-Lettish army, pushing back the advanced posts of the Reds, started its move to the east. It is quite natural that the Soviet forces were obliged to yield ground, since they could offer but slight resistance to the enemy; therefore the advance of the invaders was accomplished "unchecked."

But from the very beginning of this offensive, according to the correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*, John Clayton, the invaders met with great difficulties, because of the impossibility of properly organizing transportation without an adequate railway, and because of the bad roads. It becomes also clear that the Soviet General Staff is hurrying to bring up suitable reinforcements to the battle front, having in its possession superior means of railway communication to those of the enemy, and

The Military Situation in Siberia on January 15, 1920

The small dots, indicating uprisings that took place last July, show the readiness of the population to receive the Soviet troops. The letter P, on the Peninsula of Kamchatka, indicates the town of Petropavlovsk, where a Soviet is now in power, as is reported in the news item at the foot of page 81.



— INDICATES THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE ADVANCING SOVIET ARMIES.
 • INDICATES UPRISINGS THAT TOOK PLACE IN JULY, 1919.

being therefore able not only to check the advance of the invaders, but also to take the initiative.

Events will speak for themselves in the near future, but there can be no doubt that in the main headquarters at Moscow, they were fully prepared to meet the possible movement of the Polish army into Russia, and all necessary measures to check it had been taken. Only the leaders of the Russian army know the value and the psychology of the Poles, and we can definitely state that it is favorable to Russian strategy that the Lettish-Polish army was the first to start the offensive movement.

Tactically and morally the Reds are in a greatly superior position to their enemy, and therefore we are absolutely sure that in a very short time the glorious Soviet army will defeat their western enemy with the same success as that which has crowned its opposition to the counter-revolution in Russia.

In Siberia the situation may be considered as brilliant. The Soviet forces are moving eastward rapidly along the Trans-Siberian Railway. According to the cable from London, of January 13, "seventeen columns of Polish Legionaries, sixteen guns and 20,000 rifles were captured in the Krasnoyarsk region only, where the total number of prisoners is put at 60,000 men." At the present moment the main Soviet forces in Siberia must be somewhere over 100 miles east of Krasnoyarsk, on their way to Irkutsk, which is encircled by the strong army formed by the former Red "partisans."

It was also reported from Peking that the Reds have occupied Kiakhta on the Mongolian frontier, 170 miles southeast of Irkutsk. The capture of this important town, which is connected by great caravan routes, across the deserts of Gobi and Shamo, with Kalgan and Peking, has a great economic, political and military importance for the Soviets. First of all, the Soviets are now in direct telegraph communication with Peking; secondly, they can establish permanent communication with the capital of the Chinese Republic by means of motor cars, since it has been proved by experience that automobiles may safely cross the Gobi deserts. Consequently the most important road over which Russia traded with China for centuries is now in the possession of the Soviets.

Russia and China have in the East a common enemy—Japan, and it is of great advantage for the Russian and Chinese strategy to have established this direct communication.

In Eastern Siberia, it seems to us, the uprising of the peasants and Cossacks against the Kolchak-Japanese regime has become general.

Ataman Semionov, as we have been foreshadowing for a long time, has met with energetic opposition on the part of the Kirgizes, Buriats, and even of his own Cossacks. The situation of the American troops, as well as that of the Czecho-Slovaks, became intolerable in all this havoc, and the American government determined to withdraw

the 8,000 Americans at once, leaving the Japanese alone to settle the Siberian question.

Yet this withdrawal has become a thing of considerable difficulty. The part of the American troops which was in Trans-Baikalia practically found themselves cut off from Vladivostok, and in order to break through the regions occupied by the Reds, they needed the armored train which was in the possession of Ataman Semionov. The latter, being the commander in chief of the "All-Russian Armies" appointed by Kolchak, did not want the American troops to pass through, and the Americans were forced to take the train by the application of military force.

During the clash which consequently took place between the Semionov troops and the Americans, two Americans were killed and three wounded, as it was reported from London on January 15.

Similar clashes also occurred between the Semionov forces and the Czecho-Slovaks.

The latest of the reports from Moscow, which always are accurate, informs us that the Orenburg and Ural regions have been cleared of opponents and that the Turkestan front may be considered as securely held by the Soviet forces. This means that the rear of the Siberian operating army, in case of armed conflict with Japan, has its rear in absolute safety.

And all this has been accomplished by the Russian strategy in spite of the fact that, in the *New York Times Magazine* Section, of January 11, Major Edwin G. Dexter tells us that "The Russian is a very poor military (sic) strategist. He can follow, but he cannot plan."

Major Edwin G. Dexter has neglected to study the history of Russian wars and particularly, the fact that Russian strategists once triumphed over the greatest strategic genius in the world—Napoleon.

Here ends our Military Critic's regular review of the operations in the various Russian and Siberian theatres of war. But several New York newspapers of January 16th interestingly supplement his remarks, by calling attention to the fact that even that portion of North-eastern Siberia into which Soviet troops have not penetrated is in revolt. The town of Petropavlovsk mentioned in the article, which we print below, is far off on the peninsula of Kamchatka, the farthest removed portion of Siberia from Moscow.

NEWS ITEM

LONDON, January 16.—All of North Siberia, beginning at Tulun and all the Lumsy district is occupied by Red forces and the Soviet Government exists everywhere in conjunction with the Central Soviet, according to Irkutsk advices forwarded from Moscow by wireless. The Soviet statement says:

"On the night of January 10 a bloodless revolution occurred at Petropavlovsk in Kamchatka Province. All of the garrison has gone over to the people and all the officers, heads of the districts and other officials were arrested.

"Between Vladivostok and the Ussuri region we are occupying everywhere and revolutions are expected from minute to minute.

"The authorities are fleeing from Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, Nikolaievsk and Blagovyeshensk."

Great Britain's Baltic Policy

III

THE WHEREFORE OF THE GERMAN IMPERIALISTS' HELP TO THEIR ENEMIES

THE indignation and the exasperation of the Germans with the declaration that the treaty of December 29, 1918, is "no longer effective" is natural. Just as natural is the statement of Commander Bischoff, of the *Iron Division* in Mitau, in his proclamation of October 5 against the enforcement of section 292 despite the fact that "in April the American Military Mission here in Mitau made it clear to me that the Iron Division ought to take Riga." Similarly the German Government stated in its reply to Marshal Foch of October 16 that as late as May "the Allied and Associated Governments . . . had demanded, and, in spite of the German protests, insisted that the German troops should not be withdrawn from these regions." We can understand, in view of all this, the disobedience and forcible actions of the *Iron Division* which culminated in the march on Riga in the beginning of October.

The declaration that the treaty of December 29, 1918, "is no longer effective" could not destroy the faith of the German imperialists in its sacredness and validity, since they had no such faith even when the treaty was concluded. This is proven by the contents of the treaty itself. Thus, for instance, its provision that, "in case the number of the Lettish companies of the Landwehr is increased, there is to be a corresponding increase in the number of the German companies," shows very clearly the intent of the Germans to rely on their own armed troops in this region, and not on the signatures of the "Provisional Government of Latvia." The German imperialists were concerned in this case not only with the fate of this treaty, but with the fate of the most important position in their new foreign orientation.

This was frankly and clearly defined by Otto Hoetzsch. "We have lost the colonies and the fleet," he wrote, "and we can now have none other than a continental policy, a concentration of such a policy into a *Weltpolitik*." But where is the power behind such a "world-political concentration?" He answers: "For this purpose we find at our disposal the mass of the sixty million Germans of the Empire, the ten million of German Austria, the ten million Magyars, the thirty million Ukrainians, and the eighty million Great Russians: in all 200 million people, who can and must find a common orientation, in their common interest, in common hostility, in a common tribulation."

Otto Hoetzsch expressed his form of continental concentration into "*weltpolitisch*" phase in the following words:

"First, a continental-European policy in the sense of the restoration of an European community of labor, on the basis of immediate interests and their possible development. In the second place, a changed relation to the Slavic world, particularly to the Russians and the Czechs. And, finally,

a carefully calculated attitude toward North America."^{*}

It was natural that the German imperialists should begin to build the proposed "bloc" by a conflict in the Baltic region, basing their policy chiefly on the "eighty millions of Great Russians." Since Soviet Russia obviously would have nothing to do with any imperialist "bloc," the German imperialists selected as their allies the various "Russian" counter-revolutionary "governments" that pretended to represent these "eighty millions." Hence the formation in Berlin, in the early fall of 1919, of the "Western Russian Government," with Bielgard as its chief. On October 7, this "Government" was transferred to Mitau, under the name "Central Council for West Russia." In a letter of the same date to the "National German Government," Col. Avalov-Bermond and "Senator" Pahlen, the leading members of this "Council," hastened to express "in the name of Great Russia," their appreciation of "the memorable services performed by the German troops in saving the Russian border provinces from Bolshevism." . . .

It should be remembered that in the middle of September last, before this "government" had been formed, some newspapers reported that Kolchak had sent a mission to Berlin "to negotiate the organization of a large German anti-Bolshevist army which would act as an auxiliary force for Kolchak and which should be equipped and supplied either by Germany or, officially, by certain financiers."[†]

We see thus that the German imperialists went into the Baltic region for their own imperialistic purposes, and were at the same time temporarily encouraged by the Allied Governments. The German imperialists raised armies, fought stubbornly, suppressed, murdered, and piled up pyramids of corpses of executed peaceful inhabitants about Riga, and throughout Courland and in a part of Lithuania, having in view a large booty for themselves. But now, at the end of October, 1919, the *Hamburger Nachrichten* writes: "Adorn yourself, oh Britannia! before the eyes of all the world, with the plumes of others; we Germans are aware of what we have accomplished in the East in 1919."

Thus a hound, driven by hunger and urged on by the hunter, chases its picked game and torments it mercilessly until it is overcome. But when the hound is ready to feast on its victim, up comes the hunter and drives the hound off.

IV

GREAT BRITAIN'S TROUBLES IN THE BALTIC

1. The Impossibility to Control the German Troops and the Russian Counter-Revolutionary Bands

Pursuing a policy of gradual and veiled conquest, trying as much as possible to force on others the financial and the physical burden, and using as its

^{*} Otto Hoetzsch, *Weltpolitische Probleme des Ostens* (Die neue Rundschau, September, 1919, pp. 1050-1051).

[†] We quote the Riga Lettish newspaper *Sozialdemokrats* of September 20, 1919.

tools hostile forces pursuing their own aims, Great Britain was always confronted with conflicts which could not always be settled by diplomatic means and were solved instead by armed encounters, and not always as Great Britain might have wished. Great Britain for more than a year has been directing the affairs of the "liberated" Baltic region, and during this period there were incessant major and minor conflicts between the counter-revolutionary armies assembled there.

For the conquest of the Baltic region by *foreign* armies, Great Britain had to use Russian as well as German troops. Both of these were hostile toward, and yet extremely necessary for, Great Britain, since she could not rely on local troops, nor would it have been any less dangerous to use British troops in an open campaign for the conquest of this region. In view of this necessity to retain the German and the Russian forces in the Baltic region until their assistance could be dispensed with, and to induce them to crush the popular movement of the local population, Great Britain was forced to tolerate, and even to encourage, as in the case of the treaty of December 29, 1918, the independent, and hostile to British imperialism, aims of these foreign forces.

The campaign undertaken from all sides against Soviet Russia was the beginning of the end of this as well as of many other similar intrigues. Though the "Russian bear" was still in the depth of the forest, the imperialist "hunters" began to quarrel earnestly about the division of its hide. The fate of this "hunt" is well known, but the quarrels among the "hunters" about the division of the "hide" are still going on. For a long time the conflict was brewing in secret, but recently it has broken out openly in some cases. On the Baltic—the western and north-western—fronts there were more opposing forces, both in the number and in the acuteness of their conflicts, than at any other front, and it is not surprising that precisely here the quarrels led to open warfare.

The part of inciter in this case fell and had to fall to Great Britain, when the "brave" Yudenich was making his loud preparations for the march on Petrograd and was, naturally, in need of considerable aid. Great Britain could not, of course, refuse aid to this "great leader." His campaign was important and its success seemed to be assured, and he therefore deserved definite guarantees of aid. Hence, a treaty was concluded between Great Britain and the "North-Western Russian Government" of Yudenich, according to which Great Britain took upon herself the obligation to furnish him supplies, beginning with tanks and ending with aeroplanes, and besides was "to exercise pressure upon Germany so as to facilitate recruiting among the Russian prisoners of war in Germany" and to give him a loan of 1,000,000 rubles to make purchases in England "for the overthrow of the Bolshevik regime."

These terms of the treaty could only bring joy to the various armies in the Baltic. But there was another part to this treaty, in which the "North-Western Government" bound itself, among other

things, "to recognize all Great Britain's special interests in the Baltic region" . . . "to declare officially, after the fall of Petrograd, its disinterestedness in the Persian question" (how forward-looking these British are!) . . . and "to forbear making any important purchases in Germany so long as delivery agreements, based upon the credit arrangement with Great Britain, exist."

This treaty thus speaks plainly of Great Britain's "special interests in the Baltic region." Until then, Great Britain had pretended to be fighting only for "democracy," and had repeatedly declared that except for the destruction of Bolshevism, she has no other interests in the Baltic, and now all of a sudden her "special interests" have appeared. But the important thing is that the mere claim of "special interests," regardless of what they may be, could not always be settled by diplomatic means cannot be doubted that the hostility to Yudenich and his army, on the part of the Baltic population, is partly due to the hostility to Great Britain aroused by her claim of "special interests," which this army was to defend.

This clause and another provision of this treaty, "to give the Baltic countries an opportunity to exercise self-determination," facilitated the split among the Russian counter-revolutionary bands, not all of which were ready to consent to the break-up of the former Russian empire. The army of Avalov-Bermondts was subject to Yudenich, and he was to draw upon it for reinforcements in his campaign against Petrograd. But Avalov-Bermondts formed on October 7 the "Western Russian Government," "confiscated" (to use the term of the Riga Lettish newspapers) the regiments that were recruited among the Russian war prisoners in Germany and, despite Yudenich's protests, kept them with his regiments in Mitau.

Unlike the "North-Western Russian Government" this merely "Western Russian Government" remained true to its ideals "to re-establish the former Russian empire," refused to recognize the independence of the Baltic states, entered into an alliance with the *German imperialists*, and, instead of marching on Petrograd, marched on Riga, together with the offended Germans, who were now not only being driven out of the "promised land" but with whom it was prohibited by the treaty between Great Britain and Yudenich, in the critical future, even to trade.

Thus, even before the collapse of the Baltic campaign against Soviet Russia, before the historical "capture" of Petrograd by Yudenich and the realization of Russia's "freedom"—to trade only with Great Britain, there was a great collapse of the "diplomacy" on this front, in the control and direction by Great Britain of the counter-revolutionary forces assembled in the Baltic region. And this collapse of diplomacy is considerably more important, and will have more serious consequences for Great Britain's policy, than the defeat of Yudenich, which, in the opinion of a pro-British journalist writing in the *New York Times*, was merely "an incident."

RADEK RELEASED FROM IMPRISONMENT

A Berlin newspaper of December 5th has the following article concerning Karl Radek, on whom there has been but little in the press in the last month or so. Radek, it will be remembered, was sent to Berlin by the Soviet Government as a special representative, after Joffe, the Soviet Minister to Berlin, has been expelled from that city. It will also be recalled the Radek was later imprisoned and that it was during his captivity that the Ukrainian Soviet Government appointed him Minister from that country to Germany. The text of the article is as follows:

Karl Radek was yesterday released from prison after a captivity of three-fourths of a year.

Karl Radek, whose return to Russia was declared, after the close of his preliminary investigation to have been merely a matter of technical possibility, for the last five months, was yesterday released from prison on the motion of his attorney, and taken to a private dwelling. For his protection, it was said, the flat was to be guarded by officials of the criminal department. The authorities in the Ministry of Defense, who have jurisdiction over the regulations for the guarding of Radek, organized the matter with the result that the whole detachment of officials of the criminal department escorted Radek to this private flat, as if these authorities were particularly interested in making Radek's whereabouts known to the general public. Simultaneously, interested parties circulated throughout the press the news of the approaching departure of Radek, which the *Deutsche Tageszeitung* of course makes use of for a violent, inflammatory, and mendacious article, although this organ very well knows that the investigation of Radek's case had positively brought out the fact that Radek had been opposed to all abortive uprisings during January of this year (1919).

After having made sure, through the manner of Radek's delivery to his private dwelling, and through the circulation of the above reports in the press, to create some danger of physical violence against Radek, the whole detachment of criminal specialists was quartered in the flat of Radek's host, four of them were stationed in Radek's own room, with instructions to watch Radek; likewise in his bedroom, as well as for the observation of all functions, even such as are not prohibited by the police to prisoners. Radek demanded his immediate return to the prison if this no less stupid than brutal treatment should not stop. We learn just before our paper goes to press that a portion of the police officials have been withdrawn from the flat at the protest of Radek's attorney; but the remainder still are in the adjoining room, while the door of Radek's bed-room must remain open. The shamelessness and brutality of this procedure toward a member of the Russian Soviet Government is exceeded only by the danger to the body politic of such a trick. Now that Soviet Russia has conquered half of Siberia, it has in its hands tens of

thousands of German prisoners of war, whose transportation back home depends entirely on the good will of the Soviet Government. To endanger Radek in any way, of course also exposes to danger the German prisoners of war. The German Government will do well to ascertain who is responsible for this kind of "protection" to Radek. We are informed that the responsible person is War-Court Councillor (*Kriegsgerichtsrat*) Sohl. It is said that Radek will proceed to Dorpat in the next few days, to take part in the peace negotiations, by way of Copenhagen.

Denikin and Ukraine

In the provinces which were separated from the old Russian Empire by the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, disorder and unrest have reigned ever since, and not the least of the disorder has been in the mode of reasoning in these countries. The national and social considerations have crossed each other. The people have thought first of all of national considerations. It seemed to them most important to keep their own languages and their own independence. This in turn has caused hostility in Moscow, which seemed to forget temporarily that the Soviet government had solemnly declared that it fully recognizes the liberty of all races and all countries. It has also led to alliances with foreign powers and with counter-revolutionary generals, on the part of these small nations.

But again the social consideration has come forward. The masses have realized that real liberty, which means economic liberty, can only be obtained through Socialism. They have seen that the war against Moscow was reaction, and that the defeat of Moscow would mean the return of the land to the church, to the state, and to the nobility, and that all the good of advancement would thus be frustrated.

This *per se* very characteristic confusion in the minds of the people has given rise to a shaky and unsustainable policy.

On closer inspection there should not be any opposition. Those who have followed the events of the war should understand that the Soviet Government is the only power that is serious about the independence of nations, and about Socialism. Thus there is no serious ground for fear. This has been realized in Ukraine, and the government of this country has formally declared war upon General Denikin.

The incident is very important. Ukraine is a big and rich country. She is a very dangerous enemy to the counter-revolutionary general and will be a superb ally to the revolutionary at Moscow.

Social Demokraten, Christiania, Oct. 10, 1919.

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CONFUSION worse confounded is besetting all the friends of Soviet Russia at this moment. Like a bolt from the blue came the news in the papers of Saturday morning, January 10, to the effect that trade relations were to be taken up with Soviet Russia, after the same papers for several days had been full of threats by unofficial sources, in several great powers, to assail Soviet Russia with military forces. Possibly trade relations are to be opened with Russia—the general refrain of the newspapers for two days has been to the effect that this does not mean trade with the Soviets. But how will it be possible to trade with “the people of Soviet Russia” without intermediation of the Soviet Russian Government? Can it be that the Allies hope to secure, in the Co-operative Movement of Russia an ally against the Government of Soviet Russia? That they expect the Russian Soviet Government to leave questions of food distribution entirely to the Co-operatives, and to relinquish its supervising authority to those bodies?

Just what will be the outcome of this new policy of the Allies—if it be a new one, and not the same old game under another cloak—it is hard to say. The Nansen proposal of last April was perhaps, on the face of it, the most promising of all the omens for peaceful relations between the Allies and Soviet Russia, and yet, in spite of the good faith of Nansen himself, it went to pieces because of the apparent desire of the Allied Governments to attach to the economic exchanges certain conditions of a political nature that were incompatible with the dignity and even the physical integrity of the Russian Soviet Government. We quote below the

essential points of the official declaration of the Soviet Government on the Nansen proposal, signed by Chicherin, and printed in No. 14 of *SOVIET RUSSIA* (Sept. 6 1919), explaining the reasons for the failure of the Nansen proposition:

“In view of the above facts, the cessation of military operations is a question of extraordinary political importance, which is connected with the general question of our relations with our opponents. The Soviet Government will be very glad to proceed to a discussion of this question, but of course, only with the real belligerents, that is with the Entente Governments, or with the persons whom they may authorize to undertake such discussions. While the Soviet Government is thus prepared to conduct negotiations with the Entente, it warmly greets the purely humanitarian, non-political proposition to provision Russia, which was originally raised by Nansen, and this government asks him to set a time and a place for a meeting between his Commission and the representatives of the Soviet Government, with the object of discussing the details arising from his proposals.

“The distinction drawn in this answer between the question of provisioning, which concerns the Nansen Commission, and the more general, political aims, which naturally must be discussed with the governments who are concerned by these questions, was immediately misinterpreted by the Entente powers as a rejection of the proposition. An American radiogram, dated May 14, declares that the answer of the Soviet Government has made Nansen’s plan impossible, and that the destinies of Russia must now depend on Kolchak, on the Polish and Ukrainian troops, and on the sanitary cordon which has been extended about Soviet Russia. An American telegram from Lyons, dated May 15th, states that the unwillingness of the Russian Soviet Government to cease its military operations is preventing the realization of the proposal to provision Russia.”

Let us hope that the new program of the Allies is really a new program, and that it represents a real readiness to trade frankly with Russia, without attempting, perhaps by “boring from within,” to influence in any way the course of internal Russian politics. If the latter is the case, the effort will fail just as surely as the Allied distortion of the Nansen proposition failed. But we repeat, Soviet Russia is ready to trade.

MORE than this we do not ask. Gratuitous humanitarianism—a desire to feed Russians because they are hungry—this we do not expect from the Allied Governments. It would therefore be desirable that no intention be professed of benefitting the Russian people with the gift of Allied manufactured products, in order that the low level of industry and transportation in Russia may be raised, so that the country may once more be in a position to distribute equitably its vast stock of grain and other natural resources. Pretences of this kind, connected with the lifting of the blockade, are decidedly not in order, for the same governments

which state their intention of lifting the blockade were the governments which permitted and encouraged the manufacture and sale of munitions, poison gases, liquid fire, tanks, and other implements of war, to be forwarded to the worst enemies of Russia's people, to Kolchak, to Denikin, to Yudenich, not to mention the troops of the Allies themselves, a combination whose victory over the Soviet Russian forces could have had no other result than the restoration of Czarism in a form far more tyrannical and barbarous than before 1914.

Individual groups and classes within the Allied countries have protested against the blockade; perhaps the election of Deschanel to the presidency of the French Republic, and the political undoing of Clemenceau, has no other foundation than the unwillingness of large sections of the French population to permit the latter to continue his insane and disastrous Russian policy. But the attitude of the ruling classes in the Allied countries has unfortunately been, when not that of an active aider and abettor of murder and counter-revolution in Russia, at least equivalent to that of the motion picture photographer who calmly records in his machine the death-twitches of Russian peasants who are being hanged by counter-revolutionary officers, while he safely plies his trade under counter-revolutionary protection.

SOME of the reports of the proposed new trade with Soviet Russia say that it is to pass through the hands of the Cooperatives. Whether these are to be the real Soviet Russian Cooperatives, which function in close alliance with the Soviet Government, or the "neutral" cooperatives which are active behind the fronts of the counter-revolutionary armies—this important question is not answered. Mr. Zelenko, of the New York office of the Siberian Cooperatives, who has frequently declared his political neutrality, tells us, through the New York press of Monday morning, January 19th, that there are vast stores of supplies available for sale at Archangel and Vladivostok. As yet, these two cities are counter-revolutionary bases, and selling to them or buying from them does not mean trade with Soviet Russia. A glance through Mr. Zelenko's paper, *The Russian Cooperative News*, published at New York, will show that it is by no means clear that his organization has dealings with Soviet Russia. Even when one of the titles in the November, 1919, issue of this paper, which lies on our desk, leads us to suppose that the article in question will disclose relations with Moscow, the article itself proves to be disappointing. Thus, an article entitled, "Growth of the Moscow Narodny Bank," begins as follows:

On October 17th the Provisional Board of Directors, controlling the Siberian branches of the Bank, was legalized by decree of the All-Russian Government at Omsk. Despite the difficulties that have beset the banking business in Siberia, the Moscow Narodny has shown a remarkable growth. . . .

And then follow statistics which show that the branches of the "Moscow Narodny Bank" in Siberia

have no relation with the Main Office at Moscow, which, by the way, was nationalized by the Soviet Government.

"Neutral" cooperatives in Soviet Russia are rather difficult to imagine. It might be easier for a friendly power to provision the people of the United States through the five and ten-cent stores, since the latter are "neutral," than to trade with Russia through cooperatives that have nothing to do with the Russian Soviet Government.

ONE of the men who ought to know about the situation, is Maxim Litvinoff, now at Copenhagen, negotiating with James O'Grady, M. P., who is acting for the British Government. The *New York Times* of January 19th reports Mr. Litvinoff as saying:

COPENHAGEN, January 15.—Maxim Litvinoff, the Russian Bolshevik representative, conferring here with James O'Grady, British delegate, regarding an exchange of prisoners and interned civilians, is much gratified by the announcement from the Supreme Council in Paris that trade relations will be opened between the Allies and the people of Soviet Russia. He considers the action of the council tantamount to raising the blockade, and says it will have an enormous effect on the economic situation in Russia.

Russia has great stocks of goods for export, especially flax, hemp, timber, bristles, hides, furs and platinum, he says, and particularly needs machinery, agricultural implements and railway materials. He declares there is plenty of food in Siberia and other sections, but there is a lack of transportation facilities. He urges that it will be necessary to allow Russia to send representatives abroad if trade with the outside world is to be a reality, and declares Soviet Russia will freely admit commercial and other representatives on a reciprocal basis.

Note that there can only be trade with Soviet Russia through the intermediation of the Russian Soviet Government.

BUT whatever be one's misgivings as to sudden conversions to saintliness, there is no reason to share the fears expressed in New York newspapers for the welfare of the persons being deported to Soviet Russia on the "Buford." They have told us the passengers were to be transhipped at Copenhagen; that very probably the Finnish Government would refuse to let them pass through Finnish territory; that the Finnish Government might turn them loose in a dark forest well-known to be the most uncertain and dangerous route to Soviet Russia; that the Soviet Government, when it received them at the boundary, would have them shot or at least subjected to mild atrocities; and so on, *ad infinitum*. The only result has been to terrify and annoy the relatives and friends these people have in America. And perhaps that was the reason for the reports.

Now for the facts. When persons are deported to a country, the deporting authorities are responsible for their safe delivery. Furthermore, when the deportation was undertaken, some form of negotiation with the power for which the persons were destined, as well as with the country through which they had to pass, must have taken place. And as for the readiness of the Soviet Government to re-

ceive them, we remind the reader that one of the articles of the Constitution of the Soviet Republic guarantees the right of asylum to all persons persecuted in foreign countries for their political convictions. Soviet Russia, in declining to receive these refugees, would be violating the direct statement of its fundamental law, and,—need we add?—perhaps that phase of the fundamental law that most loudly proclaims the spirit of the new system.

* * *

POLAND is again demanding our attention, and will continue to do so until the counter-revolutionary forces being organized on her soil have been disposed of in active contact with Soviet forces. Tears of compassion are flowing down the columns of the newspapers, for it is feared the unhappy country may be invaded by the Bolsheviki. But General Tasker H. Bliss, of the United States army, revealed the truth in a conversation he had on January 15th with the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, in the remark here appended:

“By Dec. 2 the Polish forces occupied a district from 280 to 380 kilometers east of the boundary fixed by the Peace Conference, and were pushing on to a point where the Bolsheviki or any other Government would be bound to resist.”

—New York Times, Jan. 16, 1920.

For such as may not understand, let us explain that this means that Polish troops are invading Soviet Russia, and that it is likely the Soviet Russian troops will react vigorously. But should Poland be seriously defeated in the resulting military operations, we shall of course not fail to be told of Bolshevik “designs of aggression,” “lust for world-power,” etc., etc.

Statement by L. C. Martens, Representative in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic

Washington, January 16, 1920

Reports in today's papers that the Allied powers are contemplating world wide military action against the Soviet Republic of Russia because the recent victories of the Soviet forces present to Europe a danger of invasion by Soviet armies, obviously are inspired by a last attempt of reactionary forces in Europe to bemuddle the issue and to incite the peoples of the world into new attacks upon the people of Russia.

Far from planning any attacks against its neighbors, including the new states formed out of the former empire of Russia, the Government of the Russian Soviet Republic, without any reservations, recognizes the independence of these states and wants to live in peace and friendship with them. Soviet Russia has not taken and does not contemplate any aggressive steps toward Poland or any other border states. These states, and especially Poland, goaded and incited by certain European Governments who do not themselves dare to send armies into Soviet Russia, have invaded Russian territory beyond all reasonable national and ethno-

graphic lines. In spite of this, the Soviet Government has not permitted itself to be provoked into aggression against Poland. The real plotters against world peace are those militaristic influences in Europe, which, by misrepresentation of the policies of the Soviet Republic, are artificially keeping large masses of people in a state of hysteria, expecting at the proper moment to translate this feeling into a willingness to attack Soviet Russia.

Allegations that the Russian Soviet Government, “flushed by its recent victories,” is now becoming “a military menace” to the rest of Europe, are wilful misrepresentations of the facts. The social and political principles of Soviet Russia develop a diametrically different policy. The Russian Soviet Government is ready to demobilize its army as soon as attacks and threats against its territory cease. The soldiers of the Russian army who have valiantly defended Soviet Russia against foreign and internal plots are eager to return to peaceful constructive work. Soviet Russia has proposed, and is still proposing, mutual agreements with other nations, which will eliminate every danger of attack. Soviet Russia is willing to make peace at sacrifices not at all determined by her present military and economic strength, and readily offered because Soviet Russia's foreign policy is not an imperialistic and aggressive one, but one which aims at real brotherhood and co-operation between all countries.

Resolution of the Seventh Congress of Soviets

The Seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which convened at Moscow, December 5, 1919, passed the following resolution in which it expressed approval of peace offers previously made by the Soviet Government, and reaffirmed its readiness to have that government enter into peace negotiations with the Allies. Needless to say, the Soviet Government has given every indication of its willingness to live at peace with the rest of the world. Litvinoff has issued this statement to the press at Copenhagen.

“The Russian Socialist Federated Republic of Soviets desires to live at peace with all peoples, and to devote all its strength to internal constructive work, in order to perfect the production, transport, and public administration on the basis of a Soviet regime, to the work which has hitherto been hindered by the pressure of German imperialism and subsequently by the Entente intervention and the starvation blockade.

“The Government of Workers and Peasants has many times proposed peace to the Entente Powers, notably on August 4, 1918, by means of a letter from the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to the American Consul, Mr. Poole; on October 24 by a note to President Wilson; on November 3 to all the Entente Governments, by the intermediary of representatives of neutral countries; on November 6 in the name of the Sixth Congress of Soviets; on December 23 by a circular note addressed by Citizen Litvinov to the Entente representatives in Sweden, and subsequently by wireless

messages on January 12 and 17, 1919; by a note to the Entente Governments on February 24; by a draft agreement drawn up on March 12 with Mr. Bullitt, President Wilson's delegate; and by a declaration made on May 7 by the intermediary of Mr. Nansen.

"Completely approving these repeated steps, which have been taken by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, the Seventh Congress of Soviets once again confirms its unchanging desire for peace by proposing once more to all the Entente Powers—to Great Britain, to France, the United States of America, Italy, and Japan, to all together and to each separately—immediately to commence peace negotiations, and charges the Executive Committee, the Council of People's Commissars, and the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs systematically to continue this peace policy, taking all necessary measures for its success."

KALININ, President,
AVANESSOV, Secretary.

SECRETARY LANSING ON RUSSIA

... The report given by Secretary Lansing last October to the Senate committee on foreign relations, some parts of which are now made public, . . . deals with the economic results of the two years of soviet rule which were closing when the document was presented. If the case of Russia at that time had really been as bad as it is represented in the document submitted for the guidance of the Senate the situation in eastern Europe would not be so disconcerting to us and to the allies as it is today.

Analysis of the parts of the report made public suggests that one reason for the drawing by the state department of erroneous conclusions from the evidence available is the failure to allow for the abnormal candor of the soviet government in publishing and even stressing its failures. The conventional method is to conceal misfortunes and blunders, and the general rule is to assume that matters are worse than they are officially represented. The method of the Lenin government is to expose shortcomings mercilessly without regard to prestige, but with the purpose of doing better next time, and indeed its most bitter enemies have to admit that in many respects there has been an improvement.

Another weakness in Mr. Lansing's report, which is also to be found in the white paper on Russia submitted about a year ago by the British foreign office to the House of Commons, lies in the failure to take sufficient account of the dates of the documents presented as evidence; time gallops in a revolution, and documents of 1918 are submitted which now have only historical importance, though they are treated as though policy could still be based upon them. It is to be feared that the routine of Washington is too slow to keep up with the pace of events at Moscow; this report, taken with what has happened since its submission less than three months ago, suggests the need of "gingering up" the methods of the state department's Russian service.

The same failure to allow for altered circumstances materially weakens Mr. Lansing's conclusion that peace with Russia is impossible because any pledges that the Moscow government might give would be worthless. This conclusion is based mainly on the fact that the Moscow government refused to carry out the terms of the dictated peace of Brest-Litovsk. But this treaty was signed under compulsion, with a frank declaration at the time that Russia would not abide by it, and in entente countries it was declared on high authority that the treaty lacked moral validity. To show that the Moscow government would take a like attitude toward the allies Mr. Lansing quotes from the speech made on February 12, 1919, by Zinovieff, president of the Petrograd soviet. But the

passages quoted are misleading; the full report of the speech shows that Zinovieff merely meant that if the allies should forcibly impose another Brest-Litovsk treaty on Russia that too would be but a scrap of paper. It has bearing whatever on the attitude of Russia to a negotiated peace such as Lenin's government now seeks.

—Springfield Republican, Jan. 6, 1920.

The Rule of Terror of the Entente in North Russia

(A Letter from Murmansk)

The time when the Entente, with the aid of the former officers and gendarmes of the Czar, ruled North Russia, has been for the hosts of workers of various nationalities living in that region a genuine rule of terror. The cruelties practiced by the Entente in that region defy all comparison.

Immediately after the Entente occupied Archangel and Murman and Farther Karelia, prisoners were seen in their camps who had been arrested for having admitted that they were Bolsheviks. Similar arrests were continued up to the most recent times, and were carried out in Archangel on a very large scale. Whole nationalities were imprisoned. Their fate was a terrible one. The prisoners recently released from the concentration camp at Archangel report:

"Every day the prisoners had to perform a severe penal labor, but in the evening the camps were visited by drunken counter-revolutionary officers, together with their accomplices, who deluged the prisoners with a flood of the most brutal threats and maltreatments, and also discharged their firearms. Next morning you would learn that about fifteen or eighteen prisoners had disappeared, having met with an uncertain fate. Thus these pioneers of French and English "civilization" and capital, these murderers and bloodhounds, regularly dragged workers to their death at night—or at least that is the impression which the prisoners who are left behind have concerning the fate of their comrades. This new method of disposing of foreign nationalities is here practiced in all its splendor, and is being applied also, as has been previously reported, in the concentration camps of Murman, Kem, Soroka, and other places."

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Organization of National Economy in Western Siberia

(REPORT OF P. I. VOYEVODIN, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WEST SIBERIAN COUNCIL OF NATIONAL ECONOMY)

We are giving below an official statement of the manner in which administrative problems in Siberia were about to be undertaken by the Soviet Government at the moment when it was displaced by the counter-revolution under Kolchak in June, 1918. The account which follows is timely once more by reason of the fact that the Soviets are again in a position to carry out their work of organization and reconstruction.

THE economic peculiarities of East and West Siberia have since long already raised the question as to their separation into two entirely independent administrative and economic units.

Already before the time of revolution, in Eastern as well as in Western Siberia, owing to their natural economic conditions, there were developing gradually economic organisms which had a sphere of administration and functioning of a regional character.

A number of congresses on various questions of economic life, which took place now in Omsk, now in Irkutsk; the creation of regional war industries boards, which in their activity assumed Siberia to be divided into two separate regions; furthermore, the formation of two vigorous regional food unions (the regional councils in Omsk and Irkutsk); all this strongly illustrates the point that Siberia in its economic character is and should be separated into two economic organisms, interrelated and supplementing each other in their specific peculiarities with regard to their metropolis—European Russia.

The identity of the situation of both parts of Siberia toward their metropolis naturally raises the question as to a coordination of activity, a uniform investigation, a territorial union on general Siberian lines in the form of periodical congresses and conferences for the solution of the problems and needs of all Siberia and for the addressing of the common decisions to the Central institutions of the Russian Soviet Republic. In the time when new forms of administrative and economic life are moulding themselves in the country liberated from centuries of thralldom, in regard to Siberia there naturally arises a question as to the lines on which the Soviet state organs should be built in various localities and what should be the relations between these organs and the central institutions. Before the October revolution, in the time of compromises, there existed in Siberia the same institutions that were under the Czar, with this only difference, that the newly formed committees of the Provisional Government did not possess the necessary basis for all power, namely credits, and consequently could not perform the functions which the demands of the ever developing revolution were putting upon them. Before the downfall of the fair-minded, cultural, compromising government, there was no talk even of any constructive work for the creation of a new economic life (something has been done in the direction of personal cleaning out of the Siberian bureaucratic institutions).

In the first days of the October revolution, the Soviets, of course, had to pay the greatest attention to the building up of political organizations, and thus the economic life as such, which is the main task of a revolution of workers and peasants, the task of moulding new forms of economic life, has been left to remain in shadow. The first step in this direction, before anywhere else in Russia, was made by the Soviet power in Siberia. This was the step of creating supply organs on an entirely new basis. Soviet Siberia has parted for good with any attempts at compromise with bourgeois circles, which wished up till now to impede the work of the Soviet power in this very line of supply. The decrees on supply organs, which had been worked out at the third congress of the West Siberian councils (Dec. 3-10, 1917), have been used as a foundation at the All-Russian Congress of the Soviet supply organs in January, 1918. They have been also reaffirmed at the recent congress of supply organs in West Siberia, which was attended by representatives of all Siberia, the Urals, the Moscow region, the All-Russian council for supplies, and the Commissariat for National Supplies.

Simultaneously with the strengthening of the Soviet power and the establishment of new forms of state constitutional life, the problem of a reorganization of the whole order of administrative and economic life in Siberia was pressing for its solution with an ever increasing urgency.

The nationalization of water transport, the problem of colonization, the disbursement of state finances by the outlived bureaucratic institutions of Siberia, the work of bringing order and life into industry, the work of supply,—all this demanded a quick solution, a thoughtful consideration, a thorough acquaintance with the work. And the Soviet power in Siberia, independently of and simultaneously with the central institutions, was creating new organs which later assumed some definite shape and which were the forms laid as a foundation in the decrees on the councils of national economy.

The peculiarities of the Siberian realities of life have induced the local workers to change the sphere of competence and the functions of the Western Council of National Economy, while departing from the decrees on councils of national economy as regards the form as well as the substance. But this has only added to the importance of the West Siberian Council of National Economy as the first Soviet institution in Siberia which comprised in its organization work positively all

spheres of administrative and economic life of West Siberia and to some extent of all Siberia.

It is appropriate to state at this place that probably nowhere (except in Petrograd) did the sabotage of the "intelligentsia" and the officials reveal such severity as in Siberia. For this very reason, apparently, the thwarting of the Soviet power has nowhere been so decidedly crushed as in this very Siberia.

At the beginning of sabotage, the Siberian state institutions, overcrowded with officials of the time before the revolution, have been subjected to a re-organization from top to bottom, and at the present moment they are radically changed, if not in regard to their organization forms, then at least in the personnel of these institutions. Here belong the provincial and regional administrations, the institutions of the colonization department, excise department, regional administrations of waterways, Control and Treasury Boards, institutions pertaining to the administration of State properties, the cabinet, and a number of other old and formerly purely bureaucratic institutions. In view of this state of affairs, the West Siberian Council of National Economy, taking in the following provinces and regions: Yenissei, Tomsk, Altai, Omsk, Semipalatinsk, Tobolsk, was compelled to conduct its work not only on the lines of the decrees on councils of national economy but, in the main, it had to restore the work of the above mentioned "state" institutions.

Thus the West Siberian Council of National Economy has become the administrative centre on the far periphery of the Russian Soviet Republic, performing the administrative functions of various commissariats of the Central Government.

On such lines and to such extent was the work of the West Siberian Council of National Economy conducted till recent times. But soon the service apparatus was brought to order and the new bureaucratic machine started its work with a more or less full speed. The local institutions, helped by the instructions of the West Siberian Council of National Economy, were re-established and provided with credits, which, though within the limits of the old state appropriations, were yet sufficiently large to guarantee a subsistence to all kind of offices. These local institutions, after having communicated with their immediate superiors in Petrograd and thanks to the complete ignorance of the latter concerning matters in Siberia, started to manifest a tendency to obey the Petrograd headquarters rather than the West Siberian Council of National Economy, which was at their side, but was not yet recognized as their head by the Central Government. In this manner there was created an atmosphere of a double power, even of a multiplicity of power, there was appearing on the part of the subordinate but nevertheless bureaucratic institutions a lack of contact with the Soviet organizations, there was asserting itself a justified tendency for uncontrolled administration of officials who heeded only the orders of Petrograd.

In the time when it strains its efforts to the

highest pitch, when it spends its energy to the maximum extent, in order to reconstruct the economic life of Siberia, the West Siberian Council of National Economy, devoid of credits and lacking contact with the central institutions, is obliged to direct all kinds of state institutions without having any assurance that all its orders will be executed at the right time and in the right manner. The lack of such assurance greatly hampers the work; and the want of credits, placed in a single centre of West Siberia, paralyzes the possibility of any participation in a constructive work tending to create new economic forms of the industrial, social and cultural life of Siberia.

Passing further to a brief outline of the activity of the West Siberian Council of National Economy, I must depict in general lines what this institution represents with regard to its aims, to its constructive organization work, and to its present appearance.

The West Siberian Council of National Economy as the economic section of the Executive Committee of the Councils of West Siberia is subdivided into the following sections:

1. THE INDUSTRIAL SECTION. *Departments:* (a) Metal supply, (b) Fuel supply, (c) Record of undertakings, (d) Mechanical (machine construction), (e) Chemical, (f) Leather industry (where must be included all existing councils on leather industry), (g) Tallow boiling, soap, perfume industries, (h) Construction of agricultural machines, (i) Flour milling industry, (j) Beet sugar industry, (k) Textile industry, (l) Saline industry, (m) Coal industry, (n) Metallurgical industry, (o) Wood working industry, (p) Creamery, (r) Paper industry, (s) Glass and pottery industry, (t) Hemp and cotton production, (u) Printing trades, (v) Gold production, (w) Building trades, (x) Baking and confectionery works, (y) Tobacco industry.

The office departments: general secretaryship, economic, statistical, bookkeeping, laboratories, museums and art shops, applied sciences with regard to various specialties.

2. THE AGRICULTURAL SECTION. *Departments:* (a) Zootechnical with various subdivisions bearing on all forms of raising animals, (b) Veterinary, (c) Dairy, (d) Bird breeding, (e) Bee culture, (f) Fish breeding, (g) Seeds, (h) Agricultural machines and tools, (i) Experimenting, (j) Extinction of animals pernicious to agriculture, (k) Agronomy, (l) Amelioration, (m) Cultivation of meadows, (n) Horticulture, (o) Applied sciences with subdivisions pertaining to various specialties. The office departments: general secretaryship, statistical, bookkeeping, laboratories, museums, experimental stations and workshops, economic.

3. LAND UTILIZATION AND COLONIZATION. *Departments:* (a) Colonization matters, (b) Forms and order of land utilization, (c) Forestry, (d) Water extensions, (e) Cattle breeding economy, (f) Legal (carrying out the law on land). The office departments (as in the above sections).

4. ORGANIZATION OF LABOR. *Departments:* (a) Record of the labor market, (b) Record of wages,

working hours, and work regulations, (c) Inspection and arbitration boards, (d) Insurance and social hygiene, (e) Labor museums, (f) Statistical. Office departments.

5. FINANCIAL SECTION. *Departments:* (a) Banking (comprising the following: state bank, nationalized private banks, establishment of one communistic bank), (b) State taxes (pertaining to: treasury, tax inspection, taxing system, the west-Siberian budget of income and expenditure), (c) Excise administration (comprising: reorganization of the control boards, organization of revisions in various localities, supervision of institutions). Office departments.

6. FOOD SECTION. *Departments:* (a) Production and distribution of bread (wheat), (b) Meat packing, (c) Fisheries, (d) Creameries, (e) Fodder. Office departments.

7. SUPPLY AND DISTRIBUTION, COMMERCE AND COOPERATIVES. *Departments:* (a) Manufactures, (b) Cramp-iron, (c) Footwear, rubbers, leather

goods, (d) Tobacco products, (e) Sugar, (f) Tea (here should come in committee on tea), (g) Groceries, (h) Dry goods. Office departments.

8. WATERWAYS AND COMMUNICATIONS. *Departments:* (a) Railroad building, (b) Exploitation of internal railroads and branch lines, (c) Water transportation and waterways.

At the present time the following sections are functioning: (1) Food and supplies (formerly the Regional Supply Council); (2) Industrial, which developed, not in full measure though, on the foundations of the Omsk District war industries board; (3) Agricultural, which developed, not in full measure though, out of the agricultural division of the former district council; (4) Ways and communications, not to full extent (here belongs the former Tomsk waterways district); (5) Financial (direction of activity and control of credit and tax institutions); (6) Organization of labor (consolidation of the activity of labor unions, labor exchanges, etc.).

Polish Workers Strike for Peace with Soviet Russia

The new Polish republic, formed on the ruins of imperialistic Russia and of the defeated imperialism of Germany and Austria, has become a victim of the imperialistic ambition of its own parasitic classes and withal the catspaw of French imperialism, which forced upon it a counter-revolutionary task with regard to Soviet Russia. The reports about Poland in the American press are, as usually, misleading. Judging by these reports one would think that the Polish nation is unanimous in its hostility toward Soviet Russia. As a matter of fact, Poland is divided, like all other imperialistic nations; there is widespread discontent among the workers, and the young but growing communist movement is forcing even the chauvinist Polish Socialist Party to take up the demand for peace with Soviet Russia. On the 20th of November last, a general strike and some demonstrations took place in Warsaw, the chief slogan of which was: PEACE WITH SOVIET RUSSIA. We offer herewith a description of the events of that day, which we take from the central organ of the Jewish social-democratic (men-shevist) organization, "Der Bund," of Poland, the Warsaw "Lebensfragen" of November 30.

THE Warsaw Council of Workmen's Deputies which is controlled by the Polish Socialist Party declared for Friday (November 28) a half-day general protest strike.

The following were the slogans of the strike: Down with the war in the east (war elsewhere is all right), Down with the Government of Paderewsky (which had handed in its resignation a day before), and against the high cost of living.

In addition to the strike, the Polish Socialist Party called upon the workers to hold manifestations and meetings on the same day.

This decision of the Polish Socialist Party caused a great deal of excitement in the reactionary parties having connections among the workers. The yellow *National Union of Workers* and the black Khadeks (Christian Democrats) issued a common appeal, in which they energetically attacked the Polish Socialist Party, accusing this party of a desire to seize the power. This appeal was posted in great numbers on the streets of Warsaw.

The attitude of the Jewish workers who are organized in the "Bund" was as follows: in view of the fact that the Polish Socialist Party deemed it unnecessary to come to an understanding with the other Socialist parties and that—what is far more

important—the slogans of the revolutionary working class are far more advanced than those of the Polish Socialist Party, apart from the fact that the whole policy of the P. S. P. justifies doubt as to the earnestness and sincerity of their demands; taking all this into account the Warsaw committee of the "Bund" decided not to call upon the Jewish workers to join the strike.

But the communists of Warsaw acted differently. Despite the fact that they were not even invited to participate in the proposed demonstration, the communist workmen also quit work and took part in all the demonstrations that followed.

Between 12 and 1 work stopped in almost all the factories of Warsaw, the movement of the tramways ceased, and from all parts of the city large masses of workmen began to march toward the Theatre Plaza, carrying red banners and placards. The railway workers came with their own band at the head of their procession. The banners were all of the Polish Socialist Party, but there were placards with communist mottoes.

The meeting on the Theatre Plaza opened at 2.30 and lasted for over an hour. Three platforms were erected, from which spoke Polish Socialist Party deputies and councilmen. An appropriate resolu-

tion proposed by the Polish Socialist Party was adopted. Communist speakers also spoke at the meeting, criticizing the Polish Socialist Party and demanding of them—deeds.

After the meeting a great demonstration was made, with tens of thousands of Polish workmen in line. In spite of the heavy rain, which was coming down unceasingly, the enormous mass of workers marched patiently under tens of red banners, expressing thus their emphatic protest against the war, against the high cost of living and against the present system.

The enormous crowd was convinced that they were marching to the Mokotov jail to free the political prisoners that were held there, and this aroused great enthusiasm. They were singing the "Internationale," the "Chervoni Shtandar" (Red Flag) and other revolutionary songs; slogans directed against the present rulers and for a new order reverberated in the mighty echo of the crowd.

The heavy rain was pouring down incessantly, everyone was drenched, but the workers were marching and singing.

But evidently the Polish Socialist Party marshals had not even thought of marching to the Mokotov jail, and at the corner of Marshalkovska and Jerusalimska, the marshals turned to the right, intending to march to the Saxon park.

But hundreds of those who were taking part in the demonstration began to protest boisterously against this, and a scene of disorder occurred here. The paraders began to quarrel and scramble among themselves, banners were snatched from their bearers, and in the scramble a few red banners were torn.

Observing that a vast number of the paraders insisted on marching to the Mokotov jail, the Polish Socialist Party marshals declared the demonstration at an end and told the crowd to disperse.

But this provoked even more the workmen-followers of the communists and of the Left (the opposition) of the Polish Socialist Party, and the anger of the mass turned chiefly against the leader of the demonstration, Yavorovsky, who was forced to march along toward the jail. Followers of the Polish Socialist Party willy-nilly went along, and a crowd of a few thousand marched toward Mokotov.

But on the way to the jail two groups formed among the paraders and they began quarreling. This disgusted a great many of the workmen, and when the parade was almost at the end of Marshalkovska there were only a few people left and they decided that under these conditions it was useless to go to the jail.

Norwegian Students Protest Against the Blockade

AFTER a lecture by Mr. MacLaren the proposed resolution which had been suggested by the management was brought up for discussion:

"The Students' Society addresses an earnest appeal to the Norwegian Government to neither directly nor indirectly participate in a hunger blockade against Soviet Russia, but on the contrary to do everything in its power to render help to the starving Russian people."

The Chairman, Paul Gjesdahl, in an address, asked whether the general morale and ideal of justice had fallen so low during the war that the Entente could force neutrals who had never shared their war against Soviet Russia to share in their blockade of starvation against the suffering Russian people. He asserted that it was not a question of red or white, but a moral question of helping needy people. Russia is at present in the plight in which Norway was in 1814, when it was feared by all its enemies because it had won its own free constitution.

Law student Lehre suggested that the Students' Society was grateful to the management for taking up the subject for discussion, but did not feel that any expressions of opinion on this point were desirable or expedient.

The Chairman stated that the matter could be decided only by vote, and when the vote was taken it developed that the great majority opposed Lehre's suggestion.

Student Schancke Jonassen then made the fol-

lowing remarks: "It has been said recently that the Students' Society passes too many resolutions, that there has been a flood of words. But if an organization is sound and powerful and alive this is not a bad sign. The only way the Students' Society can function is by words. Where are our intellectuals? Have we, after all, an intellectual elite? Where are our artists, our scientists, our poets, in this matter? We have our desk writers, our local scribes, but where are the men who take up the struggle for and to new ideas? Look at the French poets! The flower of the literati of that country have lately in a vigorous letter pronounced the blockade war a crime. Where are the men in this country who would dare act in a similar manner? We cannot find them. It is therefore the Students' Society which has had to become the only mouth-piece for new ideas, the living power of the new generation which thinks, burns, and believes, and which may speak. By adopting this resolution we accomplish our task in the service of internationalism. We have been doing servant duty for the Entente for so many years that we might just as well end it now. We cannot give up our dignity as human beings. But it is not only the human, but the international law, that is decisive for me, on this occasion. I greet the Russian republic of workers because she has made the dream into a reality—because she has transformed scientific theories into living forms of life."

Mr. MacLaren also took part in the discussion and said that he observed with joy that the Nor-

wegian students would not participate in the starvation war against Soviet Russia. When a people had taken the power in their own country into their own hands they might be left in peace and be left to become masters of their own homes. MacLaren was made an honorary member of the Society.

Student J. Dahl expounded Bolshevik political methods.

Student Kjelas told about the inhuman war which the reactionary western powers were carrying on against Russia, and several other speakers addressed the meeting. The resolution was finally adopted by an overwhelming majority.

The chairman was thereafter authorized to send an application to Trondhjem and to the Swedish and Danish student societies to adopt a similar resolution.

General Semionov's Rule Increases His "Popularity"

BY GINJI YOSHIHARA

Special Correspondent of the Tokyo *Chugai*, at Omsk.

GENERAL SEMIONOV is known in our country as a hero and a great man. Japanese army officers and military observers who go to Siberia express, when they return to Japan, admiration of Semionov as a hero capable of comparison with Genghis Khan and Tamerlane. Newspapers and lecturers speak of him as one of the greatest men on earth. The result is that today, among our people, the real Semionov is unknown; all think of him as a hero, since they believe the words of the officers and military observers. The Russians hate Semionov as a serpent, and every European who has ever trod the soil of Siberia considers him to be the greatest scoundrel unhung, who tramples upon humanity and contaminates the society in which he lives; only the Japanese look upon him as a great man. Why should this be?

Before I describe Semionov as he really is, and give some indication of his character, his education, and his governing ability, let me first analyze the reasons why General Semionov is hated by the Russians and Europeans, and yet, on the other hand, is admired as a hero by the Japanese. Here are the facts as I see them:

I. Because the Russians are actually suffering from the oppressive and violent rule of Semionov.

II. Because Europeans living in Siberia acquire a knowledge of the Russian language, converse with the Russians, and understand the true vileness of Semionov's administration.

III. Because Semionov is surrounded by a number of Japanese adventurers, who laud this general as a hero.

IV. Because our army officers, after Semionov unfurled the flag of restoration in his fatherland, have been aiding him and have become thus committed of praising him and concealing the evils attributed to him.

V. Because Japanese army officers living in Siberia do not always know Russian, and hence learn of Siberian conditions only through the eyes of the followers of General Semionov.

VI. Because our observation committee, which are sent to Siberia, transmit to the Japanese people only what they obtain from the army officers.

VII. Because Semionov, who receives aid from Japan, treats the Japanese well.

VIII. Because Japanese eye-witnesses, without understanding the inner reasons for the incidents they observe, present only indiscriminate and un-discerning interpretations.

The above conditions have always been known to the Military Department at Tokyo, as well as to the Foreign Department. European and American officers and diplomats have often requested explanations, and lodged protests against General Semionov, frequently appealing to the commander of the Japanese army stationed at Chita, against the General's violent conduct. They have asked Commander Oba to demand that the General cease his lawless course, since Japan was in a position to maintain law and order along the railroad in the province of Transbaikalia (Zabaikalia). Moreover, they rehearsed many of the wicked deeds perpetrated by General Semionov—facts, not rumors—based on the reports of eye-witnesses of the trials and miseries suffered by the Russians. General Semionov cannot in any way deny them. The Japanese army issued ambiguous subterfuges: It could not, it said, say anything good of Semionov's army.

When the Bolshevik power had become dominant all over Siberia, Semionov, who was receiving aid from our army, raised his flag at Bolzha, near the town of Manchuria, and was frequently defeated and frequently put to flight. But then our army swept the Bolsheviki out of the Amur and Maritime provinces, and entered the Province of Zabaikalia, and the General, gathering up some Japanese and Chinese volunteers, followed in after our Third Division, and entered Chita. With the support of our Third Division, he declared himself the Governor of the Province of Zabaikalia. He thus obtained control not only of the military authority in the Province, but also of the legislative, administrative and judicial power, and thus became a sort of absolute monarch. Yet, he was by no means content with being merely an autocratic ruler of the one Province of Baikalia. He demanded a broader field, and attempted to oust Horvath and Kalmykov, and to obtain control of the Amur and Maritime Provinces, thus making himself absolute ruler over three Eastern Siberian Provinces, all the way from Lake Baikal to the Sea of Japan. For the attainment of this ambition,

General Semionov sought the support of our country. Through his followers, the Japanese adventurers above mentioned, as well as a certain Captain—in the Japanese army, who had been assigned to serve under General Semionov as advisor, by the Japanese Military Department, General Semionov flattered our commanding officers by a tremendous display of hospitality to them, particularly to those who were assigned to the duty of reporting conditions. It was thus that Semionov attempted to solidify his rule in the three Provinces above mentioned.

Captain — and the Japanese adventurers who were hanging around General Semionov, blinded by avarice and dreams of military glory, not knowing General Semionov's character, and ignorant of the conditions of the Siberians themselves, believed that in aiding Semionov to make himself ruler of these three Provinces they were extending their sphere of influence over these Provinces—and therefore they aided General Semionov in building up his power over his new realm.

Semionov's position as sole commander of the Fifth Siberian Army, with headquarters at Chita, might make him seem to be an important person, but he is actually a man of vacillating and sluggish disposition, with no independence of mind; it is not surprising, therefore, that he should have left the entire conduct of military affairs in the hands of Kovalevsky, the Chief-of-Staff. After becoming commander of the Fifth Army Corps, with the aid of Lt. General Vozrevsky, Semionov succeeded in maintaining himself in this position. But he appeared to be discontented with the arrangements within Kolchak's army, and declared himself to be independent of the latter, going so far as to issue a mobilization order for the Province of Zabaikalia, and registering men between the ages of eighteen and forty.

General Semionov is a young man, and in some ways makes an impression of strength, but he has no strategical talent or fighting ability when it comes to conducting a large army, for in matters of military administration he is a child; and in the political, diplomatic and financial fields, he is a nonentity. In other words, he is a good guerilla fighter, but not the stuff for the making of a general. Although he pretends to have the grandilo-

quent motive of sweeping Bolshevism from the face of the earth, and "restoring Russia," he is governed by no political principle at all, and yields always to the influence of the persons in his immediate surroundings. He is pursuing no aim that is in any way worthy of accomplishment, but is moving about blindly. Under these circumstances, the persuasions of his followers, who are often merely irresponsible adventurers, have great influence over him. He does not recognize Kolchak as his supporter, passes over his protests, and once prepared to meet the Seventh Division advancing from Irkutsk. His mobilization order, however, resulted very poorly, since only 1,800 soldiers were thus drafted, and even these 1,800 could not be properly fed and retained by him. He was not aware that the evils and trials caused in Siberia by the mobilization were greater than the maladministration of the old Czarist regime. The captain whom the Japanese Military Department sent to Semionov, and the Japanese ne'er-do-wells, who are in the General's entourage, have no ability to size up the situation in Siberia, and do not see the utter impossibility of maintaining Semionov as the sole ruler of the three Provinces of Eastern Siberia, under the sharp eyes of the Allied nations. Moreover, they were unable to see what serious damage was inflicted by their attitude, and their evil influence on the foreign policy of Japan, and how much they injured Japan's prestige. They didn't grasp the fact that helping Semionov to persecute the Russians, and permitting him to perpetrate his evil acts, was precisely the cause that would produce resentment among the Russians against the Japanese. Unfortunately these acts, and their possible consequences to Japan, must be blamed not only on the Captain and the other Japanese adventurers whom we have referred to, but also on the staff of the Third Division of the Army, since the Third Division of our Army was placed in Zabaikalia to maintain order, and therefore must meet a grave responsibility, namely, that of supervising General Semionov. They have done nothing, however, to restrain the General in his evil acts, and this omission is due to their having heeded the words and advices received from the above-mentioned Captain and other persons.

—*Chugai*, Tokyo, November 13-14

White Guard Recruiting in Sweden for Czarist Reactionaries

A PROTEST TO THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT FROM CHICHERIN

We have come into possession of the following radio telegram, containing a protest by the Soviet Government against the recruiting of White Guards in Sweden by Czarist Russians. Such recruiting has without doubt been going on in Sweden this fall, and the neutral Swedish Government has taken no step against it, but on the contrary, has suppressed the Russian note on this question. We publish a note of protest of the Russian Soviet Government, which is couched in the following

terms, simultaneously demanding a clear explanation of this subject of the foreign policy of Sweden:
Moscow, October 20, 1919.

Urr.-1303-11-1305.

To the Ministries for Foreign Affairs at Stockholm, Copenhagen, Brussels and Belgrade:

The wireless message that is forwarded by the so-called government of Russia's White Guards indicates that this so-called government, in view of the departure of the English volunteers from Arch-

angel, intends to proceed to the formation of new voluntary forces, to be recruited from Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, and Yugo-Slavia. The Russian Soviet Government expresses its firm hope that the Swedish, Danish, Belgian and Yugo-Slavic Governments will distinctly reject this request of the White Guards, who desire to continue their criminal hostilities against Russia's working masses. We are convinced that the Swedish, Danish, Belgian and Yugo-Slavic Governments will decline to debase themselves to the level of these vile intrigues, which would assume the character of an open intervention in the inner affairs of Russia, to the detri-

In this connection, the reader should know that the Esthonian Recruiting Office at Stockholm was under the direction of a Danish officer named Gleerup, who, after he had laid hands on the funds of this counter-revolutionary establishment, absconded with the sum of 150,000 crowns. Politiken, of Stockholm, discusses the matter as follows:

Gleerup Left in the Lurch by the League of Adventurers

Palludan now in Archangel with the recruiting fund—150,000 crowns. The Swedes prepare a blow.

THE *Politiken* articles concerning the Archangel enlistments have caused much distress within the league. Several other incidents have taken place during the last few days, which we describe in detail below.

PALLUDAN HAS LEFT WITH THE FUNDS. GLEERUP IS DETHRONED.

An interesting item of news is that the so-called Lieutenant (Danish) T. Gleerup, has lost all right of determination as to the policy of the recruiting bureau. The immediate reason for this is that the Swedish leaders whom we have mentioned before, Lidbäck and his henchmen, formerly the Finnish brigadiers Edvin K. Petterson and "Lieutenant" Hasselström (the latter a son of the sheriff at Tappström), have found out that the funds which the notorious Captain Palludan received for enlistments cannot any longer be counted upon. Captain Palludan has received not less than 150,000 crowns from some one or more interested persons to finance the enlistments. In Copenhagen, their efforts were quite successful, as is well known, and about three weeks ago Palludan departed in company with thirty young men and the 150,000 crowns. This is now published for the first time, and the first result of this sad news was that "Lieutenant" Gleerup was immediately fired from his prominent position. His standing is rather precarious at this time.

When Gleerup was sent to Stockholm he received from Palludan only 400 crowns with which to establish himself and start the new campaign. Of course this money did not last very long, and it began to be apparent that his partners would have to support him unless he could make some money for himself in the usual way of the Black Guards. Lidbäck, Hasselström, and Petterson are determined to be revenged on Palludan and *are preparing a blow in Archangel* which will result in "taking up" the money of Palludan, and in subjecting

ment of the masses of the people in that country. Without doubt the Swedish, Danish, Belgian, and Yugo-Slavic Governments are aware that consent on their part to the recruiting of White Guard bands in their respective territories, intended for warfare with Russia, cannot be considered otherwise than as a hostile act against that country, and that in such a case the Russian Soviet Government will be compelled to reserve for itself the right to resort to whatever measures may seem useful to it.

People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs,
CHICHERIN.

Palludan himself to whatever the inclinations of the leaders of the Swedish "gendarmes" may devise and prescribe.

In order to execute this stroke, the above-named trio have now selected a special "genuine" troop of twenty men. Among the qualifications which were laid down for entering this troop a good knowledge of the use of arms seemed to be first and most important. "You must be a fighter," Lidbäck exclaimed, in making the selection. The boys whom he chose represented all kinds of trades,—detectives, budding sheriffs, police, and sergeants. Passports were obtained for all of them.

Among the departing are the above named "Captain" Lidbäck, the lad Petersson, "Lieutenant" Holmström, two brothers Höglund, one Ericsson, and a sergeant by the name of Lizell, known in Finland and Esthonia. So-called "Friends of Russia" supplied sufficient money to pay the transportation of these young men, besides guaranteeing their food and paying them fifty crowns each.

A DESERTING QUARTERMASTER SERGEANT AMONG THE LEADERS

Gleerup is, as we have already said, disqualified. Instead, the entire contingent is made up of Swedes, former brigadiers, who conduct the Swedish branch quite independently. They have, as is apparent, daring dreams of the future and warmly hope that there is something left of the many thousands of crowns Palludan had, which they can obtain after they have been successful in annihilating Palludan and his thirty Danes.

Those who have set out on this quest may be said to be well qualified. Lidbäck was one of the White Guards in Finland, as were Hasselström and Petersson. Even Lizell has participated in similar adventures, and so, undoubtedly, have some of the others. In addition to the Finnish so-called "Liberty Cross," Edwin Petersson has a few medals received for his "meritorious" services in the suppression of the Finnish rebellion. He belonged to the Vasa Battalion. If the police permit his departure, the inference is clear that these adventurers are being supported quite openly. Petersson, who was born in Mjölby, enlisted in the middle of

The Next Number (No. 5) of

“SOVIET RUSSIA”

will appear

January 31, 1920

and will contain among other things, the following

1. **BACK AT THE OLD FOLLY**, by Max M. Zippin. On the basis of two declarations by political parties in Siberia which are not connected with the Bolsheviks, our well-known contributor shows—what the military events have more than confirmed—that the entire population of Siberia has been hostile to Kolchak all along.
2. Latest Comments from the Siberian Press on Kolchak and Intervention.
3. **NEW POGROMS**, by Vladimir Bonch-Bruyevich. This arraignment of the tyranny of the Counter-revolution, which we announced for the present issue of SOVIET RUSSIA, has had to be deferred to No. 5 for reasons of space.
4. **THE MONARCHIST PROGRAM FOR RUSSIA**, from *Nashe Dyelo*, of Irkutsk, Siberia. An account of the manner in which the monarchists conspired with Germany to restore monarchy in Russia and to nullify the land reforms of the revolution.

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New Pogroms

By VLADIMIR BONCH-BRUYEVICH

Executive Secretary to the Council of People's Commissaries

Izvestia, June 8, 1919

IN the course of the famous Beylis trial—Beylis was accused of having murdered the young Yushinsky at Kiev—the Moscow Rabbi Maze was heard as an expert; I remember as if it were yesterday this solemn moment of the abominable ritual murder trial. The Beylis trial had long since passed out of the stage where it was a trial merely of one man; it was the Jewish people who were being judged by the Czarist functionaries on the bench. And then appeared this child of the Jewish people, a true descendant of an ancient people, brave before the Czarist tribunal; he looked straight into the eyes of these people, who held the power; he pronounced his astonishing profession of faith which must have gone straight to the soul of each one present; I know that it made an impression not only on the judges, who soon ceased to smile, not only on the listeners in the crowded hall, but also on the jury, which was charged with the duty of unravelling this inextricable affair, and which, in spite of the calumnies and intrigues of the Czar's "justice" of the imperial prosecutors, returned a verdict of acquittal in favor of the Jewish people.

I see him still, this unusual orator, small in stature, leaning forward over a table in order the better to control his audience, expounding in a voice that was becoming warmer and warmer, the religious mentality and the character of his people, describing the procedure of its ceremonies, its manners and its customs. "From the Kiev Court of Assizes this touching profession of faith of an entire race re-echoed over all the world: the profession of this people persecuted and physically hu-

miliated, but preserving through all its sufferings and misfortunes, all the power and all the energy of its moral splendor. After the first vibrant and passionate words, a poignant emotion had seized all in the room." In my diary of that period, those are the words in which I characterized this memorable day of the Kiev trial of this astonishing demonstration of the Pontiff of the Jewish people.

When I recall this solemn and tragic moment in which the sad story of the sufferings of the Jewish people was presented, my thought moves involuntarily towards those frontier regions in Russia which are largely inhabited by Jewish populations, in which the accursed White Guards, the Polish bourgeoisie, landed proprietors, the nobles and the assassins of everybody, recruited, equipped, and enlisted through force of gold by the European bourgeoisie, have thrown themselves upon the population like wild beasts. These monsters indulge in their bloody and bestial orgy of nightmare and of horror, cutting the throats of women and old men, appeasing their sadistic rage on children, destroying everything that is in their way, and leaving behind them only ashes and corpses, where a day before an active, productive life was still in progress. Wherever the organizing hand of the western bureaucracy makes itself felt, particularly where the Entente propaganda puts in its appearance, the ex-"Allies" of Russia fall upon us and propagate anti-semitism, with its abominable preaching of hatred. The cry of "Death to the Jews" resounds from one end of these unfortunate provinces to the other, handed over as they are, defenceless, to the Polish, Roumanian, and other

reactionary bands in the pay of Lloyd George, Clemenceau and other managers of the world bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, wherever the Soviet power has been established, wherever the Soviet Government has been founded and fortified, all these savage excesses have become *impossible*. The Israelites, like the representatives of all other nationalities, whatever they may be, live in peace, following with absolute liberty whatever occupations the political and economic conditions created by the blockade permit them to engage in—and unfortunately these conditions, owing to the blockade, are becoming progressively more difficult and painful. The workers and peasants of Soviet Russia, of Ukraine, of Crimea, of Lithuania, of White Russia, of the regions of the Caucasus, the Volga, the Don, the Urals (all of which are Soviet territory, from the north of Russia to the south), know very well that at present, under their Government, and in their Soviet territories, all distinctions of nationality, religion and race have been obliterated once for all. It is in Soviet territory that the ancient maxims have truly been realized: "All men are brothers"; "No more Hellenes, no more Jews." There are now only workers, first to last, having the same rights to existence.

If the struggle is still going on, it is now against the exploiters, the beadles of the bourgeoisie and the nobility, the landed proprietors, the individuals and organizations who are violating the liberties, the honor, and the dignity of the peoples living in Russia, who threaten the very existence of the millions of the proletarians and peasants living in our country.

Monsters in human form at present ravage Lithuania and White Russia, which have been cut off by the Poles; everywhere the innocent blood of the poor Israelites continues to flow in torrents. What has not been done by these mercenaries of the European bourgeoisie, habituated to measure the value of blood and the lives of men in gold?

Information recently received concerns fifty localities in which the number killed has been capable of record; in addition to these localities, there are still some scores of others which have also had pogroms, and in which the number of victims is not yet precisely known. Proskurov has recorded 3,000 killed; Felshtin, 2,000 killed; Teplik, 350; Zhitomir, 410; Ovrutch, 80; Berditchev, 30; Radomysl, 32; Vassilkov, 110; Tchernobyl, 100; Mejpgopie, 104; Dombrovitsy, 19; also the following places: Stepantys, Possava, Korosten, Poltava, Kobelaky, Romedane, Loubny, Elizabetgrad, Znamenka, Kormya, Ivanovo, Oboukov, Piriatine, Gornostaytol, Fastov, Olchantsy, Bobrinskaya, Olevsk, Berezae, Kleben, Letitchev, Medjibodj, Zenkov, Koublitsch, Ladyjine, Zhranov, Katai-Gorod, Tchernovka, Sobolevka, Skvira, Konev, Taracha, Bougouslav, Balta, Bobrobitsy, Lugin, etc., etc.

Certain localities have become victims of pogroms several times. Lands, houses, furniture,

everything, has been destroyed, thrown out, sacked. The violators have broken down doors, windows and stoves, have torn up the floors, have broken to pieces machines and tools in the workshops, simultaneously killing and massacring and murdering without mercy. In the villages, children may be seen wandering about, left without parents and without homes. In the fields and in the woods, you find fugitives and unfortunates who have lost their way while escaping; all of them are half mad and terrified by the mere idea of returning to their houses. In the yards you see people walking up and down who have partly or totally lost their reason; others remain for whole days sitting on the ruins, as if they were counting something, casting frightened glances in all directions; while, in the surroundings, in market towns and villages, the old regime of the Czar is being restored, to the great joy of Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and all those who hate peace, who violate the working and peasant population, and who threaten to shoot everybody in any little field where they may find them. Drunk with blood and violence, this maddened bourgeoisie and their ferocious bands of mercenaries threaten Russia and the whole world with the same atrocities, if the workers and peasants are audacious enough to raise their heads and refuse to yield to those whose trade is the shedding of blood for gold—and they have plenty of gold to make the blood flow.

* * *

It is characteristic of what is going on now in the west and southwest of Russia, that it is being repeated identically beyond the Volga, at the foot of the Urals, in the kingdom of Kolchak, that lackey of Czarism, who is being jumped upon from all sides by the Reds. We witness here the same ferocity; the same repressions, the same savage vengeance against peasants and workers whose lives have been one long martyrdom; the same savageries are practised against the workers of the land, of the factories, of the shops, because they dared, in the twentieth century, at the end of the struggle that lasted almost a century, after five years of slaughter without precedent, boldly to declare to the entire world that they also were men, that they refused to live any longer in slavery, and have decided to organize their lives as they thought best.

Who are these bold persons? Are they not the whole Russian people? They are the millions of peasants and workers belonging to all the nationalities living in Russia. It is they who want to shake off the yoke of the financiers, the landed proprietors, of international capitalism, of the civilized English, French, and German barbarians, who have so long been actually bleeding our country, and who now want to continue to cut it to pieces. Is it not time for all those who have still a remnant of conscience and of honor, to finally understand that the cause of Soviet Russia is the cause of the dignity and the very existence of the whole nation, and that, if we wish to preserve for

Russia her independence, we must all rise as one man to shake off forever the horrid yoke of world imperialism? The Jewish pogroms must awaken all those who are sleeping and finally prove to them what many have thus far not wanted either to see or hear.

The Jewish people are spread all over the world. They count among the bourgeoisie a considerable number of representatives. Everywhere and always the Jew has been rightly proud of his spirit of solidarity and, in fact, even the representatives of its wealthy classes, those who had forgotten and were exploiting the misery and the century-long serfdom of their race-brothers, have always trembled when the tocsin of the pogrom of Kishinev and other cities of Russia resounded. The Jews have always said: "The persecutions and the sufferings of our people move the heart of every Israelite, whoever he may be. And now that unheard of pogroms have broken out in Russia no longer stimulated by the knout of the Czar's lackeys, no longer unleashed by the provocation of governors, but now under the auspices of the Clemenceaus, the Lloyd Georges and other man-

agers of the world bourgeoisie, who are egging on against Russia veritable hordes of assassins, bands of mercenaries, the hungry pack of landed proprietors who have been unlanded, Livonian barons, Polish szlachta, in short, all the capitalists and their hangers-on—will now the Jewish people in France, in America, and in England, not raise their voice? Will they not protest against their Prime Ministers and their Presidents? Is it they who are now causing the blood of the Jews to flow?

We must reply to this coalition of gilded bellies by the international union of the proletarians, of the peasants, and of all other workers, in order to oppose to all reaction, of whatever source, a wall of insurmountable bayonets, to defend with our lives this new regime of justice and of liberty that has been established in our Soviet Russia. Only this regime can lead humanity on the road of happiness and assure to all the means of subsistence. There have never been, and we are happy to say there will never be, any "pogroms" where the Soviet power shall have planted the sublime banner of the Socialist Federated Soviet Republic of all the peoples and all the nationalities.

The War in Russia

(Strategical and Political Reflections)

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

THE hysteria against Bolshevism that England has been spreading so ably, seems to have affected her more than any other country.

In a real paroxysm of madness, the British Politicians began trying to persuade the world that in the near future the Red armies would sweep away all obstacles in Europe and Asia, and, like the famous hordes of Attila and Tamerlane, would invade the European and Asiatic countries.

And these wild imaginings of certain foolish politicians and half-baked military experts are introduced to the civilized world while the Soviet armies are only defending their own territory and victoriously clearing it of those who have laid a a scheme to destroy the Russian Soviet Republic and to conquer the richest part of it.

On January 7, in a letter to the London *Times*, Lord Sydenham, the great authority on eastern questions, dealing with the "Bolshevist danger," says: "I cannot help viewing the whole situation in the Far East with grave anxiety. In Europe, bolshevism will ultimately exhaust itself. The terror cannot be indefinitely prolonged, as the French revolutionaries discovered, but Central Asia may remain for years a source of danger. If India escapes, Persia may become involved; Khorasan lies open to Bolshevist activities from Merv, while, if Lenin's agents can control the Caspian, the northern provinces will come under the curse."

Then the honorable lord expresses fears that Turkey and at last China may become Bolshevik

states and finally the famous prophecy of the Kaiser, with regard to the "Yellow Peril," may become a reality.

Therefore he calls the motto "Hands off Russia!" "a parrot cry of dupes who do not realize the terrible responsibility which they have incurred."

So, in order to prevent such a "disaster," it is Great Britain which must be allowed to conquer Russia, China, Afghanistan, Persia and Turkey; it is the army of the Allies that is to walk victoriously through the countries named, for the sake of democracy.

Do Americans understand what this means?

First of all, the foreign policy of the Russian Soviet Government, as it has often been stated by Chicherin, is by no means to be considered as one of aggression, and there is not the slightest intention on the part of the Soviet leaders to wage any wars for the annexation and enslavement of any nation in the world.

This has become known to the various states of Asia and consequently Soviet Russia has gained their entire confidence:

"We are your friends, we do not want an inch of your territory; we are returning to you your land, captured by the Russian Czars"—such were the magic words of the Soviets, and in this lies the success of the so-called "Bolshevik propaganda."

Why does China now look with admiration on Moscow? Why have the Afghans greeted so warm-

ly the Russian Soviet envoys at Kabul? Is it not because the Soviets have annulled treaties imposed by force on China by the old Russian regime and ceded Kushk and Merv to Afghanistan? For the same reason the Persian population is gradually turning its sympathies towards Moscow, and so are the Azerbaijan Tartars.

Never will they fight the Russians by the side of the British; and Georgia, as well as the other Caucasian tribes, will follow the example of the Terek and Kuban Cossacks, now blockaded by their former leader, Denikin. For the very same reason, Turkey, in her superhuman agony, is looking on the Soviet Republic as on the only nation in the world which will extend to her a friendly hand and the pledge of a real, sincere peace.

How can any sensible man even imagine that the semi-civilized populations of certain parts of Asia can become "Bolsheviki," in the proper sense of the word. Many, many years must elapse before the program which the Russian Communists are introducing to the Russian people can be understood by the primitive peoples of Asia.

Now these nations instinctively feel that the policy of Moscow is right and they are joyfully linking their fate to that of Moscow, as to the source of the new light for humanity.

It is in no case a fault of the Soviet Government that Great Britain, which has always posed before the world as the most civilized and peace-loving of nations, has not inspired the Asiatic peoples with a feeling similar to that inspired by Soviet Russia. The British have to blame themselves for this; by no means can they put the blame on "Russian propaganda."

Afghanistan is an Emirate, a semi-autocratic country, and Soviet Russia respects even the alliance with that country. More than that—the Afghans are fighting the British army, which tried to cross Afghanistan in order to invade Russian Turkestan, a state belonging to Soviet Russia. There is not a single Russian defending the Afghan frontier.

Is it because of Russian intrigues also that the Estonian Government concluded the peace with Soviet Russia? Or that Finland, in spite of all the efforts of the Allies, remained passive, and refused to join the wholesale murder of the Russian workmen and peasants? Or that Bulgaria, perhaps remembering that the same Russian peasants, tens of thousands of them, are lying in their graves in Bulgaria, having died for the cause of the existence of Bulgarian people, is now openly uniting with their brethren? Well, this may also be a result of propaganda from Soviet Russia, which is cut off by the most severe, most complete blockade the world ever has witnessed.

Not at all.

Propaganda in these matters plays a very limited role. It is the general policy of the Soviet Government which attracts the oppressed nations to Moscow, and the real propagandists of Soviet

policy to the world were the very Allies who are now accusing the Soviets of spreading propaganda amongst the people of the whole globe.

It was not Lenin or Trotzky who daily discussed in the foreign press the Russian "Bolsheviki," spreading countless insinuations as to Soviet Russia, so perfectly revealed to the public by the reality. The general public understand at last that they were duped by their own leaders, and the facts have shown them the truth.

The propaganda of the Allies, for which the taxpayers have paid billions, has collapsed, and the truth, the naked truth about the Soviet Republic automatically became known to the whole world, and this they called the "Bolshevik propaganda." Well, against such propaganda both a blockade ten times as severe as it now is, as well as the army of the world coalition, would be powerless measures.

In the *New York Times*, of January 22, 1920, the regular anonymous correspondent from Washington, whose inaccuracy we have already pointed out on several occasions in our previous articles, again tried to frighten Americans with the Bolshevik menace:

"The strategy of the Bolshevik military campaign," he says, "during the coming spring, contemplates the massed attack against Poland, as the first step in the projected Red invasion of Europe, and a military diversion through Turkestan and Afghanistan towards India. Plans for both campaigns are well under way, according to the best military and diplomatic intelligence received in Washington, and the threat against India accounts for the expected decision of the Allied Premiers to send an army, mainly of British, to the Caucasus, to help the Georgians halt the Red menace."

We know the value of this so-called "best military and diplomatic intelligence" of that section of Washington. We have not yet forgotten the series of lies issued by it in the not very remote past, about Kronstadt, Krassnaya Gorka, Petrograd and many other places, including the statement that the total strength of the Soviet army was about 750,000 men, and that therefore it could be easily defeated by the Baltic States and the Poles.

Further on, the same correspondent foreshadowed an alliance of Enver Pasha with Semionov, whom he also calls a Bolshevik, and goes on to permit his mind to dream of the establishment of a Turanian-Bolshevik State, "to the embarrassment of the allied world."

All Central Asia and Mongolia, as well as Trans-Baikalia, according to this madman, is to be under a Semionov-Enver-Bolshevik regime. And such a blunder, such a product of the hysterical brain of a lunatic, is printed in a newspaper and offered to the American public for digestion!

First of all, the strategy of the Soviet General Staff strictly follows the policy of the Soviet Foreign Office, which is peaceful and reconstructive.

From the very beginning of the Civil War in Russia, this strategy was of a purely defensive character, though its tactics were necessarily those of offense on several occasions.

This can be shown, for example, by the fact that war was and is being waged now by the Soviet armies in Russia, and not elsewhere.

The Russians did not attack either the Poles or the Letts, and kept along the whole western front only very weak forces. It was the Polish army, which, together with Lettish, or rather, Anglo-French-German forces, started the recent offensive against the Soviet army, which was not prepared to meet the invasion. The fact that the Soviet forces have not been concentrated on the Polish and Lettish frontiers proves this. Now, after the Poles, with the Allies, started their march on Kiev and probably on Moscow, the process of concentration of the Soviet Armies is in full progress and we venture without any hesitation to say that the Poles and Letts will be defeated and mercilessly pursued by the victorious Soviet forces, because a victory which is not followed up by a most energetic pursuit, and a pursuit going as far as possible, has no strategical significance. This means the invasion of Poland and the Baltic States by the Soviet armies, and will be a normal consequence of the Letto-Polish invasion of Russia. Can this be considered as an aggressive move on the part of Soviet Russia against Poland or Lettland, to which peace, together with guarantees of their absolute independence, was offered by Moscow, and in answer to which the aggressors started their offensive?

In Turkestan, the Soviet army is also on the defensive, along the whole Persian frontier, and certainly will not move into Persia unless the proposed British offensive will fail, and the Soviet troops will be forced to pursue the beaten enemy beyond the Persian frontier. In that case, the deep penetration into Persia, by the Russian forces, will be unnecessary, because the remainder of the defeated British army will be successfully annihilated by the Persians themselves. Once they are through with the invaders, the Russians will retire into the territory of the Soviets.

With regard to the alleged British expedition to the Caucasus, in order to protect the Georgians and the Azerbaijan Republic, we can firmly assure our readers that neither the Georgians nor the Tartars will welcome the proposed invasion. It is well known that the general aim of Great Britain in these regions is the rich and inexhaustible Caucasian oil fields, which are celebrated all over the world, and they are the real "Bolsheviki," whom perfidious Albion fixed as its strategical objective in the new adventure against Russia. Now let us see how the two populations will meet the undesirable guests.

It is well known and frankly admitted by the British oil magnates that nowhere in the world is the British prestige on such a low level as in

the Baku oil region and in the Caucasus, and even in pre-war times, the natives hated the English and only awaited an opportunity to get rid of them. The writer is of Caucasian origin, and the real feeling of his countrymen towards the British is familiar to him. There is no doubt that all the Azarbaijan population, as well as the natives of Turkestan, will join the Soviets long before the famous British Argonauts will land on their soil.

There is also no likelihood that the Georgian people, bound to Russia by the most cordial ties of friendship, as well as by historical traditions, will exchange their dearly-bought freedom for British slavery, which is hard to bear and much harder to throw off.

Great Britain has openly declared that her general policy will now be a defensive one with regard to the Soviets. In December, 1919, it was still of purely offensive character. From a purely strategical standpoint, such a confession means that the Allies consider themselves beaten, and, as we already have pointed out in one of our former articles, that strategy considers the sudden transfer from offensive to defensive as one involving grave danger, especially if the change is accomplished when the offensive was waged by several groups, and not on a single front.

We know well, even without such a confession, that the Allies are beaten, and that a peace negotiation with Soviet Russia is imminent, and, having carefully studied the military situation in Russia since the beginning of armed intervention, we consider the Letto-Polish movement as well as the projected invasion of the Caucasus as only a diversion, a means recommended by Napoleon "to frighten the enemy," which perhaps is a good method when the enemy is inclined to be frightened, but which in the present case will be in vain.

The most amusing part of the correspondence from Washington is that in which the author discusses the situation of the Denikin army. First of all, such an army no longer exists, and its powerless fragments, which succeeded in escaping entire annihilation by their pursuers, to the seashores, under cover of the British fleet, are gradually dwindling and cannot recover their tactical importance. That some few places may still be in the "hands of Denikin" does not mean anything for a military expert who has analyzed the general state of the completely beaten army of Denikin. Kolchak's "All-Russian Government" also existed for a certain period after the capture of its capital, Omsk, and finally it ceased to exist altogether. The same must unavoidably happen with the rest of the Denikin forces, in spite of the fact that the same New York *Times* correspondent tried to assure Americans that "Denikin's troops are not demoralized, except as to small remnants that have been harried in their retreat."

On the other hand, Harold Williams, the same man who so pathetically declared that "Denikin will not be beaten," declares now, in the New

York Times of January 23, that Denikin finds it "necessary to remove his general headquarters and the Allied missions from Taganrog, on the Sea of Azov, and the political center from Rostov-on-Don."

The latter was the main strategical base of the Southern Volunteer Army.

But London went further in its strategical reflections. According to the Associated Press (London, January 22), the position of General Denikin appears "somewhat better." This is the summary of the British War Office. "The further course of the operations will probably favor the side able to make the best use of the time at its disposal for organization. This naturally will be easier for General Denikin, who is nearer his base (sic) and resources than the Bolsheviki (sic), who have gone deep into enemy (sic) country, and depend for supplies and equipment on partially destroyed railways. Much depends upon the support afforded Denikin by the population in his rear (sic)."

We have been particularly sceptical of the efficiency of the British War Office under Winston Spencer Churchill, but such an absurdity we confess we did not expect to hear from its strategists. That England is still a wet country could not be proved in any better way.

Frederick the Great once said that lost territory could always be reconquered, but lost time never.

The Soviet armies have proved this in full; they have never lost time and always recaptured lost territory. The Allies, on the contrary, have been losing time, and there is no way for their recovering it.

Swedish Capitalists as Protectors of the Murder League*

ALMOST the whole bourgeois press has come to the support of the Russian murder league, which shows clearly that many strong forces are in action to get the criminals acquitted or at least sentenced under the most extenuating circumstances. *Politiken* is compelled to discuss the disgusting subject in a few articles.

That there is a connection between the cultured workers of the Hadjetlaché league and certain wealthy circles—that is a truth which ought to be clear to every impartial observer. The intimate relations of the leader with the Entente legations have been confirmed.

But one cannot help being struck by the fact brought out during the proceedings, about the assets of money which the league seems to possess. This is the more striking as most of its members seem to have had their wealth at least as far away as Hadjetlaché, who is immeasurably rich at home in the Caucasus, but is a plain bandit in Stockholm.

*The reader will recall a complete statement of the activities of the Hadjetlaché Murder League in Stockholm, printed in *SOVIET RUSSIA*, November 15, 1919.

Whose willing hands are those, then, that have so liberally supported the bandits? It cannot be small amounts which have been spent in the defense and support of these illustrious guests of Sweden. Neither have means been spared to influence general opinion. The many ingeniously written articles in favor of the arrested, which benevolent hands place in the bourgeois press of Stockholm on all occasions, all these small pathetic items about the girlishness of little Dagnar and the repentance of Schensnowitsch—who is it that stands behind them?

Of course not the diplomats. They are the kind of people who keep aloof from friends who are in distress. To them the thing of greatest importance always is the protection of their own hides and reputations.

It is now stated with great certainty that those who have helped the Russian league with "improved living" both spiritually and bodily, are not Entente diplomats nor Russian capitalists but Swedish moneyed men, foremost of whom are Messrs. Nobel and Bohlin. It is easy to understand, against the background of such a relation, why the Bohlin dancing doll was schemed and intrigued as interpreter in the Russian case. Support was given not only economically but even in interpreting. Her incompetence as interpreter has been shown by Doctor Alexandrow in Stockholms Dagblad.

Inasmuch as the Nobel concern alone owns the greater part of the Swedish capital which is invested in Russia, and inasmuch as Mr. Nobel's influence in the Foreign Department is beyond doubt, it is easier to understand why the Swedish Foreign Minister should be so little concerned about relations with Soviet Russia. Is it really possible that Messrs. Nobel and Bohlin, whose great friendliness to the Swedish diplomats at Petrograd and Moscow is a known fact (that friendliness has probably not been platonic), would support plain Russian highway-robbers and criminals? They are surely not strangers to the circle which has spread rumors of the crimes of the Bolsheviki. And when the policy of these circles is seen in relief against the mortgages in the Hadjetlaché proceedings, the question then arises—which Swedish connections owned the Russian league before it landed at the bar of the court?

We may add that Schensnovitsch lived at the time of his arrest with the same Mr. Director Eriksson who illegally appropriated means which had been entrusted to him by Vorovski during his presence.

Is it surprising that the Swedish capitalists in Russia oppose the resumption of relations with Soviet Russia when clues to such connections are thus obtained?

—*Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, Oct. 22, 1919.

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Great Britain's Baltic Policy

By O. PREEDIN

Fourth Article

GREAT BRITAIN'S TROUBLES IN THE BALTIC 2. *The End of the Domination of Foreign Troops in the Baltic*

To suppress the "rebellious" Russians and Germans who had united behind the banner of the "Western Russian Government," Great Britain was forced to resort to means from which she had prudently abstained until then, namely, to the mobilization of the local population.

The vast majority of the latter is opposed to the "Provisional Government of Latvia," as well as to the coalition government of Esthonia. This opposition was responsible for the strange fact that the troops which were "to fight against the Soviets" were recruited in remote countries from the Russian counter-revolutionary refugees, from German adventurers, Russian war prisoners in Germany, etc., and were brought here for the Western front, while the local population, to be sure, *was allowed* to volunteer if they wanted to for the "army of the Provisional Government," but to raise this army they did not resort to those "special means of recruiting" which had been used with the Russian war prisoners, and the small army of volunteers was very poorly equipped in comparison with the other armies of this region. For the purpose of a campaign against Soviet Russia, this army was from the very beginning a negligible quantity, not only because of its feebleness, but because there was not the slightest enthusiasm among the popular masses in favor of such a campaign, and all the efforts of the "Provisional Government" to arouse such enthusiasm were of no avail.

But matters were quite different with fighting against the counter-revolutionary Russian and German bands. Against these, even unarmed school boys fought with determination, as, for instance, in the armed clashes around Wenden and Wolmar at the end of June and in the early days of July, 1919. While the armed and trained Lettish troops at the front, on the border of the Vitebsk and Pskov governments, have never, while this front was maintained, displayed any great activity against the Soviet Red army; on the internal fronts of this region, whenever it was possible, even the unarmed and untrained masses always hastened to aid "their" troops with sticks and stones, picking up "loose" weapons that were dropped by fallen soldiers, and disregarding losses.

In such cases, Great Britain and the other Allies have always interfered to prevent "the inopportune withdrawal of the German troops." But in the fall of 1919, when the Russian counter-revolutionists entered into an alliance with the German imperialists and the "Western Russian Government" was formed, with a view to the definite conquest of the Baltic region and the establishment of its

domination in that country, in opposition to the aims and interests of Great Britain, the latter was forced to permit the formation of a larger and a stronger local army. And thus the first mobilization of the "Provisional Government of Latvia" was ordered in Riga for September 27, in the country of Riga for October 3, and so on.

This young army received its baptism of fire in bloody battles against trained and experienced imperialist forces,—against the United Russian counter-revolutionists and the Germans. This army did not stop the determined pursuit of its enemy half way, as the Allied mission demanded, but continued fighting until the whole Iron Division was forced out of their country.

The special Allied mission, which was headed by General Niessel and in which the United States was represented by Brigadier-General S. A. Cheney, was "to proceed to Berlin and then to the Baltic, to control the situation." But the situation was already so radically altered that this "Allied Mission to Supervise the Evacuation of the Baltic Provinces" could not continue its existence under this "official title." The "Provisional Government of Latvia" apologized, with the explanation that the Lettish troops refused to obey the order to halt the pursuit of the Iron Division and of Bermond's troops, beyond Mitau.

But the remnants of the troops of Bermond and Von der Goltz, which were driven out of Latvia, have not been discharged and are being reorganized in Lithuania and in Memel. In his report, which was submitted about the end of October, Von Maltzahn, the German Ambassador in Lithuania, said that the situation in the Baltic region was still "very gratifying." It is not surprising, therefore, that the Lettish army is looking with anxiety and suspicion in this direction, and that throughout this region the "peace talk" which was aroused among the popular masses by the offer of Soviet Russia is changing into a "cry for peace."

Before these foreign troops, which constituted the dominant force in this region, were driven out, before a local army had been formed which was sufficiently strong to resist the dictation of foreign invaders in the country, it was very difficult in Latvia even to speak of peace with Soviet Russia. But now that Latvia has ceased being an occupation zone, the country is in a position to turn its attention to internal reconstruction and to the determination of its relations with its neighbors. Henceforth the lot of the masses is not merely to bear the burdens and to suffer; they may become active, they may become an important factor in the political life of their country.

With the Russo-German imperialist troops driven

out of Courland, Great Britain has been deprived of armed forces which were not interested in the *independent* reconstruction of this country, and which were ready to force the local population to accept the dictation of those who have been trying to establish their supremacy here. However, Great Britain has not yet been deprived of all her means for the conquest of this region.

3. *The "Provisional Government of Latvia" and Democracy*

On November 18, at the meeting of the picked "National Council of Latvia" the "Provisional Government of Latvia," which was picked on November 11 by Great Britain, promised to the popular masses political liberties and broad democracy. The convocation of the Constituent Assembly of Latvia and the reorganization of all communal institutions on a democratic basis were declared to be the most urgent and immediate tasks.

But these promises have never been carried out. The "Provisional Government" itself was reorganized after several conflicts with the "Germans," who had more than once tried to overthrow it by force. This reorganization consisted in appointing to the "cabinet," under "foreign pressure," that is under pressure by Great Britain, several representatives of the most reactionary German Balts.

Even the representatives of some of the parties which were participating in the "National Council" have for a long time perceived the danger of the fact that the "Provisional Government" was very deficient in democratic activity; that "very often" ex-officials of the czarist regime were appointed to executive posts who did not even deem it necessary "to take off their uniforms with the shoulder-straps of the czarist bureaucracy, and did not conceal their monarchist leanings;" that people who had acted as informers and had aided the Germans during their occupation of this country in their bloody activities not only have not been called upon to answer for their black deeds but were even entrusted with responsible posts.

A characteristic conflict arose with the reopening of the elementary schools. Under czarism, complete control over all the school system of this region was in the hands of special school inspectors, who were appointed "from above." These posts were given to old tried officials of the czar's Ministry of Education, to reliable monarchists and Russifiers. For a long time, therefore, prominent among the democratic demands in this country has been the demand to do away with this system of inspectors, and to transfer the control over the schools to democratic organs of local self-government. And now the "Provisional Government" has not only found it necessary to re-establish the old system of inspectors, but has even appointed to these posts ex-sheriffs of the czarist regime.

During the German occupation of this country the conquerors introduced special "kommandanturs" in the townships, along with the elective

bodies, and these "kommandanturs" usurped the power and the control over the whole life of the villages, claimed one-third of all products, maintained order, issued peremptory regulations, and so on. The "Provisional Government" did not abolish these institutions, and only replaced the "German" commandants by its own.

Such "democratic" activity was not at all gratifying to the masses. The constant conflicts engendered by these "democratic measures" have alienated from the "Provisional Government" even the sworn opponents of Bolshevism. Thus, about the end of September last, the wide-spread discussions in Northern Livonia, as to what were the most urgent problems of the country, culminated in the despatch of a delegation which was to present to the "Provisional Government," among others, the following demand: that "the present compromise Government shall be replaced by a really democratic and workable cabinet."

Of course, this demand, just as all other similar demands, could not be immediately satisfied, and the "Provisional Government" is still existing. Its activity may be judged by the reports of the meetings of the "cabinet." Thus, on October 4, when the Russo-German bandits at Mitau were already openly making preparations for their march on Riga, the "cabinet" at Riga was busy drawing up a "bill on the division of the Lutheran Church into Lettish and German parishes," also with the question "of the organization of a Ministry of Defense," and finally, they elected Prof. I. Rantzau "as special Ambassador to the Vatican." Only as late as September 23 this "cabinet" issued ordinances "leaving in force some of the former laws of Russia in Latvia" and providing for "the organization of military courts in Latvia."

Great Britain is rushing to take advantage of the period while this "Provisional Government" is still in power. After the "Germans" had been driven out, a British syndicate was granted concessions on the rich forests of this country and even on the export of agricultural products, simultaneously with the conclusion of a loan by the "Provisional Government"; laws are being drawn for the introduction in Latvia of the English monetary system, and so on.

What else is needed for the "Indianization" of this country, for its transformation into a British colony?

END

Bound Volumes for 1919

Those who have ordered bound volumes will have to bear with us for a week or so longer, as there has been an unavoidable delay in the preparation of the Index. We can still accept a few more orders for these volumes, with the understanding that they will be ready for delivery in February. The price is \$4. for the complete set of Soviet Russia, for 1919, attractively bound in cloth; over 600 pages of text and maps.

The Monarchist Program for Russia

UNDER this title the newspaper *Russ* prints an interview with a man active in public affairs who has recently arrived from South Russia.

The history of the monarchist movement in South Russia is both interesting and instructive for Siberia and will perhaps throw a light on many phenomena which had seemed here incomprehensible.

Monarchist groups were formed first at Petrograd, Moscow and Kiev, and later in Kursk, Kharkov and Novocherkassk. From the very first the Moscow monarchist centre, headed by the former minister of the Czar, Krivosheyin, and by the Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod, Samarin, was the strongest and most influential monarchist organization. The membership of this organization included most eminent officials of the czar's court, several Grand Dukes and one high church dignitary, whom I may not name.

The organization aimed to overthrow the provisional government of Kerensky and to re-establish the Romanoff throne by crushing the revolution.

Krivosheyin, an ardent advocate of an orientation with Germany, who, during the reign of the Czar, belonged to the pro-German party of the Empress, and who considered the war with Germany as a fatal misunderstanding, in this case counted on help from the Germans, who were playing on the Bolsheviks. The Germans, who since the revolution, had their secret staff in Moscow at 19 Trubnokovsky Alley, were really in every way aiding Krivosheyin's organization with money and by their influence on the Council of People's Commissaries, and promised an armed force for a revolution if the bourgeois civic circles would ask for it.

With this hope Krivosheyin joined the "right centre," which was then secretly formed in Moscow, and which included representatives of the commercial and industrial spheres, of the church congress which was then meeting at Moscow, of the union of property owners, of the council of persons active in civic affairs, and several members of the central committee of the Cadets (Constitutional-Democratic Party), who joined on their own responsibility.

When the Germans, at the invitation of the Ukrainian Rada, occupied Ukraine and executed there the Hetman coup d'état, Krivosheyin urged the members of the centre to follow the example of the Ukrainian husbandmen who had put Skoropadsky on the hetman "throne."

Markov the second, who had visited Berlin and had just returned from Kiev, brought letters from the Chancellor and assurances from Eichhorn pledging their readiness to carry out a monarchist coup d'état as soon as the Germans would be given written guarantees that a close alliance will be concluded between Russia and Germany. The following plan was proposed: the Germans will occupy Moscow, the Council of People's Commissaires will be overthrown, the abdication of Nicholas the Second will be declared a forgery (the de-

claration of his abdication from the throne had disappeared during the October upheaval) and he will be restored to the throne.

But owing to the fact that the late czar was unpopular among the people, Nicholas the Second was immediately to abdicate a second time from the throne, this time in favor of the heir-apparent Alexis, and in view of the latter's being under age, a council of regency was to be created, consisting of Krivosheyin, Samarin, Grand Duke Pavel Alexandrovich, a certain German duke, and a high church dignitary. It was to be the function of this council of regency to conclude peace with Germany and a permanent alliance against the Entente.

The first step toward the execution of this plan was to be the decision of the right centre to invite the Germans to Moscow. But this time Krivosheyin's calculations failed. The majority of the members of the organization categorically refused to approve such proposals. As a result serious dissensions began in the right centre, and one after another the members of the centre began to leave the organization, and this led to its dissolution.

Those who resigned from the right centre united and formed a new organization, under the name "The National Centre." Its membership included N. I. Atsrov, V. A. Stepanov and others. "The National centre" grew at once, and was distinguished from its predecessor, the "right centre," by its purely pro-Allied orientation.

"The National centre" established connections with General Alexeiev and his volunteer army which was also faithful to the Allies, while Krivosheyin's centre looked upon L. H. Kornilov and M. V. Alexeiev as enemies of a monarchy, particularly of a monarchy allied with the Germans.

When the Bolsheviks decided to take stern measures against the monarchists, Krivosheyin had to escape to Ukraine, where the monarchist organizations were in full bloom, under the Hetman's protection.

The Don region was under the heel of the German catspaw, General Krasnov, who started to organize the Southern and Astrakhan monarchist armies, which had monarchist banners with the colors of the house of Romanoff and with the inscriptions "for our Faith, our Czar and our Fatherland."

In the north, Count Keller was organizing a similar northern army, and in Kiev, Prince Dolgorukiy was forming the Kiev monarchist detachments. The Germans generously supplied these military organizations with money and equipment, pursuing a double aim: to divert volunteers from the hostile army of Alexeiev and to increase our civil confusion, which would guarantee them "Russia's neutrality," at least until the end of the war.

Kiev had actually become the centre for the most reactionary and unprincipled elements who

came there from all over Russia to throw themselves, under the protection of the German fist, into speculation, political, as well as on the exchange.

Believing blindly that the German army was unconquerable, and that the collapse of the Allies was near, the monarchists imagined their hopes already realized.

V. V. Shulgin, of the pro-Allied monarchist party, who stuck in Yekaterinodar, in Denikin's headquarters, was looked upon as a fanatic who could see nothing else but honor, national pride and the sacredness of the obligations to the Allies. He was laughed at, and speedy annihilation was predicted for the Volunteer Army.

Taking stock in the preceding failures, the monarchists decided to convoke an all-monarchist congress in Kiev, which would work out a plan of further actions.

September 5-9, a well attended convention took place, where a number of important decisions were made, defining the future tactics of the right monarchists, and a permanent "Council of the monarchist bloc" was formed. The "bloc" included more than ten large right monarchist organizations of Russia. The Moscow right centre was presented in the bloc by Krivosheyin, Trepov and Samarin; Petrograd was represented by Kochubey; the Khar'kov group—by Prince Kasatkin-Rostovsky and Professor Viazgin; the Odessa group—by Pelikan and Count Konovnitzyn; the Vilna organizations—by Zamyslovsky, and the Kursk organizations—by Markov the second. The right monarchists of Kiev were represented by the Provincial Chairman Bazak and by Count Alexey Bobrinsky; the south-east was represented by Prince Tundutov, Dobrynsky and I. A. Radionov.

As honorary members of the Presidium of the Council were elected the ex-Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovich, Duke Georgiy Nikolaevich of Lichtenberg and Count Vladimir Bobrinsky. The Duke of Lichtenberg and Count Bobrinsky were the leaders of a separate monarchist organization, "The Union for the Salvation of Russia," which, with their election to the Presidium of the Council, joined the general monarchist bloc.

After a long discussion, on which it is not necessary to dwell, the Council adopted as the basis for the re-establishment of the monarchy the transfer to the toiling peasantry of all lands of the large landed proprietors and of the crown, monastery and government lands. The land was to be turned over to the peasants by an Imperial manifesto, as a gift of the Czar.

The Council counted on this to gain for the future monarchy the sympathy of millions of peasants, who are tired of all kinds of social experiments and who will easily fall for such a simple solution of the land question.

The monarchy was to be re-established by the organization of an army which, with German support, would march on Moscow.

It is interesting to note that when the land plank of the platform of the bloc was voted upon all the

proprietors of the largest landed estates voted for the transfer of the land to the peasants. An example was set by Zamyslovsky, who exclaimed, addressing the landed proprietors: "What is dearer to you, your estates or a monarchy?"

The initiator of the demagogic monarchist program "with the stake on the moujik" was Krivosheyin, who declared:

There are 80 millions of peasants in Russia, and the statesmanship of the future monarchy must be built on this idea: Russia is an agricultural country, a country of peasants, and the privileged class on which the Czar would rely should be the peasantry. The motto "Land and Freedom" we will replace by "The Czar and Land," and the peasant will follow us.

The platform which was adopted by the monarchist bloc deserves particular attention in view of its demagogic character. The platform consisted of 14 planks and resembled in many respects the democratic "Kornilov platform" so well known in South Russia. Some paragraphs of the latter were incorporated almost without change. In part, this program was, at the proper time, published in the press of South Russia, and caused passionate discussions. The following are its planks, almost without abbreviation:

"Whereas, in order to establish in Russia law and order, which have been shattered by the revolutionary period, it will be necessary to resort to extremely stern measures, which will inevitably arouse among the popular masses resentment against the government of firm rule, the reestablishment of the monarchy must be preceded by a military dictatorship.

The oldest successor of the house of Romanoff should be made Emperor.

The constitutional regime will be expressed in a two-chamber system. The cabinet is to be formed by the lower chamber and approved directly by the monarch. The Emperor retains the right of legislative veto.

The lands of the government, church, and crown, and of the large landed proprietors are turned over free of charge to the peasants as their property. The state binds itself to compensate the large landed proprietors for their losses.

The Church is made completely autonomous.

The workers retain all the national revolutionary gains, to wit: the eight-hour work day, the right of economic strikes and organizations, the development of cooperatives by means of extensive governmental credits. Government insurance of skilled workers should be introduced.

Government insurance of agricultural live stock and chattels should be established to aid as much as possible the poorest class of peasants.

The right of Poland, Ukraine and Finland to broad autonomy is recognized, on condition that they form an indivisible union with Russia.

One of the first manifestoes of the monarch should be the granting of civil liberties—freedom of conscience, of speech, of press, of organization; inviolability of person and home, freedom of trade and industry, and freedom of movement.

Local self-government shall be introduced in the cities, all citizens of both sexes of 21 years or more having the right of suffrage.

The army shall be built on the principle of a single will in command, and on stern military discipline. The army takes no part in politics.

Russia shall revise all her military and commercial treaties which were concluded with her former allies before the reestablishment of the new monarchist regime."

The program ends with a statement that universal elementary education should be introduced in Russia and that Moscow should be made the capital of regenerated Russia.

With this program the Kiev monarchist bloc started last year to organize independent military forces, which were not subordinated to General Denikin and were even hostile to him.

However, the crushing of Germany by the Allies and the consequent evacuation of Ukraine by the German troops disarranged all the plans of the monarchists and they had to disappear from the political horizon for a long time.

With the increase of German influence and with the appearance of the Von der Goltz adventure the monarchists came to the surface again, as we see, in a new political combination.

—*Nashe Dyelo* of Irkutsk, October 25, 1919.

An Appeal by Trotsky, Chairman of the War Council of Soviet Russia, to the Red Guards Entering Ukrainian Territory

Comrades, Soldiers, Commanders, Commissars:

You are entering upon the soil of Ukraine, in your process of crushing the bands of Denikin, and are thus liberating a fraternal country from its violators. Ukraine belongs to Ukrainian peasants and workers. Only they have the right to dispose of it, to rule it, and to build up a new life in their country.

While dealing the blows to the Denikin bands, you must at the same time show brotherly sympathy and confidence to the toiling masses of Ukraine, and woe to the one who with mailed fist will do violence to a toiler of the Ukrainian people, whether in city or in country-place. Our task is not the conquest of Ukraine, but her liberation, and, after the bands of Denikin are completely smashed, the toiling people of free Ukraine will decide for themselves how they will choose to live, in what relation towards Soviet Russia. We all believe and know that the toiling people of Ukraine will come out for the closest fraternal union with us.

Do your duty, soldiers of the Red army, commanders, commissars.

Long live the Red army!

Long live the liberated, independent, Soviet Ukraine!

—*Swit*, Vienna, Dec. 13, 1919.

SOVIET RUSSIA is glad to be able to announce that in the February issues there will be printed a large number of official Soviet radiograms that were forwarded from Moscow in October, 1919, but which have never been published in Allied countries. We have translated these messages from the Russian, and they will begin to appear in the next number of SOVIET RUSSIA.

POLAND

Poland, scapegoat of the nations, see
They send thee daggers
now to slash thy throat,
That with the bloody
current of thy life
Thou hold at bay the
upstart slaves who deign
Establish empery in
Eastern Lands;
And mock the kingship
of the imperial West.

O Poland, hurl their daggers
back upon them!
Cast off thy slavishness;—
not yet, not yet,
The work of centuries
completed; still
Art thou the servant of
their sateless greed.

Arise, arise and know
thou Liberty:
Thine Eastern Neighbor
cometh with the dawn
To teach the radiant
lesson, Lo, behold!
The rising, not the
Setting of the sun!

RALPH GORDON.

THE WHITE AND THE RED

They think of the Russia
Of Ivan the Terrible,
We think of the Russia
Of Tolstoi.

They think of knouts
And torture and madness,
We think of boat songs along the Volga
And festivals in the provinces.

They think of all the old chains
Forged by the Tsars,
We think of all the chains
Broken by the Revolution.

They think of the black days
And the living death in Siberia,
We think of the White Nights
And the dawn that goes on forever.

He who looks back into darkness
Stumbles and falls,
He who looks into the face of the morning
Walks forward over a broad road.

LOUISE BRYANT.

SOVIET RUSSIA

A Weekly Devoted to the Spread of Truth
About Russia

Official Organ of the
RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU
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This weekly will carry 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.



Address:

"SOVIET RUSSIA"

110 West 40th Street, Room 304, New York, N. Y.

REPETITIONS are frequently met with in American newspapers, of the curious statement that the Soviet Government is trying to prepare armies for the invasion of neighboring nations, as well as of other nations that are more distant. Thus we read a Paris report of January 26 (printed, for instance, in the *New York Globe* of that date) declaring among other things as follows:

Paris, Jan. 26 (Associated Press).—The Allied Supreme Council has received a letter from Stanislaw Patek, the Polish minister of Foreign Affairs, calling attention to the possibility of aggressive movement by the Bolsheviks against Polish territory and recommending that a plan be adapted for defensive measures. The letter asked that the question be called to the attention of Marshal Foch. The Council will give the letter further consideration.

There is no doubt that "the Council will give the matter further consideration." If Poland, through the person of one Stanislaw Patek, asks the Council to do what the Allies want to be asked to do, there is hardly any doubt that the Allies will permit themselves to be persuaded to do it. It is clear to all the world that Poland is being used by the Allies as the new base for their counter-revolutionary attacks on Soviet Russia, and Mr. Patek's petition for aid is simply a necessary step to justify the attention which the Council will now necessarily devote to Poland. Whether Marshal Foch will go to Warsaw, or not, to conduct the campaigns of the "Polish armies" from that city, we do not know, but one thing is clear, and that is that France and her Allies mean business, and, as a most efficient and time-honored way of inaugurating aggression on a country about to be attacked,

they begin by ascribing to the enemy the lust for conquest which is all their own.

* * *

BUT, the anti-Soviet will tell us: "Have they not reached the Chinese border, in Siberia, somewhere South of Irkutsk, and does that not mean that the Soviet Government may soon invade China?" There is no doubt of the possibility. Yet the United States "reached" the borders of Canada many years ago, and there have been mutual invasions of the two countries only by peaceful bands of tourists. Fears for the welfare of China, India, Persia, and other countries contiguous to the territory of the Soviet Government are entirely without foundation. Even when the papers tell us that Soviet forces have actually entered India and Persia, as they reported a few days ago, this may be merely a reflection of the bad conscience of the present rulers of those countries. No doubt England has fears of an uprising in India—in fact such uprisings have recently occurred—but why she should suppose that Soviet troops are needed for the purpose, or that "Soviet propaganda" may render the population of India "restless," is more than the unbiased observer can understand. If the population of India is restless, so is that of Ireland, apparently, and yet there are no Soviet troops and no "Soviet propaganda" anywhere near Ireland. We are not concerned with England's management of her possessions and colonies, but would suggest that the fears of Bolshevik propaganda with which she seeks to inspire the press of the world may really be the result of conditions more within her control than the acts of the Soviet Government.

And now, to look the facts in the face, has not the Soviet Government had splendid opportunities to invade other countries, if it had so wished, and has it not refrained from utilizing all such opportunities? On March 22, 1919—less than a year ago—the Hungarian Soviet Government was established, and it remained in existence until August 2, 1919. During this period of more than four months it was very important for the Soviet Government—if it had any intention of spreading its form of government by force of arms—to come to the assistance of the Hungarian Soviet Government by sending Russian armies across the Carpathian mountains and the comparatively small stretch of intervening Galician territory. With practically not a sword-stroke a rich and enthusiastic nation could have thus been added to the Federated Soviet Republic. In fact some of the newspapers repeatedly announced that Russian armies *were* helping the Hungarians. It is now well known that no such assistance was given, although the giving of it would not have involved doing violence to the territory or the feelings of the Hungarians. Yet the newspapers of the large American cities appear to anticipate violations of territory on the part of the Soviet Government that would be comparable to the German violation of Belgian neutrality!

WHETHER there will soon be trade between the Allies and Soviet Russia or not is a matter on which we have no definite data to offer at present, but it is certain that the Allied proposition to deal with the Cooperatives and to ignore the Soviet Government had no chances of favorable reception from the outset. We ask the reader briefly to review the situation: All foreign trade has been declared nationalized in Soviet Russia, by decree of the Supreme Council of National Economy. The Soviet Government buys and sells all goods passing to and fro in its relations with foreign markets. Where is there room, in this scheme, for such cooperatives as are not under the control of the Soviet Government? Was not the rejection of the Allied proposal to be foreseen—the rejection that was clearly stated in the newspapers of Sunday, January 25th?

FROM *The New Republic* of Wednesday, January 28th, we take the following paragraph, appearing in an article entitled "The Red Hysteria." The paragraph deals with the manner in which the patriotic zeal that had been aroused by the war against Germany was later misused in this country.

That zeal has been fraudulently imposed upon to foment and sustain an unrighteous war against the Russian people. To preserve the infamous blockade against a

people pleading for peace, to instigate a fratricidal war among a torn and disorganized people, a monstrous and gigantic propaganda has been foisted upon mankind, and has poisoned the springs of its charity. The Russian lie is the father of lies. For lie, damned lie, it has been. It was a lie that the people of Russia were calling for military intervention. It was a lie that they believed in Kolchak and Denikin. It was a lie that they did not prefer the Soviet government to anything offered them by the Allied generals and the monarchist clicques. It was a lie that they had nationalized their women. It was a lie that they had nationalized their children. It was a lie that they proposed to invade a peaceful Europe. It was a lie that we went to repatriate the Czecho-Slovaks. It was a lie that we remained at Archangel to guard stores. It was a lie that Soviet Russia declined the Prinkipo proposal. It was a lie that Soviet Russia has not offered peace with honor and with gurantees.

THE military articles which have recently appeared in SOVIET RUSSIA have been prepared under the supervision of Lt. Col. B. Roustam Bek, a former officer in the Russian Army and in the British Volunteer Forces. Lt. Colonel Bek, whose first article on "The War in Russia" appeared in No. 13 of our 1919 issues, and who has been officially connected with the Soviet Russian Government Bureau since January 1st, 1920, will continue to contribute weekly articles on the military situation to this periodical. Our next number will also print a letter by Lt. Col. Bek, entitled: "Why Russia Can Defend Herself Against the World."

Statement by the Russian Soviet Government Bureau

January 22d, 1920.

IN view of the more or less fantastic speculations as to the possibility of the re-establishment of trade relations with Russia by dealing with "Cooperative Societies" but in other respects "not changing the policy of the Allies toward Soviet Russia," it seems necessary to call the attention of American manufacturers and exporters to certain obvious facts, namely:

FIRST: The resumption of trade relations entails problems such as the re-establishment of Russia's foreign credit, the matter of transportation, of harbor facilities, of representatives abroad, to take care of the clearance of ships and other matters of consular nature, the issuance of passports for commercial travelers back and forth, the mutual protection of foreign visitors in Russia and Russian visitors abroad,—which cannot be solved without formal contact with the authorities in Russia.

SECOND: There exist in Russia no such cooperative societies as are being announced in the plans of some people who apparently desire to find in Russia somebody whom they might utilize in bringing about friction between the Russian people and its Government. Under the present conditions in Russia, the formerly separate and independent cooperative societies have changed their nature, their position and their function. They are today distributing agencies of the Russian economic system

and they work in complete harmony with the Soviet Government. So-called "representatives of Russian Cooperative Societies" in London, Paris and New York do not represent the Russian Cooperatives and have no authority whatsoever to speak in their name or to enter into any obligations on behalf of any number of people in Russia. Such foreign representatives as are now announced as negotiating with the Allies were representatives of the old Russian cooperative movement. They have been deposed by the Russian cooperative organizations and other representatives have been elected in their places, but have been prevented by the Allies from taking charge of the offices of cooperatives in foreign countries. The status of these alleged representatives who now purport to negotiate in the name of the Russian cooperative movement with the Allies in Paris is about the same as the status of former Czar and Kerensky "Embassies." They do not represent anybody except themselves. Such representatives have no supplies in Soviet Russia to exchange for foreign products and have no right to negotiate obligations in anybody's name except their own.

The foreign trade of Russia is nationalized and the Russian Soviet Government is in full control of all supplies in Russia, of the means of transportation, and of such other resources as can be made, and which the Russian Soviet Government is ready to make the solid basis of Russia's foreign

credit. The Russian Soviet Government is perfectly capable and ready to satisfy all requirements for the re-establishment of trade with Russia. According to information received by us from Mr. Litvinoff in Copenhagen, the Soviet Government of Russia is ready at any time, when the blockade is really lifted, to prove in practice Russia's ability to re-enter the field of foreign trade and to begin purchasing on a very large scale, on conditions quite acceptable to all parties concerned.

Soviet Russia is eager to open her markets for American products, and is prepared to buy hundreds of millions of dollars worth of materials. In order to facilitate the development of this trade, the sooner all restrictions, including restrictions of mail and telegraphic communications between Russia and foreign countries, are abolished, the better. It is in the interest of this trade, and we feel confident that manufacturers and export merchants will understand that any restrictions of this character will harm them just as much as they will harm Russia.

Statement by Mr. L. Martens, Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, Before the Sub-committee of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States, Jan. 19, 1920

MR. MARTENS, A CITIZEN OF RUSSIA

I AM a Russian citizen. I submit herewith, and ask to have inserted in the record, a photographic copy of my credentials as Representative in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. This certificate describes me as a "Russian citizen." The original of this document I sent to the Department of State of the United States Government on March 19, 1919. Translated into English, it reads as follows:

RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET
REPUBLIC

People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs
Office of the People's Commissar
January 2, 1919
No. 9/k

Moscow, corner of Spiridonovka and Patriarch's Lane,
House number 30/1
Telephone No. 4-22-96

It is hereby announced that Russian Citizen LUDWIK CHRISTIAN ALEXANDER KARLOVITCH MARTENS, who resides in the United States of America, is appointed the representative of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs in the United States of America.

(Signed) People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
G. CHICHERIN.
Acting Secretary of the Office,
F. SHENKIN.

(Official Seal of the People's Commissariat of
Foreign Affairs)

(True translation)

I submit herewith also, and ask to have inserted in the record, a copy of another document authorizing me to represent the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in various legal capacities in the United States. This document also describes me as a citizen of that Republic. It reads as follows:

RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET
REPUBLIC

People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs
May 25, 1919
No. 534/k
Moscow

To Whom It May Concern

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic hereby declares that citizen LUDWIG MARTENS is authorized to take in charge and administrate, in the name of the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic, all movable and real estates of the former Embassies and Consulates and all property on the territory of the United States of America, belonging to the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic. Citizen L. MARTENS is also entrusted with the right to solicit and answer claims, within the limits of the United States of America, in all cases where material interests of the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic are engaged, to prosecute all civil and criminal cases on behalf of the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic, in tribunals, courts and other institutions of the United States of America.

Citizen L. MARTENS is entrusted to defray all expenses incurred on behalf of the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic and to receive all moneys claimed by the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic in the United States of America, and issue receipts.

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
G. CHICHERIN.
Secretary,
I. LEWIN.

(SEAL)

Since each government must be deemed the sole judge in determining the status of its citizenship, I take it that these documents establish beyond all doubt the fact that I am a citizen of the Russian Republic. Nevertheless, I wish this Committee to be in possession of all the facts so that no further misapprehension may arise in this matter.

I was born in Russia of German parents, who had emigrated to Russia in the first half of the last century. At the time of my birth my parents were permanent residents of Russia. I was born in Bachmut, Province of Ekaterinoslav, Russia, on December 20th, 1874. I was brought up in the City of Kursk and in Petrograd, and educated at the Kursk High School and the Petrograd Technological Institute.

Under the laws of the United States the American-born son of a German immigrant is a citizen of the United States. But under the archaic laws of the old Russian and German militaristic governments, I was considered technically a German subject, although born and raised in Russia. At the age of seventeen I applied for Russian citizenship, but the Russian authorities insisted that I should first serve in the German army, which I refused to do. I continued to reside in Russia, and in 1896, by reason of my affiliation with the revolutionary movement against the Russia Czar, I was imprisoned by the Czar's government. At the conclusion of my sentence in 1898, the Russian authorities delivered me forcibly to the German military authorities, who impressed me into the German army and compelled me to serve two years as a common soldier. I continued my affiliation with the Russian revolutionary movement up to the revolution, which began with the abdication of the Czar,

to the establishment of the Provisional Government on March 16, 1917. The Provisional Government proclaimed amnesty for all political offenders and invited all political refugees to return to Russia. I was in America at that time, representing the Demidoff Count San Donato Company of Perm, one of the largest steel and mining concerns in Russia. Because of my technical German citizenship, I could not avail myself of the amnesty and invitation to return, since Russia and Germany were then at war. Desirous of facilitating my return to Russia, my relatives applied to the Provisional Government of Prince Lvov for naturalization papers for me. Such naturalization papers were granted in May or June, 1917, by special decree of the Provisional Government. This Provisional Government was officially recognized by the Government of the United States. These naturalization papers were dispatched to me by registered letter. I was informed of this by letter from my sister, Mrs. Popoff, who resides in Petrograd. I did not receive the letter containing my naturalization papers. I assume that it was intercepted in the mails by the British or other censor. At that time many important letters and cables relating to my business transactions in this country, regarding the purchase of American materials for my company, etc., were being intercepted by the censor and never reached me.

I entered the United States on January 2d, 1916. The United States was then at peace with the world. I registered my technical status as a German subject with the port authorities, explaining to them at the same time that I was born and raised in Russia and that my German citizenship was only

a technicality of German law. I have in my possession documents issued to me by the English Government exempting me and my family from internment or deportation as enemy aliens, in order that I might go about my business in England. It was by virtue of these documents that I was permitted freely to leave England, irrespective of my technical German citizenship. I submitted these documents to the American port authorities in explanation of my status, and I submit these documents to the Committee and ask that they be incorporated in the record.

The general Rules and Regulations prescribed by the Attorney General of the United States for the registration of German enemy aliens were issued December 31st, 1917, pursuant to the proclamation of the President of the United States, dated November 16th, 1917. At that time I was already a Russian citizen by virtue of a decree of the Provisional Government of Prince Lvov, a government officially recognized by the Government of the United States, and I was therefore not subject to registration under those rules and regulations.

This should suffice to clear up all misunderstanding about my citizenship. The fact that the present government of Russia has certified that I am a Russian citizen and has made me its official representative in the United States disposes of this question without doubt. In addition, there are the facts which I have just stated; that I was born and raised in Russia and was given legal Russian citizenship by a former Russian Government which was recognized by the Government of the United States.

Back at the Old Folly

By MAX M. ZIPPIN

THE two Siberian documents that are published below, and which have had, I am told, a very wide circulation in Siberia, are interesting, to be sure, for the disclosure they make of the state of affairs behind the Allied-Kolchak lines, of the conditions constantly prevailing in that region, and of the attitude of those socialists that have not as yet seen fit to join the Russian masses in their final struggle for the destruction of the counter-revolution. But the main point of interest in these documents lie, to my mind, in the fact that they show clearly that the Socialists-Revolutionists of Siberia, the best of them and those among them that are most faithful to the socialistic program of their party, have learned very little if anything during these two trying years that have passed, the two most dramatic years in the history of Russia, and the history of their party as well.

There is no doubt that these documents, and the movements that have produced them, have hastened the end of that great fighter for Japanese (etc.) democracy in Siberia. That Kolchak is not

an issue any more, likewise Denikin and the other Allied mercenaries, must be clear even to old men sitting behind tightly closed doors. Frankly, in Russia the monarchists and their backers were never the issue. Kolchak had paid the expected price for daring to stop the stirrings of the Russian masses towards true democracy, true self-determination, and true justice. Japanese bayonets, American rifles, English tanks, and French loans were not a real match for the Russian masses, and Kolchak is as good as gone. He may "instruct his new premier to organize a new cabinet with the greatest possible socialistic tendencies *compatible* (?) with Kolchak's stand against Bolshevism," as the Associated Press tells us, but it is clearly the Island of Sakhalin whither he is heading, where he may organize that "socialistic" cabinet, with men like Cherven-Vodaly as the managers, of whose activities as well as of the so-called "National Center" that he represents, we shall tell on some other occasion.

Kolchak, then, is not the issue. The issue is still between the Soviets and the Socialists-Revolutionists, and it is painful to see the latter repeating the same old criminal mistakes.

It must be conceded at the outset that we are dealing here with absolutely honest and true socialists. Their deeds may be of a counter-revolutionary nature, and, on the basis of the facts, they are undisputably of such nature. Although they urge the workers and the peasants not to split the strength of the revolting masses, they are themselves committing this unpardonable crime. Warning the masses against undertaking separate steps, they are themselves calling for such steps. There is no doubt in my mind that the group that calls itself the Union of Siberian Socialists-Revolutionists consists of men that both have the weal of the masses at heart and really look for the regeneration of Russia. There is a vital truth in their assertions that many of their midst have fallen in the struggle against the reactionary forces of Kolchak. Those acquainted with the events that took place in that hell of Allied intrigues, in Siberia, since the Allied governments staked their game on that old wrong Czarist horse, Kolchak, will bear witness to the truth of these assertions. Kolchak and the rest of his allies have differentiated but little between the Bolsheviki and other socialists there. They have shot them all "while in the act of escaping." They have violated them all.

"The majestic and resourceful revolutionary onrush of the Russian laboring masses towards a complete social-economic rehabilitation of their land, through the organs of democracy, removed from the political arena the groups of the privileged minority, and deprived them of a chance to influence the course of general reconstruction," the manifesto of the Committee of the Members of the Constituent Assembly reads. Very well then, where is that great difference in opinion that divides them and the rest of the Russian masses, that follow the Bolsheviki? Why should there be any separate actions?

The Committee has a lot to tell about the Bolsheviki. In their estimation, the black reaction raised its head only after the Bolsheviki had given the democracy a "sudden blow." But in the same breath they acknowledge the fact that "the bourgeois and land-owners' counter-revolution had no potency in the land, and all its endeavors to bring about violent changes had ended in disgraceful and pitiful wreckage." What was the power that brought about this ruin? Surely the members of the committee must concede that it was not they who brought it about. They confess that their movements towards overthrowing Kolchak have ended, so far, in great numbers of them being killed. The great Red army at the front and the little Red "partisan" detachments in the rear have done it,—why then look for other means?

There was a time when the same Socialists-

Revolutionists that have organized, or rather reorganized the assault upon Kolchak now, were sure that the only rightful form of government for Russia was the so-called democratic form, the Constituent Assembly. They are not sure of that any more, now. They acknowledge that these are questions at issue, that these are questions which should be put to the decision of the masses through a referendum. They assure us that they will abide by the will of the masses, should the latter decide for the Soviet form. They know that this is not a dispute to be settled by bayonets. But the Soviet form has clearly proved itself to be *THE* form of government for the Russian masses. Why cannot then the members of the Committee see that it is about time to clean the slate and with it unravel the constant tangle of ideas, if ideas they be, that only postpone the great day of victory?

And this is even more true with regard to the Union of the Socialists-Revolutionists, who broke away from their party, who state most clearly that "the organization that calls itself by that name in Siberia has long betrayed the masses." They, too, are for a referendum on the question of the form of government, but they should have known better—if only by the treatment they have received from the Allies. The two years of struggle in Siberia have proven that it is not a question any more of opinions and programs and government forms with the Allied governments, that it is a clear-cut question of whether the Russian masses be the rulers in their own country or the riff-raff of the Allied countries.

I am not in a position to know the names of those who have joined the two movements, but I can very well guess who they are. I can picture Eugene Zakharoff, if he be yet alive, to be in this movement. I remember how he tried to manage the Siberian government on these lines. I can picture Victor Tiber, even P. Derber in this company. I remember how they fought the Bolsheviki, because of their differences as to the form of government, but also that they were the first to resign when they found out what the real policy of the Allies in Russia was. They did not even wait as long as Robovsky, for instance, to find out that when you combine with reaction it is bound to swallow you. I remember very well how they fought for a homogeneous socialist government, because the Russian bourgeois is neither capable nor a worthy representative, in any numbers, to take part in government. They paid dearly for it—many of them paid with their own lives. Now, why go back to the old folly? Why repeat the old nonsense?

There was a provisional regional government in Siberia that was organized in December, 1917, on these same lines. The same people, or at any rate, the same political party was then in the saddle. Then came the Extraordinary Siberian Congress, on December 9, 1917, and in the declaration that the Congress made we read: "The Con-

gress was so organized as to be beyond any suspicion of bourgeois tendencies." It consisted namely of representatives of democracy only, with the workers and peasants predominating. And even then the declaration stated that "the Congress had found itself in the midst of a hot atmosphere of the fight for and against Bolshevism, and was, therefore, unable to engage in constructive work." What has changed now, one feels tempted to ask? Had the fight for and against Bolshevism stopped, or even relaxed lately?

There was one more very vital point of difference between those socialists on the one hand, and the Bolsheviks and the Left Socialists-Revolutionists on the other, two years ago. It was the "orientation" in international politics. The Cadets were either for German orientation or Allied, mostly for German. The Mensheviks and the Socialists-Revolutionists were for Allied orientation, because the Allies were supposed to be democratic, because the words of President Wilson were then on everybody's lips, words that promised, oh, what did they not promise? . . . And because the Bolsheviks and the Left Socialists-Revolutionists were of workers' and peasants' orientation—you may call it, of a Russian orientation—because the latter have fairly guessed what the Allies were in for in Russia, and the Mensheviks and the Socialists-Revolutionists had their Allied-democratic illusions, there were constant wars among the two parties of the Socialist movement.

Now it is all over. The Socialists-Revolutionists of Siberia see things as they are. They know exactly where the Allied governments stand now, and what their aims in Russia are. The Committee of the Members, etc., knows today that "Kolchak draws his strength from the intrigues of international reaction," and that the whole affair is "a screen for a barbarous war against the whole of the Russian people, and for the purpose of rapacious plundering of the people's inheritance."

While the Union of the Siberian Socialists-Revolutionists, as true socialists would, see the whole of the international bourgeoisie "tossing about in forbodings that it is about to lose its power. . . . Victorious in their war, the Allied governments with a characteristic persistence, strive to tear to pieces and to humiliate Russia, to strangle the Russian revolution. . . . Into Russia they have sent their adventurer-diplomats, their cunning generals, and all the varied riff-raff who have no place in their own countries. All these dark forces weave the most base intrigues against the Russian Revolution. With their help and under their protection the Russian reaction is organizing itself and is lifting up its head." And—what can be plainer?—"The dirty paws that have abridged the revolution are mutually supporting one another. The Russian reactionaries that have seized the power on the frontiers of Russia are selling out Russia to foreign usurpaters by wholesale and retail, getting in return power, gendarmerie, cannons,

machine guns, and rifles, that are pointed at the breasts of the Russian workers and peasants. The bands of Russian, English, Japanese, French and other manufacturers, operators, speculators, and rich land owners." . . .

It took some of them a long time to find that out. It took rivers of blood of the workers and peasants for the Socialists-Revolutionists of Siberia to learn the truism that was so powerfully and dauntlessly proclaimed in time by the Bolsheviks and the Socialists-Revolutionists of the Left. Many of the very same socialists were beaten in the struggle. Kolchak has seen to it that no opposition exists in his domain of Allied intrigue and murder. But seeing it, they still persist in the old folly, they still want to "head" separate movements, where there is already a great movement, a victorious movement, a movement of the masses. We all know what they have suffered and how. We know it because we have sickening and ghastly proofs how Socialists-Revolutionists of the very Right, and even Cadets, were shot, thrown into penitentiaries, and violated by the forces of one that now has suddenly become a disciple of the "greatest possible socialistic tendencies compatible" . . . with probably the policy of the dispatches of the lying press and that of his own bureau in America. We know that it is no mere play of words, their statement that "the sorrowful path of the struggling nation is strewn with thousands upon thousands of bodies of the best of its sons." The Socialists-Revolutionists of Siberia have parted company with those of their former comrades, because those of them still unmolested by Kolchak and his henchmen are, "several deserters from the camp of democracy that have no public power behind them and are only fit for the role of court-flatterers and buffoons," and are only tolerated because of their insignificance. Isn't it time for such Socialists to find their proper place at the end of two such trying years, to join the victorious armies of the Soviets?

A homogeneous Socialistic government in Russia in in practice a dictatorship of the laboring and peasant masses. An acknowledgement that "in the Russian reality there is no basis for the toleration of bourgeois-nobility domination" is an acknowledgement of this fact. You can of course differentiate between this and the Soviet form if you are inclined to hair-splitting theorizing, but you cannot conciliate it with practical life. A Socialist, if he be no deserter, if he be no court-flatterer, will represent the aims and interests of the workers and the poor peasants, and a homogeneous Socialist government will do likewise. The workers and the peasants of Russia, as well as of Siberia, have gone over to the party of the Bolsheviks. It is not the fault of the workers and the peasants that the Socialist-Revolutionary Party as a whole, that "the organization"—to quote the manifesto of the Siberian Union of the Socialists-Revolutionists—"that still persists in calling itself the party of

the Socialists-Revolutionists, has long betrayed its program, the people and the revolution." That "it has turned over the power entrusted to it by the laboring masses into the hands of the enemies of the people." Those that were members of the party of the Socialists-Revolutionists, that have looked on with pain and horror while their party, once so powerful in Russian political life, once so popular among the laboring masses, degenerated into a sort of slave runner for the bourgeoisie, will naturally sympathize with the Socialists-Revolutionists who still are true to their program, but deserted by the masses. But bygones are bygones. Terrible mistakes were committed by them all along, in the course of these two years, and there is no earthly reason why they should be repeated.

And this is precisely what is done by the manifestoes of the Socialists-Revolutionists. Why? . . . One must come to the conclusion, against one's better will, that it is again the old story of "the fight for power," a fight of the party that lost against the party that won out, a fight that may not be so bad, after all, in quiet and normal times, but which is most criminal in the critical times Russia is passing through.

They have decided to "head" the revolt of the masses, they say in their manifesto, but the revolt, a very successful revolt, is already there without their having headed it. The discovery in Washington, "through official channels," that the Bolsheviks were victorious not because of their strength, but because of the weakness of their adversaries, may have the sound of a huge joke, but there is, nevertheless, a great deal of truth in the statement. The Red armies at the fronts are constantly being helped by the heroic "partisan" Red groups in the domains of Kolchak, Denikin and other English Sirs who weaken the "saviors" into helplessness. There is no nook or corner in Siberia that is not full of the rebellious partisans. There is no place there, where the courageous little Red groups do not make the life of Kolchak and his democratic Allies both miserable and dangerous. And these little groups are open partisans of the Soviets and bear the brunt of their almost superhuman battle only by the help of that all dominating power, the ideal of Sovietism.

The Socialist-Revolutionist of Siberia knows it, or should have known it. It may have been latent and unforeseen to them at the time when no one dreamt of a Kolchak, when the same Socialists-Revolutionists were flattering themselves with the assurance that the Allies would come to their aid and recognize their government, because the Allies were so democratic. They have found out their bitter mistake now. They have had ample time to find it out. These mistakes have cost them dear. And if they still insist, not on joining, but on "heading," a movement which by all fair calculations, and by the strength of the facts, is not theirs, but of the masses which were deserted by their party, whether it is their fault or not, then

there is something wrong with their movement. The honest thing to do was to call upon the masses to join the great struggle that is now going on, and that is about to end in the greatest victory to the Russian masses. The Socialistic thing to do was to call upon the masses to join the little partisan groups that have made victory over the black monarchistic forces possible, that have speeded those victories; the same little forces of which Lieutenant Colonel Pendleton, the American Commander in the district of Suchan, said in his official report:

"It is not true that the armed Bolshevik bands, which have been on the increase all the time, were suppressed by the Russian or any other detachments. These bands are now (as at that time) dominating the whole territory around the Suchan mines, and in order to keep its promise of not interfering in internal Russian affairs, the American command in the district of Suchan is bound to have some relations with these men, who are actually the government of the region (with the exception of the mines itself) just as the government of Kolchak is the actual government in Vladivostok."

Worst of all is the warning that the Committee, likewise the Union of the Siberian Socialists-Revolutionists, give to the masses against what they call unorganized and untimely outbursts, which is in fact a warning against joining the partisan detachments. It sounds almost as a provocation, unpleasant as this is to state for one who still believes in the socialistic honesty of the authors of the manifestoes. For that has been done all along by the same black forces that these Socialists-Revolutionists have undertaken to overthrow. It is a familiar thing with the organs of Kolchak to warn the masses against unorganized outbursts, to frighten them with the overpowering forces of Kolchak and his Japanese and other helpers.

But, best of all, neither the first nor the last had at any time any influence over the masses. The masses, the workers in the cities and the peasants in the villages, never stop, never falter, never mind these warnings, whether they come from socialistic quarters or open provocators. That many of the outbursts have ended in total destruction of numerous villages by the Kolchak-Japanese-English-Czech-French, etc., fighters for democracy, carried on points of bayonets or pushed through holes of cannons, is, of course, a fact, but that is how real democracy is being fought out and won, and so far they have not as yet found another way of doing it, surely not in Russia.

The truth of the matter is that this clarion call of the Socialists-Revolutionists in Siberia is a voice in the wilderness. They have no masses behind them to answer the call and they will never have any as long as they insist upon separate actions. The only practical success this separate movement had was the notorious and highly humorous "re-

volution" of "general" Gaida, which the "noble Allies" have helped to suppress, according to Kolchak's impolitic admission. Nothing else could have come of it, but this dramatic joke of the man whose hands are black with the blood of tens of thousands of Russian citizens of all walks of life; of the fellow that was discharged by his own nationals, the creature that was as brutal as Kolchak himself, that "General" Gaida, who fought with a green and white rag for a Constituent Assembly, and, on being suppressed by the Allies, head over ears in love with a Constituent Assembly . . . for Russia. The Committee of the Members of the Constituent Assembly and the Siberian Union of the Socialists-Revolutionists had nothing to do with the Gaida movement, of course, but he is all that their movement could produce, even indirectly.

There is a saying that over a dying horse a flock of crows will constantly hover in anticipation of a coming feast. The poor czarist horse the Allies have so foolishly put their stake on, Kolchak, is

soon to become a corpse, and the crows are there waiting for their feast, and everybody rushes to build a government on the Kolchak ruins. But what is proper for a Gaida, and such that find it proper to go with him, to do, is highly improper for Socialists-Revolutionists that are still true to the program of their party and to the laboring masses. The authors of the two proclamations are, no doubt, true and honest Socialists, but whatever their words, the fact that they insist upon separatism at this critical moment, shows that their deeds are very dubitable, to say the least. There are no two roads to travel for a Socialist, or for anyone else, in Russia at present. It is either with the Soviets and the masses, or against both the Soviets and the masses.

And this is precisely how the Russian masses comprehend the great struggle. They join the Red armies at the fronts and the little Red detachments in the rears, without waiting for disappointed, if honest, Socialists-Revolutionists to "head" their great victorious revolt.

Two Documents

The two documents referred to in Mr. Zippin's article above, are given herewith. They illustrate in a striking manner the opposition to Kolchak on the part of even the non-Bolshevik parties in Siberia.

THE SIBERIAN UNION OF SOCIALISTS-REVOLUTIONISTS

"In Struggle You Shall Acquire Your Right"
TO ALL THAT LABOR

ALL the world over there is now in progress a great battle of the oppressed and needy against their oppressors. In all the lands those that toil are organizing themselves for an assault on the capitalists, for the sake of wresting from them a better lot. The whole world trembles under the blows of the new *people's power*. The thrones of the kings are tottering. The international bourgeoisie tosses about in forbodings that it is about to lose its power, rushing to smother the ever-growing wrath of the laboring masses by ever arrogant arbitrariness. Victorious in their war against Germany, the Allied governments aspire to lay their greedy hands on all the world's riches; they are determined to stifle and choke off every protest; they aim to remake the world's map for their own benefit, taking no account of the interests and aspirations of the oppressed nationalities. And they have organized a union of world Gendarmerie—the League of Nations. With distinctive persistency, they strive to tear to pieces and to humiliate Russia, to strangle the Russian Revolution that once wrote on its banner the words of universal democratic peace, and is now dying of hunger, perishing from loss of blood, weakening from domestic fratricidal quarrels. Into her they have sent their adventurers-diplomats, their cunning generals, and all the varied riff-raff, who have no place in their own countries. All these dark forces weave the basest intrigues against the Russian Revolution. With their help and under their protection the Russian reaction is organizing itself and is lifting up its head. The dirty paws that have abridged the revolution are mutually supporting one another. The Russian reaction that had seized the power on the frontiers of Russia is selling Russia out to foreign usurpators by wholesale and retail, getting in return power, gendarmerie, cannons, machine-guns, and rifles, that are pointed at the breasts of the Russian workers and peasants. The bands of Russian, English, Japanese, French, and other manufacturers, operators, speculators, and rich land-owners,

put forth all their efforts to raise a barrier between the workers and peasants of their own countries and those of other countries. For this purpose they release the mercenary pens of their hired journalists who alter to suit their own purposes the news that comes from foreign lands, of the revolutionary movements there, also that of the progress of the revolution in Russia. For the same purpose there exists the international censorship that carefully blots out all the intelligence that may be harmful or unpleasant for the bourgeoisie, and may put hope in the hearts of those that toil.

Feeling the approaching fall of their power, the bourgeoisie installs a terror against the workers.

What can one say then of Russia!

In its war against the Russian workers and the Russian peasants, the Russian bourgeoisie has traversed all the degrees of atrociousness. Without distinction as to opinions, from the Cadets to the Monarchists, the bourgeoisie is conducting its terror against the laboring Russian people. In places where the workers have dared revolt against the adventurer-dictator Kolchak and his bands that have seized the power in Siberia, there worked for pacification, in unison, Russian, Japanese, Italian, Rumanian and even Czech bayonets. Whole villages are burned down, hundreds of peasants and workers are shot down, men and women are flogged with gunstocks, casually arrested persons are hanged on telegraph poles, peasant households are robbed and ruined, the last cattle is carried off.

In the cities, men are seized and shot down "in the course of trying to escape," for incautious remarks! The freedom of the press is nullified. Many resolute fighters for the common weal were savagely tortured to death. The brutalized authority is shooting down without discrimination everyone in whom it surmises the spirit of protest or any unrest at all. The lines of killed and tormented include Socialists-Revolutionists, and Bolsheviki, and Social-Democrats, and non-partisan social workers, and members of the Constituent Assembly, and peasants, and workers, and young soldiers. The nation's path of sorrow is strewn with thousands upon thousands of bodies of the best of its sons.

Zemstvos and the Cooperatives are likewise persecuted by the government. Many Zemstvos and cooperative workers were compelled to desert their posts and were driven into hiding. Great is the number of the local workers whose names are not even known and who were killed by the punitive expeditions, and who are now listed by the Zemstvos and Cooperatives as "missing."

On the foundation of lawlessness, public silence and arbitrariness of the powers that be, there flourish, by far worse than in the old days of the Czar, embezzlement, graft and unheard-of flagrant development of speculation. Like mad wolves, all kinds of groups, sucking at the governmental apparatus, are plundering the impoverished people by enormous requisitions. Notwithstanding the total breakdown of the governmental finances, the authorities recklessly grant subsidies amounting to hundreds of millions of rubles, to industrial speculators. A gang of traitors to Russia and to the Russian people that had affirmed itself in power at Omsk is carrying on the most criminal financial policy. Reluctant to touch, even in the least, the infinite incomes of the rich, they have hit upon ruining Russia by endless releases of paper money and of divers obligations for which many coming generations of workers and peasants will be compelled to pay.

In Soviet Russia it is not much better. Universal hunger, general political oppression, total destruction of industry, transport and finances, are compelling the masses of the workers to constant revolts. This discontent of the laboring masses in Soviet Russia is supporting the reaction in the border territories, while on the other hand the reaction in the border territories is the cause of destruction, starvation and political oppression in the interior of Soviet Russia.

A vicious circle is thus being created. We must get out of it ere it is late. Otherwise the international bourgeoisie will in the end crush the Russian Revolution and will build up on its bones a most wicked reaction.

Before the toiling masses of Siberia there is a definite and pressing task: to overthrow the government of Kolchak as quickly as possible. And there is another task even more solemn, and that is: *to put an end to the destructive civil war within the democracy.* There may never be land, there may never be freedom, and there may never be victory over the bourgeoisie if the laboring masses shall not unite in one great desire to settle their own destiny by free expression of their free will.

Comrades: let the problem of the form of government that has divided the toiling masses into two hostile camps, *let it be settled not by civil strife but by a popular questionnaire (referendum)* as to what sort of government the people prefer: the Soviet or the Constituent Assembly?

The people need no wardens. They can very well decide their own fate. And the Siberian Union of Socialists-Revolutionists fighting for a popular referendum shall, therefore, consider any government that will not yield to it, as hostile to the people.

Comrades: The Siberian Union of the Socialists-Revolutionists has recently formed, and has gathered around it Socialists-Revolutionists true to the people and to the revolution and such as have left the so-called Party of the Socialists-Revolutionists. Remaining convinced adherents of the program of the Party of the Socialists-Revolutionists, the Siberian Union asserts that the organization that still persists in calling itself the Party of the Socialists-Revolutionists has long betrayed its own program, the people, and the revolution. It has made common cause with the bourgeoisie all through the revolution. It turned over the power entrusted to it by the laboring masses into the hands of the enemies of the people. In the most trying moment of the triumph of reaction, it deserted the people and refused to enter into active battle against reaction. The Siberian Union of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists, true to revolutionary socialism, and having broken away from the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists is now calling upon you for an unsparing war against reaction.

Comrades: Difficult and painful is this combat. Much endurance, a tremendous obstinacy, and a thorough organization of its forces this combat will require of the people. Until the toiling masses shall come to an agreement, until there shall be organized in the many villages,

church villages, and cities secret detachments for the purpose of battling against the armies of Kolchak; until they shall provide themselves with stores of weapons, and until all the little troops shall be combined in one powerful all-Siberian organization, it is not advisable to start a revolt. The enemies of the people may then be in a position to suppress it mercilessly, as was the case in the Taishet and Kanak regions, in Maryinsky country, and in many other places in Siberia where the peasants acted without previous understandings with the peasants in other districts.

The preparation for the revolution calls for big and complicated work. For the execution of this work, for the overthrow of the government of Kolchak, and the organization of a people's government, a group of members of the Constituent Assembly has formed the Siberian Committee of the Members of the Constituent Assembly. This Committee was joined by all those representatives of the people that have found it impossible for themselves to stand idle while the great struggle of the people against their oppressors is going on. But those of the Members of the Constituent Assembly that have betrayed the people, that abandoned them to stand alone in the days of their terrible reverses, that have criminally washed their hands and have become base sycophants of reaction, that are tolerated by the reactionaries and not molested by them only because of their total harmlessness, for such members of the Constituent Assembly there shall be no place in the Siberian Committee.

The Siberian Union of the Socialists-Revolutionists calls upon all the laboring masses to support the Siberian Committee of the Members of the Constituent Assembly.

Organize troops and detachments of the Committee of the Members of the Constituent Assembly; provide yourself with weapons; be ready for a general political strike; proclaim and spread broadcast the tidings of the forming of the Committee, and of the approaching decisive combat with reaction; pass the news from village to village, from city to city! The day is not distant when the Siberian Committee of the Members of the Constituent Assembly will throw its forces into open struggle with the reactionary government of Kolchak. At the clarion call of this Committee, come out simultaneously in a united and vigorous fight, over the whole of Siberia. Only a combined iron thrust at reaction shall give us victory! Only when the separate detachments will act in accordance with a unified plan and submit to one center, only then there is a possibility to conquer.

Comrades: Avoid unorganized and untimely outbursts. Do not spend your strength recklessly. Save it up that you may at the proper moment throw it in the face of pernicious reaction. The Siberian Union of the Socialists-Revolutionists will support the Committee of the Members of the Constituent Assembly in its aim to inaugurate promptly, after the overthrow of Kolchak, and without postponement, elections for the Siberian Constituent Assembly. We have had enough of the old mistakes. Down with dilatoriness and retardations. Better break off the elections to the Siberian Constituent Assembly, if the people decide to recognize the Soviet Government, than delay and retard the rehabilitation of the regular life of the people at a time when universal destruction and discord have wearied and tormented the masses.

Organize then, Comrades, energetically around the Committee of the Members of the Constituent Assembly, not only for the purpose of overthrowing the reactionary government, but also that the Committee, resting upon your strength, may be enabled as soon as Kolchak shall be no more, to proclaim the land to be the property of all the people, without compensation to the owners; full freedom of the workers, peasant, professional and political organizations; absolute self-government in all the territories, the eight-hour day, the protection of the workers.

Organize then, everywhere, in groups of the Siberian Union of the Socialists-Revolutionists! Unite, induce other comrades, make propaganda! Where your numbers are small be not disturbed! Your work shall never be lost!

From the unpretentious anti-like labors of the little organizations in the localities, the great business of people's emancipation will emerge. Raise high then the people's

spirit. Seek cohesion with the regional organizations of the Siberian Union of the Socialists-Revolutionists.

Let the reaction rage and frenzy! An organized people has no fear of it. There was Nicholas and the age-old Czarist order. The people have overthrown it. Will the laboring masses reconcile themselves to this petty endeavor of the Kolchak bands to re-establish the old order? That shall never be.

The Siberian Union of the Socialists-Revolutionists dedicates all its strength to the war against the enemies of the people.

In this war it will not leave the front lines. It will receive vicious blows of the reactionary forces, but that shall not stop it in its struggle. Many of our best workers for the great cause have already perished in this severe battle, *but we, those that still remain alive, call upon you, workers and peasants, to join in the gigantic combat with the people's oppressors, that has burst out the whole world over, in the war for bread, land, and liberty.*

THE CENTRAL BUREAU OF THE SIBERIAN UNION
OF SOCIALISTS-REVOLUTIONISTS.

August, 1919.

Comrades, read this and pass it on to others, that they too may read it.

Printing Office of the Siberian Union of the Socialists-Revolutionists.

Note—All the italics are those of the original.

TO ALL THE CITIZENS OF SIBERIA

THE majestic and resourceful revolutionary rally of the Russian laboring people towards a complete social-economic rehabilitation of their land through the organs of democracy removed from the political arena the groups of the privileged minority, and deprived them of a chance to influence the course of general reconstruction.

Universal suffrage has procured for the laboring masses of the cities, as well as of the villages, thanks to their superior numbers, a victory over the parasitic classes, and a total and an undivided predominance. The bourgeoisie's and the landowners' counter-revolution had no potency in the land and all their endeavors to bring about violent changes ended in disgraceful and pitiful ruin.

Only after the dissolution of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, on January 6, 1918, when an unexpected blow was given to the people's democracy by the Bolsheviks, who dared to oppose the will of the majority of the laboring masses by the armed strength of their separate groups, has black reaction lifted up its head.

The Soviet power, with all the might of its repressive apparatus, has thrown itself upon the steadfast and consistent partisans of democracy, and have thus given an excellent opportunity to the black camp of reaction, which dreams of re-establishing the autocracy, to freely assemble and strengthen its forces.

And therefore, when the toiling masses of the Volga region, of the Urals, and of Siberia, ventured to restore the destroyed democracy; when the peasantry of Siberia and the Volga revolted, and the workers of Izhenski and Votkinski works rose, all these attempts to maintain the victory of the will of the people have accomplished nothing. The Committee of the Members of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly that assembled in Samara, found itself under the lashes of two powers hostile to democracy, the Soviet power and the monarchic reaction.

The bourgeois counter-revolution, rightly appraising regenerating democracy as its most serious and dangerous enemy, employed all means of perfidy and deceit to enable the Bolsheviks to get a hold on Kazan, Simbirsk, and Samara.

As the crowning of their ephemeral triumph, the powers of reaction, headed by the Omsk government, in December, 1918, moved their detachments on Ufa, where there still clung to its post the Council of the Administrators of the Departments of the Samara Committee of the Members of the Constituent Assembly, with the intent of arresting the Council, after which they surrendered Ufa and stopped the provisioning of the democratic Bashkir armies, as well as the Votinsk and Izhev workers regiments, that were struggling against the Bolsheviks for the Constituent Assembly;

and dispersed the Congress of the Members of the Constituent Assembly at Ekaterinburg, this last symbol of democracy that was still openly in existence.

From this moment on, there began a period of powerless attempts by the reactionary Omsk Government to recover the national independence of Russia with the help of alien might, to establish a government without a people. Drawing its strength wholly from the intrigues of international reaction, the government of Kolchak is based on that little muck-heap of the Black-Hundred officialdom, that have grouped themselves in the staffs of the rear and in the attaman detachments, on the groups of the preying and speculating bourgeoisie, that were never capable to perform any organized and creative work, and on the several deserters from the camp of democracy, who also have no public power behind them, and who are fit only for the role of courtiers and buffoons.

In the Russian reality there is no basis for the creation of a governmental order on the basis of bourgeois-nobility domination. And therefore, all attempts of this kind are in fact only an outward screen for a barbarous war against the whole of the people, and for purposes of rapacious plundering of the people's inheritance.

The Council of the Members of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly that dissolved in Ekaterinburg and finally expired at Ufa, dispersed and could not continue the struggle. And only detached groups of the deputies, mindful of the will of the people that had sent them, decided to raise in the midst of the hostile camp of the blacks, the red banner of the rule of the people. These deputies, believing the combat with reaction to be their absolute duty to the laboring people, and in conformity with the high trust that the people had given them through election mandates, organized the Siberian Committee of the Members of the Constituent Assembly, which finds it timely to announce its existence for the information of the public. The committee has charged itself with the great task of heading the people that are revolting against the government, and of giving the oncoming universal revolution that which is most needed for its success, organization, thoroughness and unity.

At the same time the Committee, even in the process of revolt and preparation for it, deems it its duty and right to begin the organization of the coming homogeneous socialistic provisional government—the government of the Siberian Committee of the Members of the Constituent Assembly—excluding from participation in the government all the well-to-do and bourgeois elements.

The new people's government, created thus in the fire of universal revolt, and hardened in the struggle against the reaction, promptly after the overthrow of the government of Kolchak by the revolting masses, losing not a day or an hour, in conformity with the law passed by the All-Russian Constituent Assembly on the federative form of the Russian republic, shall proclaim a law on elections to the Constituent Assembly in the territory of Siberia. With the law relating to the elections to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, passed in 1917, and with the promulgation of this new law, as related in the law on the fundamental factors of the promotion of the elections, there shall be announced the dates of the elections as well as of the opening of the Siberian Constituent Assembly.

Instantly, the reactionary régime of Kolchak in the army, which destroys the self-respect and the dignity of the soldier and that degenerates the army, shall be abolished. Directing and responsible posts in the army shall be filled not according to ranks, but to ability.

Since for the accomplishment of the elections a time of about two to three months is required, the Government of the Committee shall not postpone until the opening of the Constituent Assembly the solution of pressing problems connected with the life of the masses.

In the matter of the land problem, it shall: 1) Without any delay, publish and enforce the main features of the fundamental law on land that was promulgated by the All-Russian Constituent Assembly at its session of January 5-6, 1918; 2) Proclaim a detailed law on the land problem, or the thesis on the projects of the fundamental laws on land problems, proposed by the party of the Socialists—Revolutionists in the Second Imperial Duma, and

in the All-Russian Constituent Assembly; 3) Proclaim a law on delegating of all the functions of the land settlement departments and all the technical apparatus of the same, to the organs of the local self-governments.

For the protection of the interests and of the rights of the workers, the Government shall give jurisdiction of rights and permanent guarantees of the free development of the professional workers' organizations, and of all the other militant apparatus of the economic struggle of the workers; and it shall immediately promulgate a series of laws for the protection of the toilers (the law on the eight hour work day, that was passed by the Committee of the Members of the Constituent Assembly at Samara; a law on the obligatory collective agreements with the workers; a law on sick benefits for workers, extending such benefits to governmental and public institutions and transporting the payments to the enterprises; a law on delegating the power to establish minimum wage scales to local self-governments; and other laws pertaining to labor).

In the province of municipal politics, in view of the fact that the democratic institutions of local self-government are the sole foundation of democratic order as a whole, the Government of the Committee shall hastily promulgate a series of laws that shall enable the local self-governments to have the full power of local governmental authority. The city dumas that were elected on the strength of the law of the Siberian Provisional Government of 1918 shall be promptly dissolved, while the power of those city dumas that were elected by virtue of the law of 1917 shall be prolonged until new elections shall be organized. The institution of the state and county commissars shall be abolished, and all their functions shall be relegated to the corresponding organs of self-governments. To the last named there shall also be relegated the militia, as well as all the rights and duties for the protection of public order.

To the jurisdiction of the local self-governments there shall be relegated all the local departments of the ministries: of Agriculture and Government Property, of Education (excluding the higher schools), of Food, and of Labor. In conformity with the aforesaid, all the credits that are collected by the organs of local self-governments, for the governmental departments, shall be transferred to the local self-governments until the system of taxes is reorganized. Without any delay, there shall be confirmed the status of the Siberian Union of Cities and Zemstvos, also that of the Regional Municipal Bank, putting at the disposal of the last named, long term loans on privileged conditions to whatever degree they may be required.

All this exemplary list of pressing and maturing measures that shall be passed by the Government of the Committee, and under the control of the last, during the time of the elections to the Siberian Constituent Assembly, will only be the laying of the foundation stone of the new democratic order.

A complete, systematic, and thorough reorganization of the social-political life can only be undertaken by the Constituent Assembly itself.

The civil war, the political oppression, in Siberia as well as in Soviet Russia, that are responsible for the constant

uprisings on both sides of the interior fronts, are leading the land to total exhaustion, to starvation and poverty, and are threatening to put the powerless Russia at the mercy of international imperialistic influences. Therefore, the Committee will do everything in its power to have all the disputable questions about governmental forms be decided not on the fields of fratricide battles, but through the free expression of the people, by means of a universal questionnaire (referendum). And, therefore, the Government of the Committee shall immediately after the revolution officially direct an official proposition to the Soviet Government that military activities cease for the purpose of initiating this referendum. Let everyone express his will through his vote for one or the other form of government (Constituent Assembly or Soviet Government) and the Committee, composed as it is of men chosen by the people, and only executing the will of the people, shall abide by the decision of the people, no matter what this decision may be.

A hard, fearful, and stubborn struggle is ahead of us. Much stoicism, endurance, and persistency will this struggle demand of us. Many a victim has this struggle already snatched from our number and shall yet snatch out from the midst of the people. But a firm and immovable faith in the creative power of the people, as well as in its political wisdom inspires the Committee in this struggle.

Citizens! Organize then in a solid common power, around the Committee. All the forms of organization of the laboring masses must blend in a mighty attack against reaction. The arming, the creation of fighting "partisan" detachments, the forming of secret organizations in the midst of the Kolchak army, the careful and painful selection of democratic forces, able to show, in the moment when the power shall exhibit itself, the enormous creative energy necessary in the administrative, public and economical provinces of national life—this is what must be put at the basis of the work of those revolutionary forces that will support the Committee.

Calling the laboring masses to this great work, the Committee at the same time warns them against hasty, unprepared and unorganized actions. There shall never be place for the dismembering of the people's forces! There shall never be any preposterous armed rebellions outside of the activities of the Committee! The experience of the abortive peasants' and workers' revolts, of late, must serve as a bitter example for the democracy. Only concordant, powerful outbursts of the people's wrath shall give us victory. Carry your wrath against reaction into the midst of the people, and give it a finished, organized form.

The day is not distant when the Siberian Committee of the Members of the Constituent Assembly shall call upon you in the name of the Revolution to engage in open armed war against the Omsk Government of Kolchak!

Be ready then!

The days of the final struggle are nearing!

THE SIBERIAN COMMITTEE OF THE MEMBERS
OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

July, 1919.

Soviet Russia Welcomes Refugees

STATEMENT FROM THE RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU.

January 27, 1920.

Mr. Martens today received a cablegram from Maxim Litvinoff, Assistant People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, at Copenhagen, transmitting the following message from Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman in Petrograd to a friend in New York:

"We were met at the Soviet border and at Petrograd with tremendous enthusiasm. Our reception was inspiring. Enjoying the hospitality of Petrograd, the deportees are quartered at Smolny institute. They will be sent to work wherever they desire. The people here are cold and hungry but their spirit and devotion are marvelous. After two weeks we will go to Moscow."

in the South, in the West, in the East. Volunteers are coming to our armies; the best of the people, the most energetic in its cause, are rushing to the front, and while Kolchak's front is definitely crumbling, the advance of Denikin has not only been stopped, but its best regiments have been vanquished and put to flight, and its rears are collapsing under the blows of innumerable revolts which threaten the very existence of his counter-revolutionary government. The Kuban Cossacks are already attacking the armies of Denikin, and the Cossacks of the Don will soon follow suit. The whole Caucasus is in flames against him, and the days of the chief counter-revolutionary aggressor are numbered. The People's Russia is giving evidence, in these days, of an unparalleled vitality, and the hopes of the counter-revolution have already been dispelled. Let them understand well, the present rulers of Finland,—Soviet Russia will remain their neighbor and will remember their conduct when Soviet Russia was in difficult straits. But Soviet Russia also knows that the present

Finnish Government is not omnipotent. It knows that the great masses of the people in Finland reject with indignation the idea of the perfidious attack against Petrograd, having as its object the installation of Yudenich. Petrograd is strong enough not to fear the Finnish oppression, but the indignation of the great masses of the Finnish people is the most powerful weapon against the warlike velleities of the Finnish Government. If it dares undertake this insane adventure, it will endanger its own existence and the Finnish people themselves will assume the duty of chastising them. Soviet Russia therefore, calm and sure of its future, looks on at the progress of the haggling which is now taking place between the temporary masters of Finland and the business men of the Thames. If they hurl themselves on Petrograd, they will rush to their own ruin. And the Finnish people will prevent them from selling their most sacred interests to the high finance of the Entente. *(Vestnik)*

The February Issues of

“SOVIET RUSSIA”

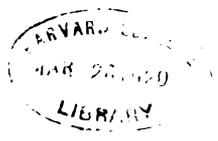
will contain the regular military articles of our Special Military Critic, Lt. Col. B. Roustam Bek, military and other maps, diplomatic correspondence of the Soviet Government with neighboring countries, official information (October wireless messages) concerning internal conditions in Russia, etc., etc.

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The End by Winter

By L. TROTSKY

(From *Izvestia*, July 18th, 1919)

In the following article, Leon Trotsky promises to defeat the counter-revolution during the winter. The military successes of the Soviet army have shown that this was no empty boast. The reaction lies prostrate and the world is ready to treat with Soviet Russia.

WE must at all costs make an end of Denikin by the winter. A winter campaign is an exhausting campaign, calling for great sacrifices in life and material. We must do everything to avoid it. There is but one road to follow: to redouble and quadruple the energy of the summer and autumn campaign. We must send three riflemen to the spot where now there is only one, five cavalymen where there is only one at the present moment. This is quite feasible. We have no lack of man-power. The mobilization of the 19-year-olds and part of the 18-year-olds, the influx of the peasantry, who hitherto did not respond to the call to arms—this is creating a powerful, almost inexhaustible, source whence to reinforce and fill up the ranks of our Army.

But this alone is insufficient.

We must have a corps of officers. That corps is at present largely scattered in various civil occupations, and hitherto has been carefully protected by various Soviet institutions. The decree of the Council of defence orders officers to the place where they are required, namely, the front. Henceforward, any resistance on the part of the local authorities, any attempt to retain or shelter a valuable and experienced military worker, represents the most mischievous form of sabotage.

Side by side with the old officer class, we must have a new cadre of commanders. We must develop, on as large as possible a scale, courses of instruction for officers. Here we are faced chiefly

with the problem of accommodation. Local Soviet authorities not infrequently delay for months the opening or extension of courses of instruction on the plea that the premises in question are required for cultural purposes. Sometimes in this way they seize the premises of the former cadet battalions, which are most suitable for officers' courses. It is difficult to characterize with sufficient energy such a near-sighted policy. All cultural problems are at the present time of second or third-rate importance, in face of the necessity of providing the Red Army with an extra thousand officers. The shortage of commanding personnel only results, again and again, in our being forced to yield to the enemy whole provinces, with all their cultural institutions and undertakings. None dares forget that Soviet Russia is a military camp! Local Soviet authorities must immediately and for the next few months not only provide the officers schools with most suitable premises, but in general set up those schools in such material and moral surroundings that the students will be able to work with the maximum amount of concentration.

We require equipment. This is a root problem. We must feed, clothe, equip, arm, new hundreds of thousands of fighters. All sources and resources of supply must be mobilized and militarized. Naturally the country will suffer. But it will suffer less than it would from a protracted war. To mobilize a little, arm a little, fight a little, operate in "small packets," as the French say—that is the

most exhausting kind of warfare. To gather all our forces, to unite all our resources, to concentrate all our energy—this is the only right path. In the long run, it is just this path that will prove the most economical of strength and resources, since it leads, in the shortest possible time, to a decisive victory.

Today we have attained at the center the necessary concentration of all organs and institutions of military supply. It is essential that local authorities should in this respect go whole-heartedly

to meet the center. Boots, underclothes, great coats, to the front! Sew as many more great coats, boots, underclothes as possible. More and still more. Heavy lorries, light cars, motor-cycles, to the front! The local Soviet institutions dispose of plenty of horses. The Army is terribly lacking in this respect. Horses to the front! Naturally, all this will be redeemed a hundred-fold. We must bring the war to an end as soon as possible, in order to divert *all* our forces and *all* our resources into economic and educational channels.

The War in Russia

Strategical and Political Reflections

RREAL peace with Soviet Russia is approaching, there is not the slightest doubt of it.

The firm and straight line which the Soviet statesmen have laid down has been properly supported by the Russian strategy and the incomparable sacrifices of the Russian proletarian army. The senseless blockade which has cut off the Russian people for about two years is about to be broken down. Armed intervention, with all its horrors and its criminal bloodshed, is defeated and Russian territory is almost cleared of the reactionary bands and their supporters. The outside enemies of the Soviet Republic do not dare continue their bellicose agitation against the peace-loving invincible Russian people.

"Long live Mother Russia," "Down with Imperialism"! come the cries from Jugo-Slavia (the *Sun*, January 30). "The last sentiment expresses the widespread desire still deep-rooted in Jugo-Slavia, of solidarity with Russia as the leading nation of the Slavonic race," the above-quoted newspaper adds.

And while this happens in the West, there is Siberia. The Czecho-Slovaks, that most reactionary element in the Russian revolution, have turned their arms against those whose cause they have supported since the beginning of the Russian revolution.

The aim of the Soviet policy was peace with the world, peace without annexations, based strictly on the idea of self-determination of the nations representing the former Russian Empire, as well as the same right for all other nations.

Even the foolish aggressiveness of the Poles and Letts, who have been worked upon by the European capitalistic coalition, was met not by means of bayonets and guns, but with a new and definite peace offer from Moscow. And this does not at all mean that the Soviet Republic is powerless to counter-attack the invaders, defeat them, and, in its turn, occupy their country. On the contrary. Never was the Soviet army so strong and so perfectly organized as it is at the present moment.

On several occasions we have described the real strength of the Soviet military forces, estimating

them at the end of 1919, at not less than 4,000,000 strong. We also insist that at the needed moment the Soviet Republic could easily put in the field an army of 8,000,000, fully equipped and properly organized. That such a huge army will have perfect leadership is shown without question by the facts of the past. According to the *New York World* of January 29, the information received from Warsaw is of a very amazing character. The Poles seem to realize the stupidity of their offensive movement into Russia, and are looking ahead anxiously, foreseeing their approaching failure.

Peace with Soviet Russia before it is not too late is the only way to avoid a real catastrophe. "Trotsky has mobilized 8,000,000 men, with perhaps 2,000,000 available under the leadership of General Brusiloff against the Poles," says this despatch.

The importance of such a leadership as that of General Brusiloff, in the battle field, is too well known to the whole world to make it necessary to dwell on its significance. In our early articles, when we mentioned that this famous general was one of the members of the Soviet Army, we were met with scepticism on the part of the reactionary element, but now that this is officially confirmed, we can say without any hesitation that the Polish forces have a real danger to face. As the *New York World* has stated, "Brusiloff is recognized as one of Europe's foremost strategists." Let the Poles bear this in mind! Their military party, supported by the Allies, may bring the Polish nation to the point of suicide, if the Polish army will not follow the desire of their workmen and peasants, and will not stop its dangerous advance. According to the latest reports, the Polish forces have crossed the river Berezina, which means that their offensive is in full progress.

This historic river, the battle on which was immortalized by the great Russian victory over the army of Napoleon, still stirs the hearts of all Russians and we have reason to foresee some very important military events in this very region.

There was a suggestion in the correspondence from Warsaw to the *New York World*, that the

Russian General Staff intends to make "two drives against Poland, one toward Vilna, the other through the Carpathians and Slovakia-Galicia."

From our point of view, this suggestion is absolutely groundless, because of the fact that the Russian army is purely on the defensive and therefore it is too early to guess its further objectives. We can only state without any hesitation that the actual aim of the Soviet headquarters at the present moment is to meet the invaders at a spot chosen beforehand, and at the decisive moment, by means of numerically superior forces, to annihilate them entirely, as was done on previous occasions in Siberia, Southern Russia and in the Petrograd region. Then only the direction of the Russian armies can be rightly discussed, because nobody knows now in which direction the pursuit of the beaten enemy will be pressed.

The Allies understand this well and have tried to remedy their error and to stop the Polish advance, but unfortunately, it was already too late.

From a purely military standpoint, the whole Polish adventure is absolutely senseless. Estonia and Lettonia will sign a peace with Soviet Russia, as was reported on January 29th (N. Y. *Tribune*). The Lithuanians, those irreconcilable enemies of the Poles, could in no case support the latter in their aggressive movement against Soviet Russia. There cannot even be any hope, either, that the rest of the Slavonic population will join the Poles. There is scarcely any hope in the support of the Allies, who are openly expressing their willingness to stop their hostile policy towards the Soviets. Therefore, the general political aim of the warlike Polish politicians, to establish a new frontier with Russia, along the Dnieper, Berezina and Western Dvina rivers cannot be supported by the Polish strategy.

In the Siberian theatre of war, the situation becomes more and more favorable to the Soviets. According to the *Globe* of January 30th, "Eight American and two British officers are believed to have fallen into the hands of the Bolsheviki." The capture took place to the west of Irkutsk, which confirms our supposition expressed in our previous articles, that a part of the American and of the Allied forces were cut off after the capture of Irkutsk by the Soviet army.

There are also despatches to the effect that 15,000 Czechs are spread over 400 miles along the railroad, west of Irkutsk, holding £20,000,000 sterling (\$100,000,000) of Kolchak's gold, and there cannot be the slightest doubt that this money will fall into the hand of the Soviets, moreover that, as has been said, "the Bolsheviki have sworn never to let pass east of Lake Baikal" this treasury.

The star of General Semenov becomes paler and paler; his troops are gradually deserting their chief and have dwindled to about 2,000, while "the whole of the population of Siberia is ready to accept Bolshevism" (*Globe*, January 30).

At the same time, Paris informs the New York *Times* that Kolchak has been handed over to the

revolutionists, and, later, to the Soviet army, by the French General Janin, the Commander-in-Chief of the Czecho-Slovaks in Siberia. So, practically, the Allied subordinate officer has betrayed his chief—a cheerful example for those nations who still place their trust in the Allied support, in general, and in the famous French chivalry, in particular.

Though we are certainly pleased that one of the important leaders of the Counter-Revolution has fallen into the hands of our army,—the way in which Kolchak was handed over to his enemy by his friends and Allies, the French, is too disgusting, too low in morality, to be passed over in silence.

It will be interesting to note how the French army and the French people will explain the action of their general to the rest of the world.

The Japanese are still keeping quiet in Siberia. After the capture of Nikolsk-Ussuriisk by the Soviet forces, the situation of Vladivostok has become somewhat alarming. The Soviet troops, it seems, have marched from Khabarovsk, in the north, along the Khabarovsk-Vladivostok railway, being in co-operation with numerous "partisan" detachments, which, during the whole periods of the Civil War, were in activity in that region. Consequently, the Soviet Army is now in control of almost all this railway, as well as the eastern part of the Harbin-Nikolsk-Ussuriisk railway, and has finally isolated Vladivostok from Manchuria and the Ussuri region, as well as of all Northeastern Siberia, thus placing the Japanese in a very serious position.

As far as we are informed, the anti-military movement is rapidly growing in Japan, and the military party can scarcely meet with the sympathy of the Japanese people, to carry through the aggressive plans prepared by the active War Minister, Major-General Tanaka, supported by Vice Admiral Kato, Minister of the Navy.

According to the despatches transmitted by the Associated Press from Tokio, an interpellation took place in the Lower House of Parliament January 27th, by Baron Sakatani, on the subject of the intentions of Japan toward Russia.

Major-General Tanaka and Admiral Kato, in reply to the interpellation, insisted that Japan's military program be left unchanged after the peace, because it was intended for self-defense (sic) and not for aggression.

It is really remarkable that each of the Allies claim that they are acting in self-defense while invading Russia. It is also interesting to note that both General Tanaka and Admiral Kato have seen long service in the Russian army and navy. The writer was acquainted with both men. General Tanaka held a commission in the 145th Novotcherkassky Infantry Regiment in Petrograd, while Kato was attached to the Russian Navy before the Russo-Japanese War. Both these Japanese officers were closely connected with the Imperial Russian family and had many friends amongst the reactionary element of the fallen Empire, and their friendly and warm relations with Kolchak are no secret.

On the other hand, the alleged withdrawal of the Japanese troops from Siberia may be within probability, as it proved by the declaration of Viscount Uchida, the Foreign Minister, that the negotiations between Japan and America were proceeding in a most friendly manner. He pointed out that in some quarters the opinion had been expressed that the note of the American Government concerning the despatch of Japanese reinforcements to Siberia was insulting to Japan. Such a view, the Foreign Minister asserted, was entirely groundless.

Japan, after having recognized that she was betting on the wrong horse, is gradually inclining to settle her affairs directly with Moscow, and we are presuming to venture the statement that the most dangerous crisis in Siberia for the Soviet Republic has passed, and the general situation in the Far East can be considered as satisfactory for the Soviets.

The clearing out of Southern Russia and Ukraine of the reactionary element is proceeding smoothly. The Denikin adventure ended in a trip, by Denikin himself, on board a British battleship, to Con-

stantinople. The fragments of his forces have been partially annihilated, and have partially deserted to the Soviets, and in the East are gradually falling back in Georgia, hard pressed by the pursuing Soviet cavalry.

The Astrakhan Cossacks, who joined the Soviet Army voluntarily, have cleared Port Derbent, on the western bank of the Caspian Sea, of reactionaries, and we need not wait long for an understanding between the Azarbaijan Republic and Georgia with Moscow.

Now we can see how foolish it was to suppose for a moment that the alleged British invasion of the Caucasus could become a matter of fact.

The brilliant successes of the Soviet arms have at last forced even the *New York Times* to change its language. In the issue of January 30th of that newspaper, we read the following despatch from Paris:

"The Allies are gradually approaching recognition of the Soviet Government of Russia, according to opinion not very openly expressed in most diplomatic circles in Paris."

We can only welcome such a decision. Better late than never.

Helsingfors vs. Barbed Wire

By Our Paris Correspondent

PARIS, January 16.—The misinformation of the bourgeois press on matters pertaining to the Russian situation has become an accepted commonplace, and scarcely a week goes by that does not see a new flagrant attempt to mislead the public opinion of the world. The latest instance in the Conference of Helsingfors. This congress of the Baltic States, Poland and Finland has for its aim, if we believe the official and semi-official news agencies, the reconstitution of a common military front against Bolshevism. But in reality it is nothing of the sort. The function of the conference is to consider the peace offer of the Soviet Government to the entire group of states which fringe the Western frontier of Russia.

L'Europe Nouvelle, which has exceptional facilities for information on the Eastern European situation, thus characterizes the Helsingfors meeting:

"The peace which has just been signed at Dorpat between the Republic of Esthonia and the Soviet Republic will have for its first consequence the Conference of Helsingfors. . . . It is an open breach in the 'barbed wire fence' with which they are trying to surround a people of more than a hundred million souls. It means the shattering of the blind policy which they pretended to have in regard to Russia. They will have to stop denying the evidence of their eyes, and decide finally to face courageously the problem presented by the Russian question."

To face courageously the Russian question is exactly what the chancelleries of Europe and America are not yet prepared to do. The tremendous

victories of the Red Army of Soviet Russia for the time being stupefied the diplomats, but the very moment he could recover consciousness, Clemenceau blurted out: "We shall never treat with Soviet Russia—we shall erect a barbed wire fence." And yet, strangely enough, there are those who call the Commissaries of the People—Lenin, Chicherin, Trotzky—"dreamers" and "visionaries." What word could better characterize the mental processes of a man foolhardy enough to think of fencing in a revolutionary people like cattle in a pen, to think of drenching the devastated soil of Central Europe with the blood of new wars, and to think of undermining the economic structure of the civilized world—than the very word "visionary"!

The fact that order is slowly arising out of the chaos of Eastern Europe is not the fault of the Allied chancelleries. It is the credit only of the Soviet Government, which disregarding the rebuffs, disregarding the sabotage of England, France and America, and the intrigues of the international reactionary brigands, sent peace offer after peace offer to the border states, until finally they were convinced. Unfortunately, the greater part of the ministers of these states are tools in the hands of the Allies, and have very little conception of the interests of their country or of humanity. The countries desired peace, but it wasn't until public opinion in these countries, particularly the public opinion of the working classes, was organized in an articulate fashion, that the diplomats of the border states defied the Allies and began to treat with the Soviets. Of all the Baltic states, Esthonia

has the most class-conscious and articulate proletariat, and it was its insistence on peace with Russia that brought about the signing of the armistice at Dorpat. Several times the Allies broke up the negotiations, once notably by the Yudenich drive against Petrograd, but finally the will of the Esthonian working class prevailed. To buy off England, the Esthonian ministers turned over the naval bases of Dagö and Moon Sound, after which Esthonia finally got the authorization to conclude peace with Russia.

In Finland, the sentiment of the working class was strong enough to prevent its government from joining in the attack on Petrograd last October, which Mannerheim and his clique were only too eager to do. In Poland, Lettonia and Lithuania the sentiment for peace has been steadily growing, but diplomatic intrigues have thus far prevented the conclusion of peace. None of the countries find themselves in an economic condition to continue the conflict against Soviet Russia, a fact which is coming to be impressed even upon the irresponsible ministers which govern these states. The Conference of Helsingfors may be interpreted as a sign that, finding themselves in a desperate economic plight, they are forming a common union in order the better to withstand the pressure of the Allies, particularly that of France. England is slowly relaxing its pressure against peace with Russia, in exchange for economic and naval concessions in these states. But the forces that direct the Foreign Office of France continue firm in their opposition to peace in Eastern Europe. They fear that peace might prevent the realization of their dreams for the extension of French military and diplomatic influence over the Poland-Ukraine-Czecho-Slovakia corridor, and refuse to give the necessary authorization to the puppet ministers of Poland.

In all these complex intrigues of Western imperialism in the affairs of Eastern Europe, never a thought is given to the interests of humanity or even of the enlightened national interests. A recent article of Norman Angell points out how the blockade of Russia and the continued warfare in Eastern Europe is undermining the economic structure of the whole of Europe and may bring a widespread financial panic. The Allies cannot strangle Russia without strangling themselves. The opposition to peace with Russia is supposedly based on the fear of a worldwide social revolution under Bolshevik auspices, but what is actually happening is the introduction of worldwide economic chaos under Allied auspices.

This chaos is at its worst in countries like Poland and the Baltic provinces, but it is easy to trace the connection with the financial chaos of France and Italy. The customary interchange of commodities has been interrupted. Poland cannot buy, for example, because she cannot at the present time produce. She cannot produce, because, at the dictation of the Quai d'Orsay, she is forced to carry on a ruinous war against Russia, and because she is cut off from her customary

trade with that country. This is not a question of dollars and cents, it is above all a question of humanity, of keeping from starvation tens of millions of human beings. Mr. Hoover has demanded that Congress vote credits of \$150,000,000 to supply food to Central and Eastern Europe, but what these countries need more than temporary credits is peace. They need to be let alone, and not to be used as catspaws in the murderous game of international counter-revolution and imperialism.

The Russian workers' and peasants' government, which truly represents the spirit of the laboring masses, has thus far shown itself to be the only government interested in the welfare of humanity. It has been the only government interested in peace and genuine reconstruction, the only government that has sought to bring order out of the welter of international chaos. In 1917 and 1918 it sought to bring peace to Russia and to the entire world, and, had its appeals been heeded, the world might have been spared the extra ruin of a year's warfare. But not only were its appeals not heeded, but the Allies declared a new and inhuman war upon Russia itself. . . . There is no use repeating the whole story, which by this time should be familiar to everybody. . . .

But slowly the desire for peace on the part of the laboring masses is finding means to overcome the noxious interference of the selfish diplomats. The Conference of Helsingfors is a happy sign of this. But it remains to be seen whether the chancelleries will not devise new intrigues to checkmate its work.

AN INTERVIEW WITH A MEMBER OF THE FIRM OF DENIKIN, KOLCHAK & CO.

THE following interview published in the *Odessky Listok* is a complete unmasking—if any need there be of further unmasking—of the purpose of Denikin and his crowd to restore tsarism in Russia. The interview is with Baron Meller-Zakomelsky, President of the "Council of the Union of State," an organization which is one of the pillars of the Denikin regime. We ask the reader to note the reference to a National Assembly, which is another name for the democratic sop which the late Czar threw to the Russian people—the late lamented Duma. The aim of Denikin and his cohorts is manifestly to restore the old regime with the same democratic bluffs and trimmings.

"Tell us, Monsieur le Baron, what in your opinion, will be the solution of the agrarian problems?"

"Personally, I am for the conservation of private property. I consider the nationalization of the land as fatal to the State. Nonetheless, without being socialist, I believe that it is necessary that the small property holdings be developed at the expense of the large landowners, a result which can be attained by appropriate measures."

"For example—"

"Well, above all by opening to the little proprietors credits permitting them to acquire lands

and to purchase equipment for cultivation. It is also indispensable to apply throughout a progressive tax upon land."

"You do not consider necessary the compulsory expropriation of the large landowners?"

"That seems to me superfluous, since all the large landowners ask nothing better than to sell their lands."

"And what do you think of the organization of the Ukraine? Don't you believe that at the present moment we can look forward to the formation of a temporary government in the Ukraine similar to that of the Kuban or that of the Terek?"

"I regard the governments of the provinces of the Kuban and the Terek as something precarious and infirm."

"And the future organization of Russia?"

"This organization is subordinate to the expression of the popular will."

"By means of a Constitutional Assembly?"

"I do not know whether the means will be that of a Constitutional Assembly or a National Assembly. But I consider inadmissible the application of universal, direct and secret suffrage, which would lead to the election of a Constitutional Assembly of the kind that the Bolsheviki dissolved."

"Do you admit the Socialists of the right to participate in the 'Council of the Union of State'?"

"All the elements that believe in the state are to participate in the reconstruction of Russia."

"What will be the future form of government in Russia?"

"My personal opinion is that we shall have in Russia a constitutional monarchy."

"And the ancient dynasty also?"

"We shall see."

"Who, then, according to you, will elect a constitutional monarch? Will it be the Constitutional Assembly?"

"My wish is that the people signify their will outright. There exists another means of consulting the people beside the Constitutional or National Assemblies: it is the plebiscite."

"Do you believe that Moscow will soon be taken?"

"I do not know just when, but we shall have to wait a long time for a normal state of life. Morally Bolshevism is already crushed. Soon it will be effectively beaten. But we must still work for a long time for the reconstruction of Russia. It is indispensable to rid it of Socialism and to establish the liberty of work. It is indispensable to create the certitude that the product of labor will remain in the hands of the worker. This done, Russia will quickly reestablish itself. I am for the liberty of religious beliefs and for the free development of nationalities, provided that the latter does not undermine the foundations of the state."

"Do you admit the possibility of working together with the Socialists?"

"Socialism has been a failure. As for those who, with a demagogic purpose, take the name of Socialist without being it, I do not recognize them."

"What is the aid of the Allies?"

"The English alone recognize the interior affairs of Russia. The efforts of P. N. Milyukoff at London have contributed a great deal to getting the English to give us effective help."

"Monsieur le Baron" is remarkably frank in his exposition of the reactionist program. But there is one point where his frankness takes the form of irony and even cynicism. What does he mean by the "workman receiving the product of his labor?" What also does he mean by the use of the plebiscite to restore the Czar? The people's will!

THE ENGLISH IN FREE GEORGIA

IN an interview with the editor of *Izvestia*, Comrade Kamo, who recently arrived in Moscow from Georgia, related the following account of what is happening in the Georgian republic:

The general political position of the Caucasus is characterized by the entire domination of the English, without whose permission the Georgian Government can do nothing whatever. The English interfere in absolutely all affairs. They have even demanded the opening of a brothel by the Tiflis authorities. The soldiers sell everything, from mules down to condensed milk, boots and clothing. English detachments (there are 56 thousand English in the Caucasus) are subjected to rapid demoralization, and it is usual to see crowds of drunken English soldiers in the streets. When soldiers who are designted to return to their native countries, in view of the absolute breakdown of discipline, are questioned as to why they are being sent home, they reply, "We are ill with the Lenin fever." As a military force, these soldiers are quite useless and it is a matter of great difficulty to lead them to the firing line.

Until recently the Tiflis government was decidedly against the communists, whom they used to arrest. The party exists illegally even at the present moment. After the arrival of Denikin's envoy, Erdelli, however, there was a split among the governmental parties. The ministers of war and agriculture voted for a compromise with Denikin, but others, like Gogotchkori and Tseretelli, were for a struggle against him, in conjunction with the Soviets. In general, the Georgian Government was not inclined to maintain the restrictions formerly applied to the Bolsheviki, and it was only the vigilance of the English authorities which compelled them to arrest the detested communists. Comrade Kamo relates the following characteristic incident:

The President of the Cabinet, Djardzina, in an unofficial conversation with a communist, said: "Do you really think that I am unaware that N. (a communist) lives in such and such a street and carries on Bolshevik agitation? I shall not arrest him, but you must understand that I shall eventually have to do so, if General Thomson gets to know about it. For God's sake, 'work more carefully.'"

The English have taken a very interesting attitude in connection with the mutual relations be-

tween the Georgian Republic and Denikin. They openly advise the Tiflis Government to surrender, pointing to the strength of Denikin. Djardzina declared to the English that it was a well-known fact that ammunition, etc., was being supplied to Denikin by England, and therefore an attack on the purely democratic republic of Georgia would be undertaken obviously with the approval of the English. The Georgian Government would shout it out throughout the world. The English replied: "Well, go on shouting." Georgia is in a constant state of dispute with Armenia, and it is Denikin's aim to make use of the Armenians for the purpose of overthrowing the Tiflis Government. The English have turned this unceasing struggle to their advantage. The recent war between Georgia and Armenia was officially waged for the French works at the Sanami station. When the English saw that the Georgians were the conquerors, they, "the Humanitarians," in order to prevent useless bloodshed, compelled both sides to retreat to a certain distance from the points in dispute, and then themselves took possession of the works, which they hold in their hands to this day.

THE PEACE POLICY OF SOVIET RUSSIA TOWARDS THE WHITE FINNS

THE WAR POLICY OF THE LATTER MADE OBVIOUS

AS opposed to the aggressive policy towards Soviet Russia, which now seems to prevail in Finland, and which will probably result in the participation of Finland in the attack on Petrograd,* it would be well to briefly touch upon the calm, firm, and free from aggression, policy which Soviet Russia has maintained towards Finland. The Finnish attacks began during Easter last spring, by the invasion of government-equipped troops in Olonets-Karelia. After a few months of severe battling this attack was repulsed and the attacking force crushed, last summer. But in spite of the public acknowledgement of the Finnish Government of its participation in the attack, the Red troops stopped as soon as the border of Finland was reached. A new Finnish attack was prepared, now against Petrograd, in July of last summer. It was made useless by the failure of Mannerheim to become president. It has lately been openly acknowledged in the Finnish Riksdag that it was a matter of a hair's breadth as to whether or not the attack should be made. Provocatory attempts on the part of Finland occurred to a large extent, such as firing at Red troops in Ingermanland, the bombardment of Kronstadt, and finally an attack in Ingermanland under the direction of Colonel Elfengren. Even this attack was repulsed and the Soviet troops remained calmly at the Finnish border. They were contented to frustrate the attempted attacks of the White Finns. In the beginning of September, Soviet Russia invited the White Finns to peace negotiations, but was repulsed. On the other hand, they continue to plan attacks against

* But Finland has thought better of it, and has kept out of the hopeless game.

Soviet Russia. This is the war passion of the White Finnish capitalists' servants, and it is made particularly clear in a radiogram from Chicherin to the Finnish Foreign Minister, dated July 31, this year.

We have received a true copy of this telegram, and publish it as a contribution to the elucidating of the situation:

July 31, 1919. RADIO. D. 1085.

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Helsingfors:

The Finnish government, which has so many times attacked the Russian Soviet Republic by land and bombarded her coasts by sea, encroached upon her territory, sent aviators to sow death in her peaceful towns and villages, seems now again to bear intentions of increased violent actions towards Soviet Russia who, on her part, has always unalteringly observed the most strictly defensive attitude toward this rancorous attacker. The same government which, to carry out the orders of the Entente governments and to support the Tsar Russian generals who rave about the restoration of monarchy in Russia and a universal counter-revolution, has incessantly tried to involve the Finnish people against their own will in a war adventure against Soviet Russia, these same instigators of the incessantly renewed attacks against Soviet Russia, return once more, without any reason, to their illegally-undertaken attacks against the Russian laboring masses who are represented by their workers' and peasants' government. It is clear that they hope to make the Soviet government lose patience and provoke it to leave its calm and firm policy which is absolutely strange and opposed to any attack against Finland. It seems that these attackers without cause have lost all hope of driving Soviet Russia into any aggressive action against Finland to thereby justify the hostilities which the Finnish government would impose upon us, and would, at the same time, impose a military régime of reaction upon its own land and people.

July 30th, six Finnish aviators appeared coming from the Ino Fort direction and flew over Kronstadt, dropping bombs over the city and the harbor without the least reason for any hostile action from that country, by either the civil or military authorities of Soviet Russia. Two other Finnish aviators appeared afterwards, coming from another direction, but they were compelled to return to Finnish territory when they were attacked by our batteries.

The government of the Soviet Republic once more expresses its most energetic protest against these attacks, which are not caused by any action whatever from our side, and which are plainly and clearly acts of violence, void of even the slightest pretext of reason. The Russian Soviet Government proclaims to the masses of the Finnish people as well as to the laboring masses of all countries, that expressions of hostility and attacks are coming exclusively from the Finnish side, while on the other hand the military and maritime forces of the Soviet power are confining themselves

exclusively as they have always done hitherto, to a defense of Russian territory and coast line against foreign attacks. Anyone can see beyond the slightest doubt which side is acting as the attackers, and can understand the real cause of the hostilities begun by Finland against Soviet Russia. The Russian Soviet Government has without delay taken the most energetic measures necessary to withstand the perfidious attacks to which it is subjected by Finland, and to overthrow the plans of the latter country, but it stands firm and unalterable in its determination and resolution, which is opposed to

all conquest or attack in relation to Finland. At the same time it places its hope in those masses of the Finnish people who will, we are sure, bring the extreme element of aggressive militarism and reaction to a realization that a continuation of this policy can only result in a triumph of the most rancorous enemies and former headmen of the Finnish people, the tyranny of the Russian counter-revolution, and the imperialistic power of a few men.

PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.
Chicherin.

On Behalf of the Friendly Bourgeoisie

By LOUISE BRYANT

BY an astonishing mental perverseness, conservative American papers have for the last two years designated those upper class Russians who joined with the British or the Japanese or the pro-German Mannerheim forces against their own countrymen as "loyal" Russians. As for that large percentage of the old aristocracy and the middle class, either not interested in politics and therefore accepting any régime without a struggle, and who certainly could never be induced to take up arms against Russia, under any circumstances, they are not taken into consideration at all or they are simply called "adventurers." And yet the middle class played a most important part in the victories of Soviet Russia. From their ranks are drawn most of the technical experts and many of the officers of the Red Army, as well as the teachers, doctors, and other professional people.

Unfortunately, most of us learn only by experience, and many Russians, after the Revolution, who were opposed to the New Order, had to live for a time outside of Russia before they come to realize how much they loved Russia. I remember several such cases even in the early months following the overturn of the Tsar. At the Astoria Hotel, where I was living in Petrograd, there were several officers and their wives, with whom I became acquainted. They were ridiculously scornful of every attempt of the revolutionists to build up a new nation. Two months after the Bolsheviki came into power, they fled to Stockholm. I met them there half a year later, in the lobby of a fashionable hotel. They were frantic to go back. Their explanation is more easily understood by Slavs than by Anglo-Saxons. Begging eagerly for every scrap of news, they claimed that it was impossible for them to go on living in Sweden. "We do not fit here, the people are too cold. We weep and weep. Never mind, we can get used to the Soviets, perhaps they will not be so bad, and at least they are Russians. But to be exiled . . . that is a living death!"

The clerk in the same hotel gave me his version. "They are all crazy," he said. "I wonder why they came here in the first place, for no sooner do they get settled in their apartments than they

ruin the peace of the whole establishment. Why, last week there was a countess here and she had hysterics every night and beat on the walls of her room. One day she disappeared, leaving a note that said she had gone home to her 'dear, suffering country.' Her trunks and her jewels were forgotten, and we have no address. Russians here claim that she meant to walk on foot from the border, disguised as a peasant. And she was nearly sixty!" If this dear old "adventuress" ever reached Moscow, she probably became head of a hospital or took an important post in a *People's University*.

A few weeks ago, Mr. Isaac McBride, returning directly from Petrograd, brought the story of a rather touching incident which occurred during the last drive on Petrograd. At that time, 167 of the old régime officers who were in the starving and besieged city signed a petition and sent it to the Russian officers fighting with the interventionists. They begged them not to continue any longer the war against the Soviets, they claimed that this form of government is the will of the Russian people and "we must bow to that will." Mr. McBride claimed that 75 per cent of the Tsar's officers are now with the Red Army.

The most interesting and dramatic case of a Russian who had willfully exiled himself and his subsequent suffering was the case of a young captain of aviation I met recently in Seattle.

Early the second morning after my arrival, the telephone rang and a musical but agitated voice inquired: "Are you Madame who speaks on the Russian Revolution?" And almost before I could answer he hurried on, "Please don't say you cannot see me, it is deeply important . . . very pressing and important."

Still half-awake, I inquired, "Important to whom?" And without hesitation he replied, "Important to me!"

I told the captain to meet me at dinner and I will never forget him as he stood in the doorway of the rather garish, too-new splendor of the Hotel Washington dining-room, in a ragged Russian uniform, and cast inquiring eyes over the diners. I rose and motioned him and he came forward, blushed a little. "It does not take much," he said.

bowed and kissed my hand with all the elaborate politeness of the old order.

We had scarcely seated ourselves when he burst out excitedly, "I have killed two men!"

I confess I was absolutely astonished and could only stare at my companion. There was a moment of silence, then he said, "Shall I continue?"

I nodded. Another silence, then: "They were Bolsheviks. Do you still want me to go on?"

With a good deal of relief I realized that I was not listening to an account of a tragedy which had occurred that afternoon, and I resented the captain's questions, so I replied icily, "Please remember I'm an American reporter and I can take no part in your civil war."

His eyes searched my face. "But you defend the revolution?"

"Why should I make myself ridiculous by defending a revolution against one of the worst tyrannies that ever existed? No," I said, "my purpose in lecturing is to beg of my countrymen to lift this inhuman Allied food blockade. I ask it as much for the good of America as for Russia. We cannot destroy women and children without destroying ourselves. . . ."

He beamed with understanding. "Yes, yes, you have the right idea, now I will confess everything!"

In true Russian fashion he began an introspective narrative, going back almost to his infancy. His father had been a judge under the Tsar, and faithful to his institutions. As a boy he was aware that thousands were sent to Siberia for their opinions and he had seen peasants flogged in the public squares. When he was fourteen years old he read "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (Harriet Beecher Stowe's story is very popular in Russia) and it gave him an idea. If slavery was wrong, it was also wrong to be cruel to the peasants. One day he said to his father, "Why don't we change our government so that all the poor will be happy and we will not have to beat the peasants any more?" He was too young to comprehend his father's resulting uncontrollable fit of anger. For the first and only time in his life, his father struck him. After that a strict watch was kept on his reading and on his associates. So carefully did they guard him that up to the time of the March revolution he had never come into personal contact with any of the revolutionists.

He attended an aristocratic school, and when the war broke out he became an aviator. The news of the overthrow of the Tsar seemed as unreal as a dream. But in his heart he was happy; instinctively he felt that there would be less misery. At that time he was on the Riga front and for nearly half a year his life went on unchanged. He worked for the Soldiers' Committees with the same earnestness and honesty that he had worked for the Tsar. But all the officers did not take so kindly to the new authority. Some of his best and oldest friends began planning a counter-revolution. He was not in their confidence, but he heard whispers of their plots. A terrible night came when they were arrested and he himself was

included. As they were marched away, the soldiers murmured among themselves. The evidence was so obvious that the soldiers were in favor of shooting the officers at once. But the Committee decided to send them to Kiev for trial.

Kiev was the home and the birthplace of the captain. Sad and awful was his homecoming. Strange thoughts ran through his mind as he walked those familiar streets, under guard. As the procession came to one of the tunnel-like entrances from certain streets which lead to the wharf, the idea of escape first entered his head. To use his own words:

"I felt I had no chance in the Tribunal because my companions were certainly guilty. At the thought of such a disgraceful death, a panic seized me. You know how it is with Russians. We get our lives. I remembered that my revolver was still on my hip. I drew it and suddenly shot my two guards. At the moment the rest of the procession had just disappeared in the tunnel and before they realized what had happened I had fled."

"For days and days I fled. After all sorts of hardships and months of tortured thoughts I arrived in Semionov's territory. What I saw there will be branded on my heart forever. Oh, my poor Russia, that such a monster should live to torment her! Semionov offered me a place in his army, higher salary and rank. I pleaded illness and I was indeed ill. I was sent to America to recuperate.

"For several months after my arrival I suffered a severe nervous collapse. I remained in my room, never seeing anyone, never going anywhere. I read and read. Everything about the revolution I read, the lives of the martyrs, the whole long struggle. . . . At last I knew where I stood. I was with the people. I was against my father, against the Tsar. I was most bitter against the traitors who had bargained for foreign bayonets.

"As soon as I was strong again I went to the Russian Consul. I told him my story. I said I must go back now and atone for my crime. He nearly threw me out of his office. He said he would have me arrested. That was over a year ago. You can imagine my agony, my suspense. If I could only return I could be of some service to Russia. I am an educated man. I could be a teacher. I am a good aviator; they need eyes for the Red Army. I am always reading and studying. That is how I managed not to go mad. I say to myself: 'All this knowledge I will lay at the feet of New Russia, I will say take it and take my life.'

"Often I find it hard to discipline myself. You see I cannot bear your screaming, cruel press. Every time the White forces gain a small victory I am beside myself. I walk up and down and cannot find rest or peace. I who have killed my brothers, I who have murdered men fighting for liberty!"

"How do you live?" I asked him.

He looked down at his shabby clothes and

"I had a ring of considerable value which had belonged to my dead mother. I sold it. I felt sure she would have wanted me to do that if she could have known. No, it does not take much. I live in the shadow. I study and wait."

When I left Seattle, the captain came to see me off. On the way he seemed quite cheerful, and even joked me, because I told him how much I loved Moscow for its color and beauty. Not in the same way that I love New York, I explained, be-

cause New York is my home, it is part of me.

"America is your mother," he said laughing, "and Russia is your sweetheart. It is a pleasant way to feel about a foreign country. For me there is only my mother."

Just as the conductor called, "All aboard!" the captain burst into sudden hysterical weeping. He clung to me like a little boy. "You see how it is with me," he sobbed, "you see how it is—my body is here and my soul is in Russia!"

The Martyrdom of the Russian Soldiers in France

CANNON FODDER FOR FRENCH ARMIES

A RECENT article pointed out the painful lot of the forty thousand Russians who were first prisoners in Germany and then became captives in France after the armistice. There is another category of unfortunates, whose life for practically four years has been nothing but one long succession of trials and tribulations. These are the survivors of the Russian Expeditionary Forces in France and Macedonia. The great press of misrepresentation, of lies and of folly, has never consented to print a word of pity for these victims who paid for the nationalist hatreds, who were our "heroic allies" in the days of Stürmer and Protopoff, and of whom our Government has made slaves to all that is demoralizing and most brutal in military discipline. In December 1915, growing restless in view of the long stretches included in seventeen months of "attrition," the French Government decided to draw on that great reservoir of men in Russia to obtain a support that had become indispensable owing to the intensity of our military effort. Daumer, who was sent to Petrograd for this purpose, was not able to obtain his fifteen to twenty thousand men per month. He came in contact first with objections that are very easy to understand; aside from the fact that the Russians in this proposition, played about the same figure as simple Soudanese, the enterprise looked like a long, costly and difficult one, but, by force of the proverb "He who pays may give orders," France obtained the consent of the Russian Government, and a special army destined for the French front was created. As a matter of fact, only two divisions were actually sent to France, where they arrived in April, 1916, in the midst of a shower of flowers and applause. One division left almost immediately for Macedonia, where, in November of the same year, it contributed to the taking of Monastir; the other remained in reserve, between Dormans and Ville-en-Tardenois, until the offensive of April 16, 1917.

CZARIST DISCIPLINE ON FRENCH TERRITORY

The rule of the knout which was in force in the Czarist army soon produced incidents that called forth more embarrassment than indignation on the

part of the French authorities. While the officers had every opportunity to loaf and get drunk, the soldiers were severely held down to their camps or barracks. While it was rigorously forbidden to sell or give a drop of wine to a soldier, the officers, on the other hand, to the dismay of the population, were drinking champagne, rum and cognac in full glasses in spite of all the precautions that had been taken, several incidents did cause a fuss. It was known, for instance, that a certain Col. Juri-Pizovetz had knocked out the eye of a soldier by punching him with his fist. And then came "the affair at Marseilles," which served as a pretext for expelling Trotsky from the country. The Russians stationed at Marseilles had displayed their dissatisfaction over being consigned definitely to a certain quarter, while the Senegalese, Hindoos, Annamites were allowed to go about freely. In the midst of a rather stormy meeting, Col. Krause struck a soldier and was immediately kicked and beaten to a frazzle. Eight soldiers chosen at random were executed and the newspaper *Nashe Slovo** was suppressed by Briand's order.

It was an irony of the times that the Russian authorities feared that their soldiers might be infected with the republican virus. With a stupidity that was almost touching, it was attempted to preserve them from this evil. It was explained that the initials R. F. on the trench helmet, which really mean *République Française*, meant "Russia France"! There were hardly any physicians, and those who were sick died without any opportunity to state their malady, while in the French army there were not less than 400 voluntary Russian physicians; but the latter were Jews or political fugitives and all contact with them was strictly forbidden to the Russian troops.

FROM MARCH TO DECEMBER 1917

After the revolution of March 1917, the institution of the soldiers' councils came into being in the expeditionary force, in the form of company Soviets, regimental Soviets, and division Soviets. A first election had already taken place when the

*This was the Russian periodical edited by Trotsky in Paris during the year 1916, before his banishment to Spain, from which country he traveled, by way of Havana, to New York, where he stayed from January 14 to March 28th, 1917.

Russian troops were massacred before the fort of Brimont, on the occasion of the attack of April 16th. The German machine-guns, in impregnable positions, operated without difficulty. Five times in succession they mowed down the assaulting waves of men, who left behind them on the ground seven-tenths of their number. The survivors, fatigued, demoralized, then asked to be repatriated, which was refused by the Russian command. Having been sent to the camp of La Courtine in July, to be reformed there, they refused to return to the front. Thereupon, the Third Brigade, as well as all the officers abandoned the camp, in which there then remained only the First Brigade, without officers, without preparation, hardly fed, but still in possession of their arms. Under the command of a non-commissioned officer, Globa, a Petrograd worker, and of Boltais, perfect order reigned in the camp, while General Zankievich, representative of the Provisional Government, was making vain attempts at reconciliation and awaiting the orders of Kerensky. The latter was constantly hesitating, then he telegraphed an order for repatriation and then another order to forward the troops to Salonika.

Finally armed suppression was decided upon. From the camp of Cournau near Arcachon, where "the saner elements" were encamped, the effectives of two machine-gun companies were brought, as well as two batteries of field artillery. The quarters of the rebellious men were surrounded: a short conflict ensued, in which eight men were killed and thirty-five wounded; the leaders who had barricaded themselves in the officers' mess, resisted to the last, and, being taken prisoners, were interned on the island of Aix, where they were to await sentence, which, by the way, has not yet been passed. After this unfortunate affair, the expeditionary force remained unoccupied until December, the "loyal" at Cournau, the rebellious at La Courtine, having been disarmed and placed on a reduced ration.

AFTER THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION

But, after November, Russia no longer had in France any legal representative, and the Bolsheviki seemed to be having a harder life than even the unfortunate M. Noulens had predicted for them. The Government therefore decided, against all conceptions of law, to take command of the Russian troops.

Among them, fourteen hundred volunteers were found, whom it was impossible to recruit between December 1917 and February 1918. They constituted a legion in which all the Soviet members enrolled. This legion took part in the operations of the last period of the war, in Champagne and around Soissons, lost three-fourths of its number, and was decorated with the Fourragère before being sent as a present to Denikin in January 1919. That was all that France had to offer to the survivors of the Russian legion as a reward for their sacrifices, for their sufferings, and for the blood which they had shed in terrible battles. After ar-

riving in Russia, these soldiers refused to fight for the Czarist restoration, and rebelled *en masse*. Denikin, no doubt under the impression that these newcomers would bring a dangerous ferment into the country, disposed of them by murdering them all. The report of this act mentions no survivors.

A certain number refused to enlist in this legion, but consented to be formed into workers' battalions, under the command of French officers, and assigned to the Jura.

However, the majority refused both to enlist and to work. Six thousand of them at La Courtine, two thousand at Cournau, without officers, without physicians, were sentenced to be sent to hard labor in Africa—and there they still remain. Their numbers have been swelled by thousands of the Macedonian soldiers. Having made the acquaintance, after knowing their own knout, of our silo and of our crapaudine, they will be fully acquainted with all the amenities of western civilization.

France has implored the pity of the civilized world for its soldiers in Germany.

By what stupid policy is this useless infamy permitted, subjecting to the lot of cattle, men whose only crime has been that they supported a Government which troubles the digestion of all political schemers and careerists! By what reason that can be stated are seventy thousand desperate men being now held in segregation, men who are dying of homesickness, of fatigue, and of hunger. By insisting in this unheard-of manner on prolonging their pitiless exile, is it possible that they hope to instil in these unfortunates a desire to swell the ranks of the armies of the counter-revolution?

By O. KER, in *La Vie Ouvrière*, Jan. 16, 1920.

The Drama of Saint Ouen

Testimony of a Soldier of the Fiftieth Regiment

In SOVIET RUSSIA for January 24th (Vol. 2, No. 4) we had a rather full report of the savage cruelties perpetrated against Russian soldiers in France by officers of the French army. We give below a supplementary account of this situation, from the pen of an eyewitness who wrote to the editor of *La Vie Ouvrière* after reading the article which we later reprinted in translation. It was printed in *La Vie Ouvrière* for January 10, 1920, and follows herewith:

A soldier of the Fiftieth Regiment, who had excellent opportunities to see how the assassination of June 21st was planned and how the officers organized feasts with the sums stolen from the Russian soldiers, over their corpses, sends us the following letter:

The murder at Maily is one of the most painful episodes of my military life, and one that disgusted me the most.

My regiment, the Fiftieth Infantry Regiment, obeyed its superiors implicitly, and I may state that not one of us refused to take part. Only those protested who, by reason of their functions, did not have gun in hand; and their number was very small. And, worse shame for us, after the shootings, some soldiers even asked for bonuses!

The general morale, which was very carefully kept up by daily reports, by lectures on Bolshevism, by visits from higher officers, did the rest. A senseless and cruel hatred impelled these apologies for men to act against our Russian brothers; and you know the result.

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IT is not unusual for a government that is being attacked by force, to attempt to maintain itself by the same means. One's first reflection on hearing of the execution of the Czar, allegedly by Soviet officials, was that they had perhaps found it expedient to remove the Czar because of his activities as a center of counter-revolutionary and restorational propaganda. Most deposed monarchs display almost uncanny longings to return to the fleshpots from which they have been removed—the most recent and outstanding example of this at present is the exiled ex-Emperor William II of Germany, and his relations with the active monarchist clique seeking his restoration to the throne, which seems quite ready to use such weapons as assassination in the prosecution of its aims. History, also, has occasionally presented examples of monarchs who made use of assassination before they were dethroned, as a sort of preventive control of revolution in advance. The illustrious Austrian general, Albrecht Wallenstein, who was murdered at Eger, Bohemia, on February 25, 1634, by foreign mercenaries from the Imperial Austrian armies, was an ambitious man who was beginning to threaten with his plans the safety of Emperor Ferdinand on the throne. Emperor Ferdinand, to preserve his power,

removed Wallenstein by assassination, and it is not improbable that Ferdinand himself might later have been so removed, had he not acted as he did.

In the case of the execution of the Czar, however, the Soviet Government had not given any orders for such execution, in fact, was opposed to the act, and, after trying the local official who had ordered the execution, sentenced him to be shot, and carried out the sentence. We print on next page but one account, taken from an official Soviet newspaper, of the provocative and criminal aims which the Czar's executioner, Yakhontov, was pursuing in ordering the execution, and of the circumstances of motive and method that transpired when Yakhontov was tried by the Soviet authorities.

We should not present this matter to our readers at this moment—it is now an old story—were it not for the fact that a gruesome and detailed story of the Czar's execution is again being launched in the American press. The *New York Times* of February 1st, in a special dispatch from St. Paul, Minnesota, dated January 31st, printed the whole long tale, as "told in a report brought back from Russia by Colonel George H. Emerson of St. Paul." The story gives the time of the Czar's murder as "between midnight and 1 a. m., July 17, 1918," and relates the manner in which Nicholas II and his family were prepared for death. "They were brought downstairs in their house at Yekaterinburg and told that the Czechs would soon arrive and that therefore it would be necessary to put them to death. Almost immediately the Red Guards began firing," etc.

The story, true or untrue, very interestingly parallels that of Albrecht Wallenstein and his last hours. He was already in custody; English, Scotch and Irish mercenary troops guarded him; and he would probably have been delivered alive to the imperial court-martial, had it not been suddenly reported that the Swedes, under Duke Bernhard of Weimar, with whom Wallenstein had made an alliance against the emperor, were approaching Eger. Gordon, commandant of the fortress, and Leslie, his lieutenant, whom Wallenstein considered absolutely trustworthy, immediately consulted with Colonel Butler, who had been designated to watch Wallenstein. At first they were at a loss as to what steps should be taken against their deposed general, but finally decided that the safest thing to do was to remove him by murder, and this was accordingly done. It is an interesting detail that Yakhontov, carrying out his plan to discredit the Soviet Government, made use of the same motive of fear as to the arrival of sudden reinforcements, that was resorted to nearly three hundred years earlier, by the enemies of Albrecht Wallenstein.

THE newspapers of the last few days have been publishing numerous reports and denials of the death of Admiral Kolchak at Irkutsk toward the end of January, at the hands, or rather, "on the bayonets," of his own soldiers. About the

time of the Czar's execution, which took place in the summer of 1918, was a moment when the fortunes of the Soviet Government seemed very low indeed. Kolchak was consolidating his military power in Siberia, and was overthrowing one local Soviet after another, gradually extinguishing the institutions that were a realization of the hope of the people of Siberia as well as Russia. Counter-revolutionary armies seemed to be making a progress that threatened almost to be permanent. It must have been in such a moment of despair that the counsel to execute the Czar fell upon willing ears. After gaining control of Western Siberia, from Lake Baikal to the Urals, Kolchak drove his armies into European Russia, taking city after city, and asserting that he would not halt his progress until he reached Moscow. It was then predicted and hoped, by Soviet sympathizers, that he would arrive at Moscow in the role of a prisoner of war. About a year ago he had already progressed so far as to make the outlook in the East quite dark, while the sun already looked brighter in the South, owing to the defeats of counter-revolutionary forces in Ukraine. Yet, the general situation was still not very promising in February of last year, and even so enthusiastic an admirer of the Soviet system as Arthur Ransome, in his "Russia in 1919," written as a result of his stay in that country during February and a part of March, paints a picture that is not altogether reassuring.

It is in the spring of 1919 that Kolchak's star begins definitely to wane. In May and June he retires from almost all the cities held by him in European Russia, and the military forces of the "Omsk Government" are thrown back more and more definitely toward Omsk. During the summer and early autumn his forces maintain themselves with blood and iron, but with great difficulty, in the face of hundreds of armed uprising of local populations, some of which even form Soviet Governments in his "rear" (see SOVIET RUSSIA, No. 20, October 18, 1919). With the approach of winter, which ordinarily hampers military operations, the Soviet armies press Kolchak harder, and when, in November, they move rapidly across the plains of Western Siberia, crossing its rivers and recovering its cities, the taking of Omsk makes even the name of the "Omsk Government" a matter of ridicule. The Admiral attempts to set up his government seat in cities lying to the East, and we may presume that he made at least one attempt to escape to the east of Lake Baikal. But everywhere there were hostile populations, populations that were eager to be rid of him, and to restore their Soviet governments. Finally, toward the end of December, we learn that the "All-Russian" Government itself has fallen, and now comes the news of last week, telling of Kolchak's death.

Some day we shall probably be in a position to place before our readers a complete biography of Admiral Kolchak, together with biographies of the other counter-revolutionary chieftains. But no

story will be more interesting than that of Kolchak, the Czarist reactionary who once commanded the Black Sea Fleet, who attempted to arrive at an understanding with the Kerensky Government in 1917, and who, only a few months later, is already found engaged in the organization of counter-revolutionary forces in Siberia, aided by French, English and Czecho-Slovak reactionaries. It reads like the last act of a Greek tragedy that, in a curious wording of the newspaper report, this man should now be "hoisted on the bayonets of his own (originally counter-revolutionary) soldiers."

Shakespeare's words seem a not unfitting epitaph for Kolchak:

For 'tis the sport to have the engineer
Hoist with his own petard.

Hamlet, iii, 4, 207.

GEORGE WITTE, a correspondent of the *New York Globe* and *Chicago Daily News*, in a Berlin cable of January 31st, says that he has just "received information from a member of the Polish mission in Berlin that the situation is regarded in Warsaw as very serious." We quote below an excerpt from this serious information:

"We are fighting Russia and not Bolshevism," said this man. "It is a war of the whole nation, not for the principle of democracy, not for the survival of the bourgeoisie, but for the independence of Poland. All other issues have become commonplace in the face of the great menace to our newly-won freedom, which since the defeat of General Denikin, Admiral Kolchak, and General Yudenich by the Soviet troops, has fully come home to us. We are hoping for the support of England and France in our operations against Russia."

To which we add: If the Polish gentleman really said this, he curiously overlooked the fact that it is hardly necessary for Poland to penetrate over 200 miles beyond the Soviet Russian border to defend herself from that country, which has recognized the independence of Poland, and more than once has proposed peace to her, on the basis of self-determination of peoples. And one last suggestion: We are not certain Poland will have the support of England and France, as is suggested, and we do not believe that the people of Poland are in favor of this unprovoked aggression against Soviet Russia.

ISAAC DON LEVINE, who has written so many interesting articles on Russia for the *New York Globe*, will deliver a lecture, entitled "Russia Today and Tomorrow," at Carnegie Hall, New York, on Monday evening, February 17th. The prices are announced as 50 and 75 cents, \$1 and \$1.50.

Have your 1919 copies of SOVIET RUSSIA bound. Bring or send the numbers to our office, with \$1.50 in cash or check, and we will deliver, in February, a well-bound volume, with title-page and index.

THE TRIAL OF THE CZAR'S ASSASSINS

(From the Moscow newspaper "Pravda")

The following translation of a Russian document from the Moscow newspaper *Pravda* (the document having reached this country via Warsaw) throws an interesting light on the charge frequently repeated in the American bourgeois press to the effect that the Bolsheviks killed in cold blood the ex-Czar of Russia and his family. This document shows that not only were the Bolsheviks not guilty of anything of the sort, but that the murder was committed by a political opponent of the Bolsheviks to discredit the Soviet Government. The man, Yakhontov, who was responsible for the order, evidently got himself elected to a high Soviet position in order to be able to accomplish this treachery; but he was finally discovered and punished for the cold-blooded assassination. The party to which Yakhontov belonged, the Left Social-Revolutionaries, was generally considered as the most treacherous opposition to the Bolsheviks, and this party was, before the establishment of the Soviet regime as well as later, a terrorist party, which by its deeds of violence against individuals has always been discrediting all constructive revolutionary movements.

THE Revolutionary Tribunal presided over by Comrade Matveyev, after a two-day examination, finished the case of the murder of ex-Czar Nicholas Romanoff, of his wife Alexandra née Princess of Hesse, of their daughters Olga, Maria, and Anastasia, and of divers persons with them.

As the results indicated, 11 persons in all were killed. The number of defendants was 28; three of them, Gruzinov, Yakhontov, and Maljutin, being members of the Yekaterinburg Soviet, two of them Maria Apraxina and Yelizaveta Mironova, being women, while the rest were officers of the guard.

After a long examination of the witnesses and defendants the complete picture of the murder was revealed. The ex-Czar and the rest were shot and were not, according to plan, subjected to any ridicule. Yakhontov, the chief defendant, ex-member of the Yekaterinburg Soviet, admitted that the murder of the ex-Czar's family was organized by him for the purpose of discrediting the Soviet regime in the interest of the Left Social-Revolutionaries to whom he belonged. According to Yakhontov's evidence, the murder of Nicholas Romanoff was attempted when he was at Tobolsk, but the watchful guards prevented the plan from being carried out. At Yekaterinburg, when confusion reigned among the Soviet authorities due to the approach of the Czecho-Slovaks to the city, he, as chairman of the extraordinary commission, gave out an order to shoot the imperial family and those around them. Yakhontov declared that he was present at the execution and, in any case, took the responsibility on himself, but was not guilty of the robberies that followed the murder. In his evidence Yakhontov specially emphasized as the last words uttered by Nicholas Romanoff: "For my death, my people will curse the Bolsheviks."

The other defendants, including Gruzinov and Maljutin, declared that they did not know of Yakhontov's treason, and that they had simply executed his commands.

After the speeches of the prosecutor and the defense, the tribunal found guilty of the murder of the ex-Czar's family et al., only Yakhontov, and sentenced him to be shot. Gruzinov, Maljutin, Apraxina, Mironova, and nine Red Guards were found guilty of robbing the victims and were also sentenced to be shot. The rest were acquitted. The following day the sentences were carried out. The decision of the Tribunal is the best proof that the Soviet Government has taken all measures to detect and punish those who were guilty of this senseless murder. The clever plans of the Social-Revolutionaries failed.

STATEMENT FROM THE RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU

Washington, January 28th, 1920.

Mr. L. Martens, Representative in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, today presented to the Sub-Committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a list of 941 American firms which have expressed their readiness to do import or export business with Soviet Russia. The list was submitted in accordance with a request made by the committee at the hearing on Monday.

The list is carefully compiled from the files of the Commercial Department of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in New York and includes only those firms which, in correspondence or conference, have signified a positive desire to enter into business relations with Soviet Russia.

The firms represented on the list, in addition to many prominent exporting and importing houses, comprise almost every line of American manufactures, including medical and optical supplies, dyes, paints and chemicals, agricultural machinery, leather, textiles, shoes, clothing, foodstuffs, electrical supplies, paper, talking machines, stoves, automobiles, tractors, machinery, tools, printing presses, etc.

The list includes firms located in thirty-two states distributed as follows:

California, 10; Connecticut, 26; Colorado, 1; Delaware, 3; Florida, 1; Georgia, 1; Illinois, 63; Iowa, 8; Indiana, 23; Kentucky, 1; Maryland, 8; Massachusetts, 66; Maine, 5; Michigan, 87; Minnesota, 6; Montana, 15; Nebraska, 1; New Jersey, 31; New York, 417; North Carolina, 1; Ohio, 64; Oklahoma, 1; Oregon, 1; Pennsylvania, 52; Rhode Island, 7; Tennessee, 1; Vermont, 1; Virginia, 3; Washington, 2; West Virginia, 2; Wisconsin, 29; Canada, 4.

At the next session of the committee Mr. Martens will submit a list of the firms with which contracts have already been entered into for the purchase of American goods by the Russian Republic.

(Note to Correspondents: A copy of the list of firms filed with the committee today may be consulted at Mr. Martens' office at the Hotel Lafayette, Washington.)

Official Soviet Wireless of October 1, 1919

We begin herewith a series of striking wireless messages, of the type sent out daily from Moscow and most promptly suppressed in foreign countries, concerning many phases of Russian internal and international activities. These paragraphs are always modest and trustful, and we are sure that readers, after going through this message, will be eager to see the rest.

Military Bulletin of the Russian Soviet Republic for October 1, 1919

WEST FRONT. *Region of Dvinsk.* The enemy's attempts at attack were repulsed by our fire. *Regions of Borissov and Bobruisk.* The conflicts now in progress are favorable to the Red troops. **SOUTH FRONT.** In all sectors we are repulsing enemy attacks, which are supported by armored trains and armored motor cars. *Region of Ust-Khoper.* Enemy attempts to cross the Don completely unsuccessful. **TURKESTAN.** *Region of Tsarev.* Incursions of enemy cavalry have been repulsed. *Region of Uralsk.* Powerful enemy attack southwest of Uralsk went to pieces against counter-attack of the Red troops. **EASTERN FRONT.** *Region of Tobolsk.* Red troops took possession of several hundred prisoners and of immense stores of materials. Along the Ishim railroad, we are continuing to roll back the enemy in spite of his savage resistance. To the north of the railroad line we have taken several localities.

Communist Saturdays

At Yarensk the Communist Party organized two Saturdays for work, and the Executive Committee of the district decided that the employees of the Soviet institutions of the city should take part in these Saturdays. At Pugachev, the fifth Communist Saturday had eight hundred participants. At Kostroma, the second Communist Saturday assembled two hundred and fifty workers, who gathered in more than four thousand poods of vegetables in the municipal truck gardens. Everywhere even persons without political affiliation are taking part in these Saturdays.

More About the Communist Saturdays

At Morshansk, the Communist Saturday has yielded splendid results. In the city, as well as in the whole district, hundreds of new members have been enrolled. It was decided to open the party meetings to all persons, even to those not Communists, if they were interested in politics, and these meetings are now attracting great numbers of persons without party affiliations, who tentatively follow the expositions of the Communist program and the speeches of the orators.

Compulsory Education

At Kostroma, the Proletkult has undertaken a comprehensive project for carrying out obligatory instruction. One of the schools in question has already been opened, in which the workers work for six hours a day, for their normal pay. The program includes not only reading and writing, but also the elements of geography, literature, anatomy, hygiene, singing, and politics. Simul-

taneously with the Proletkult, the Section for Public Instruction is opening a series of evening courses for adult workers..

The Provinces and the Attempted Crime at Moscow

The crime of the White Guards at Moscow first aroused the revolutionary sentiments of the masses. At Saratov, immense processions marched through the city, with banners flying, calling for the death of these enemies of the people. At Nevel, more than a thousand soldiers and workers gathered at a meeting who unanimously passed a resolution calling upon all to engage in the implacable struggle, under the banner of Communism. The bomb that exploded at Moscow has unleashed our energies.

Meals and Hygiene

On the demand of the Conference of Doctors, the Section for Meals, of the Moscow Consumers' League, proposes to open in all quarters restaurants that will enable the public to comply with the diet that may be medically prescribed. These restaurants are to be particularly installed for children.

Fine Arts

The Fine Arts Section of the Commissariat for Public Instruction is opening courses at Moscow to prepare lectures on the history and practice of the Arts. The program includes: An Introduction to the Theory of the Arts, History of Esthetic Doctrines, Architectural Problems, Culture, Painting, Graphic Arts; the Study of the Various National Arts, such as, the Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek, etc., down to those of the present day.

The Political Movement in the Provinces

In the entire Government of Nizhni-Novgorod, elections to the village and cantonal Soviets have taken place. All parasitic elements have been rigorously excluded from the Soviets. In the Soviets are included about equal numbers of middle peasants and poor peasants, including a considerable group of Communists and of enrolled sympathizers.

The Situation Under Petlura

The Directorate is established at Vinnitsa. In this city, a regular fight took place between the mobilized soldiers and the former Petlurians. The chief kernel of the Petlurian troops consists of Galicians; the commanding officers are Russians, and the chief of staff is a German officer. It is admitted in this city that troops occupying a city or village are given the right to pillage for three days. Jewish prisoners are shot; others are flogged while naked, and imprisoned.

Denikin's True Countenance

The invasion of Mamontov has been definitely liquidated. Nevertheless, certain details of his campaign offer an interesting view of the political ideas of his immediate superior, Denikin. In the region of Medovka a doctor was shot by the cosacks, because he was considered to be a Jew, in spite of the fact that he was not at all interested in politics. In the region of Orlovka, the physician of the insane asylum was shot because he was a Jew. As to the agrarian policy of Denikin, there is very interesting information in the instructive document enumerating the losses of the proprietor Chugayevski, of the Government of Voronezh. No sooner had his former possessions fallen into the hands of the Whites, than this landed proprietor hastened back to his lands and presented to the victor an account of the losses he had suffered under the Revolution. He includes in his total even the harvest of 1917, also trees cut down by the peasants, debts still due from them, harvests not turned in to the proprietor. In addition, he includes objects sold by him, since they constitute a loss when compared with the possible price he puts upon them if he had been able to sell them under favorable conditions. The total is thus brought up to 151,940 rubles, which this patriot asks his beloved country to return to him. At Yelets, the White Guards were not able to prevent themselves from symbolizing their political sympathy in their mad chase for the banknotes of the former empire. There is a regular speculation in progress with these banknotes. Finally, in one locality of the Ostrogorsk district, a document was found, asking the authorities of each canton to turn in one-third of all their harvests to the former proprietors, and only then to set aside the quantities for future seeding and for the inhabitants. Besides, there is hardly any need to prove a desire to restore the monarchy on the part of any army that has reintroduced as its national hymn the "God Save the Czar," and in which the orders are written on stationery with the letterhead of the Russian Monarchy League.

In the Country Districts

At present an extremely interesting phenomenon is taking place in the Morshansk district. On the occasion of the last elections to the Soviets, the peasants, permitting themselves to be deceived, had allowed a number of profiteers and rural bourgeois to enter the Soviets. After six months of experience, the middle and poorer peasants found out who were their true friends. The Soviets of the wealthy used up the cantonal finances, allowed the mills to go to rack and ruin, and speculated with the products in the warehouses. At present, the peasants themselves have taken decisive measures against the exploiters and have decided to elect none but Communists to Soviet positions. The sympathy of the peasants is already indicated by their forwarding large quantities of excess harvest.

In Turkestan

The Commissariat for Justice of the Soviet Republic of Turkestan, after the last session of the Soviet Congress, carried out a reform of the entire judicial system; as a consequence the Republic is now covered by a net-work of popular courts. The prisons have been changed into workhouses, in which trade schools have been opened.

Astronomical Lectures

The Section for Public Instruction of the Moscow Soviet in October offers a series of free popular lectures on Astronomy in the Observatory of the Central Institute of Physics.

One of the Quarters of Moscow

The Sokolniki Quarter has three clubs for adults and six for adolescents, in addition to a circle for the Young Lovers of Nature. The polytechnic courses opened last year now have about three hundred auditors. In the near future there will be inaugurated for adult workers four schools of the first class. Lecturers are sent to the various enterprises, and always have large audiences. Five libraries at various points in the quarter serve the populace. In the Rogozhski quarter, there were created in the course of the summer fifteen dining rooms for about three thousand children. One hundred excursions have been organized in the environs. Twenty of these were to the factories, and twenty-five were sight-seeing trips in Moscow. A new school of the second class has just been opened in this quarter.

Municipal Life

The Moscow Soviet has just put in two machines of six hundred and seven hundred and fifty horsepower respectively, as an addition to the three that have hitherto served the drainage system. There have also been concluded a series of experiments for purifying and aerating the waters of the sewers.

Improvements in the Kremlin

The Kremlin in Moscow is a veritable city, including an entire civil and military populace, occupying many buildings. After the month of February it was decided to make of these buildings model structures as to hygienic features, which might be imitated in the rest of the city. Disinfection chambers, booths, mechanical laundries, have been installed. A furnace has just been put in for the destruction of garbage, the caloric energy of which is to furnish hot water for the baths, the laundries, and the inhabitants of the Kremlin.

NEXT WEEK

Our issue of next week will contain a supplement of about eight pages, a reprint of the Labor Laws of the Soviet Republic. Very important.

The Work in the Villages

By NIKOLAI LENIN

A Speech Delivered at the First All-Russian Conference on the Work in the Villages

"Izvestia," Moscow, Nov. 19, 1919.

COMRADES, the question of the work in the village still appears before us as the fundamental problem of socialist reconstruction. As far as concerns the work among the workers for the unification of the proletariat and the raising of their consciousness, political communism was fully justified, defined itself and achieving, undoubtedly, solid results. We had to fight against the lack of consciousness of common interests and with separate appearances of syndicalism. We have to fight even now against a lack of discipline in the new labor forms constructed on communist principles. You all remember, I think, the great stages which our policy went through. Recruiting more and more tens of thousands of people to the administration, we afforded a possibility for acquaintance with the common interests, and we achieved the goal that now the policy of the communist activity of the proletariat has been finally molded into a solid form. Here we are on the right path of movement, and we must continue on it.

As to the work in the village, there are greater difficulties. Only in the current year, the question of the relation of the poor peasant to the middle peasant became clear in its entirety. In the village, as in the city, there can be representatives only of those workers and poor peasants, who suffered most, who bore by themselves alone the pressure of the landowner and the capitalist; they alone could be the solid foundation of communist reconstruction. Naturally, from that time, when the achievements permitted us at once to sweep away the power of the landowner and to abolish private property, since that time the peasants have accomplished an absolute equality in land holdings and considerably raised the standard of the peasants most exploited by capitalism to the standard of the middle peasant. To provide each peasant, who has a sufficient amount of land, with seeds, cattle and machinery, requires gigantic means, which our country does not possess. Besides that, even if we assume the greatest success of our industries (the production of iron etc.), the providing of everyone will remain an impossibility, and to the highest degree irrational. Besides, that mass of peasants, who were suppressed by capitalism, naturally know now, how far we have advanced from that order of things.

Peasants are mostly conservative. With difficulty they forget the past. With greater tenacity than others do they resist the possibility of changes and breaks. The experiment made by Kolchak and Denikin compels us to consider very carefully if the peasant has gained anything, because the landowner, though beaten, is not eliminated, and waits for an opportunity to restore the old autocracy. Inter-

national capital has its defenders and allies, and although our international situation has greatly improved, it is undoubtedly stronger than we are. Capitalism can not declare war on us, as it thought of doing a year ago. Its wings are already clipped. Not long ago the imperialists said, "Perhaps it would not be bad to make peace with Russia"; many a time they said they were willing to make peace. They have also to understand, that if they cherished the thought a year ago to enslave Russia, they will have to bid that thought good-bye. But, however that may be, international capital is still stronger than we are, and the peasants feel and see this perfectly. And the mass of peasants know with what they are threatened by the least weakening of the peasants' power. It threatens to restore capitalism. Therefore the masses that bore the burden cannot forget it, and this vivid memory makes the peasants the best supporters of the Soviet power. I have in mind those peasants who felt on their shoulders the burden of the landowner.

But the case with the "Kulaks" is, naturally, entirely different, who themselves hired workers, who themselves invested money for profits, who grew rich on the toil of others. They stand for capitalism in a single body. *En masse* they are dissatisfied with the change that has occurred. Their interests were the interests of the exploiters, they grew rich on the labor of the poor, and we must understand clearly that against these peasants, although they are in the minority, we shall have to carry on a long and persistent struggle.

Between the peasants who bore the burden of capitalism and those peasants who exploited others, stands the mass of the peasantry. And here our task is the most difficult. Socialists have always pointed out that the transition to socialism will bring to the foreground the question of the relations of the working class to the middle peasant.

From the comrades-communists, who work in the village, we must ask, more than anything else, attention and ability to approach this complicated and difficult problem, which cannot be solved at one stroke. The middle peasantry is undoubtedly accustomed to individual farming; the middle peasantry—these are the peasant-owners. Although these peasants have no land in their possession, although private property on land is abolished, yet, the economy remains in the hands of the peasant, and, mainly, the peasant remains the owner in regard to the means of sustenance. Being the owner of the remainder of the grain, he becomes the exploiter of those who have no bread at all. He becomes the exploiter of the worker. Here lies the fundamental contradiction. The peasant, being a toiler, being a man who lives on his own labor,

the man who bore all the burdens of the landowner and capitalist, stands with the worker. He understands more and more every day that only in unity with the working class will he be able to get rid of the capitalist. And the peasant as an owner, who has in his possession the remainder of the bread, thinks that he can sell that bread on his own conditions.

And to sell the excess of bread in a starving land means to become a speculator, because a starving man will give away for bread all his money, everything he has, even his life, for what is life to him when he has no bread?

Here is developing the greatest of struggles, which demands from us representatives of the Soviet power and especially from the comrades-communists who are working in the village, the most thoughtful consideration and the greatest attention.

We tell the middle peasant that in no case do we want to force upon him the change to socialism. This was solemnly declared by the 8th convention of our party. The election of Comrade Kalinin as chairman of the Central Executive Committee was a result of the calculation that we must try to bring together directly the Soviet authorities with people who came from the peasantry and who know the peasant life. Thanks to Comrade Kalinin and his tours, our work in the village has made a considerable advance and the peasantry have had an opportunity to get into indirect contact with the Soviets. Thanks to his tours, it has become easier to correct the errors of the work of the Soviets in the village.

In this case we determined our policy firmly. We say to the middle peasantry, in a language which they understand best, that there will be no attempt to force a transition to communal economy.

In the socialist sense it will be possible to act only by force of successful examples. We can and must begin trying to influence only with examples the middle peasant, to show him the advantage of communal economy. And example requires that we ourselves organize such enterprises successfully. This is a very difficult task.

The movement to organize communes and societies was very strong during the last two years, and remains very strong, but, looking at things soberly, we must admit that many comrades who began to organize communes and societies started their work with insufficient knowledge of conditions, only with a readiness to apply their labor, but without knowledge of conditions of agricultural and peasant life in all details. Therefore, many mistakes, hasty steps, incorrect starts were made.

In all the Soviet communes old exploiting landowners got in; they are overthrown and conquered, but not eliminated, and they cannot be eliminated by the very nature of the case. First of all, they are to be driven out of the places where they hide themselves; secondly, it is necessary to know how

to put them under the control of the real representatives of the proletariat.

This problem stands before us in all spheres of life, for instance in the Red Army. You are now hearing of the glorious victories of the Red Army. Kolchak is smashed at Omsk, ten generals and a thousand officers were taken prisoners, his whole staff, so to say, was imprisoned. Yudenich is destroyed. And this is being done, notwithstanding the fact that not a month passes without a treacherous act on the part of a military specialist. We would be unable to create an army capable of fighting regularly, and conquering, if we should not have taken ten thousand officers from our former enemies and compelled them to serve in the Red Army.

It is impossible to construct communism without science, knowledge, culture, and this reserve is in the hands of the bourgeois specialists, who are accustomed to living with the capitalists and working in their interests. Among them, many do not sympathize with the Soviets. And without them, we can not build up communism. It is necessary to disarm them with the work of the commissars, with the work of the communists, with the environments of comradeship, with the friendly workers' and peasant's activity, to make them work in accord with the worker-peasant army.

Take the Soviet economies—there are all over landowners, capitalists and their adherents. Among the peasants are very often to be observed extraordinary disaffections, which reach the stage sometimes of repudiations of the entire system of the Soviet economies.

Soviet economies are not necessary, we are being told—let everyone work for himself. But we say: no, if we shall not learn how to manage on the new forms, we shall never get out of poverty and darkness, and for the purpose of learning how to manage along the new lines, we have to hire the old specialists.

How is this to be done? The same way we did with the Red Army. Those who will in any way violate the statutes of the Soviets, who will not submit to us, we will prosecute without mercy. And the majority of them we will force into submission and they will work in our interests, as we forced tens of thousands of officers, colonels and generals, who were used to work for the Czar. Here is a very difficult and complicated problem. It is necessary to have organization, discipline, consciousness of the workers, close contact with the peasants, the ability to explain to the peasants and show them that all abuses, all errors will be eliminated.

We say this: people who possess knowledge of agriculture we must retain in our service, in the service of the communal economy, as with small private economy we shall not get out of darkness and poverty. And toward the specialists in rural economy we will act in the same way as we did toward the specialists in the Red Army. We will be beaten a hundred times, and the hundred-and-

first time we will win. So we will be beaten a hundred times by the bourgeois specialists, landowners and capitalists, and the hundred-and-first time **WE WILL BEAT THEM**. For it is necessary that the work in the village should be conducted in a disciplined manner, like the work in the Red army.

But we do not plan to conduct this work with force, to bring about the change forcibly. This is the work we have to do in the village economy, here lies the difficulty of the transition to socialism and this will secure the final victory of the Soviets.

This even the most conservative peasants understood. Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich helped them understand it. Only in alliance with the revolutionary worker will the peasant be fully liberated from the yoke of the landowners and capitalists.

The victory over Denikin, which is now not remote, will not be the final destruction of capitalism. This is understood by everybody. They will make more than one attempt yet to throw the noose about the throat of Soviet Russia. The peasant, therefore, has no alternative: either he will help the worker,—and then we shall conquer capitalism— or the least little wavering will bring again the shackles of capitalism.

To diffuse this consciousness widely among the peasants—this is our very first task.

The peasant who lives by his own labor, he is the friend of the worker. To this friend the worker will give all his assistance, him he regards as an equal. For such an ally the workers' power does everything possible, and there is no sacrifice which the Soviets would not readily make to satisfy the peasant-toiler, who lives by his own labor.

But the peasant who exploits, who has a surplus of grain, and sells it to the starving population at profiteering prices, he is our enemy. The peasants do not all understand that unbridled trading in grain is a crime against the state. The peasants do not at all understand that unbridled reasons this way: "I produced the grain, I worked on it, the grain is in my hands, and I have a right to trade with it." This is the reasoning of the peasant with the old habit of an owner.

And we said that this was a crime, when the worker is starving. To trade freely with bread, with the surplus of the grain—that means to enrich the rich and to ruin the poor and hungry, and this means a return to capitalism. And here we will fight with all our might. We will carry on a state distribution. We know that not all the surplus of the bread can be taken, but if is distributed in the right way, we will emerge from poverty and hunger, which exist in the cities up to the present time, where the worker has thus far been languishing in distress, because the bread is not distributed right.

With a right distribution of bread all will be satisfied, and then we will be able to get out of all difficulties. And to have a correct distribution, it is necessary that the peasants should assist in every way. Here there will be no indulgence on the

part of the Soviets. The peasant must give the surplus of grain to the state in the form of a loan. At present we can give no commodities to the peasants, because we do not have them; there is no coal, the railroads and the factories are stopping. To reconstruct the destroyed economy it is necessary that the peasant should, from the first, give his surplus products as a loan to the state. Only with such loans will we be able to get out of all difficulties.

Every peasant will agree that when a worker is dying from starvation, it is necessary to give him bread on credit; and yet when it comes to millions of workers and millions of peasants they do not understand it. And the peasant resorts again and again to the old form of exploitation.

I do not know if I have succeeded in this short speech in explaining this question—a most difficult question. I have tried to emphasize that here we have the most complicated and important problem of socialist reconstruction. Only then will the Soviet and socialist power be finally solidified, when the peasant is in unquestioning alliance with the worker. Experience will show, and the peasant will learn from experience. Who helped the peasant find out the truth? Denikin and Kolchak, who showed that there was no choice, that we have to help the worker, with conscience, and bear the burden of these hard times, otherwise the least weakness here means a return to capitalism, to the landowner.

On this account the task of the workers in the village becomes a double one: to give every support to the peasant, to introduce the most considerate relations and not in the least attempt to impose, but persistently to fight against any attempt to return to speculation and business.

Here a struggle will be necessary. It is necessary to get rid of the old idea of trading individually, the old idea of capitalism. When our Red Army began to be built, there were only guerilla fighters, incapable of any coherent action. You remember how many victims there were on the Eastern front, how many there were on the Petrograd front, because there was no discipline and no unity. Two years of fighting, however, have now brought us to this point: we have now overcome all difficulties, and in the place of the old partisan bands we have created a Red Army of a million men, whose discipline is better than that of any other army, and which is victorious over the best forces of the reactionary Czarist generals, as well as of the Entente Allies. If we have achieved all this in the comparatively short period of two years, in so difficult and important a matter as a military campaign, we shall surely be able to achieve results of equal excellence in other fields.

I am convinced that we will, in our most difficult task of regulating the team work of the peasants and the workers, as well as in the realization of a proper food policy, attain the same result, the same final and decisive victory as we have already attained on the field of battle.

Voices from Siberia

Excerpts from Siberian Newspapers

A RELIGIOUS REVIVAL

Golos Primorya (Kadet, Vladivostok), Sept. 10.—The terror and the horrors of the Bolshevik régime have given birth to a religious revival in Western Siberia. It is a movement independent of the clergy of any sect. It spreads everywhere as a natural feeling of people who have suffered terribly. It may have varied consequences, but the immediate and important one is that it is uniting and strengthening the forces against Bolshevism.

Dalnevostochnoe Obozrenie (Vladivostok, S. R.), Sept. 10, sees in the movement for a religious revival a last effort to stir up the exhausted masses to the fight against Bolshevism, and a confession of the failure (now that the watchword of democracy has been proved false) to find any political or social justification for the struggle.

Dalniy Vostok (Vladivostok, semi-Off.), pours scorn on the "Jewish" attempts to discredit the religious revival. If the religio-patriotic union of the masses springs from their very life, no articles in the press will stifle it.

Golos Rodiny (Vladivostok, Kadet), Sept. 23, publishes General Dietrich's "order of the day," dated Sept. 10, in which the following passages occur: "Troops at the front! Together with me, let each according to his faith utter a heartfelt prayer of thanksgiving to God and His Son—His Christ—and the prophet Mahomet for the victory which has been granted. . . . Side by side they fight, brothers in the Spirit, Orthodox and Old Believer, Mussulman and Catholic. . . . And the result—victory. We humbly salute you, all troops of our country, troops of the powerful Third Army! . . . Have confidence in God and in yourselves. Friend, hold fast to friend, love the youngest and obey the eldest, and complete victory will be secured. Fearlessly, united—onward for the faith and our native land! . . ."

Japan Weekly Chronicle (Kobe, Ind.), Sept. 25, writes of the pamphlets published by the "Omsk Misinformation Bureau." "It boasts particularly of the religious character of the war—even the good and pious among the Mahomedans join with that faithful son of Mother Church, Admiral Kolchak, against the destroyers of religious faith. This, no doubt, is to capture the sympathies of those with an inherited mistrust of heterodoxy. But this squib is a damp one. The memory of the crusade to Constantinople is still fresh."

HOW THE BRITISH HAVE HELPED KOLCHAK

Golos Rodiny (Vladivostok, Kadet, pro-Kolchak), Oct. 9, reports an interview with Major-Gen. Knox, chief of the British Military Mission to Siberia. Major-Gen. Knox described Great Britain's help to Siberia: "Every cartridge fired by the Russian soldiers (on this front) at the Bolsheviks during this year was made in England by English workmen, out of English materials, and

brought to Vladivostok on English ships." He later told how, realizing that Bolshevism was a danger to civilisation throughout the world and not only in Russia, he wished that England could have given armies to help in the fight, but this was not possible owing to opposition at home.

Dalnevostochnoe Obozrenie (Vladivostok, Social-Revolutionary), Oct. 11, criticizing General Knox's statements, says that when he speaks of Bolshevism as a danger to civilisation he probably means a danger to the present order: to the relations between labor and capital, to the League which has defeated Germany, etc. . . . Gen. Knox, however, openly states that democracy in England is opposed to any active intervention in the fight against Bolshevism. The fight against Bolshevism seems to be simply a fight against world democracy, in the name of the preservation of the old order.

AGAINST RUSSIAN DISMEMBERMENT

Nashe Dyelo (Siberian, Co-operative), June 26, tells how the road from Petrograd to Riga "is paved with Russian bones." Peter the Great realized the need of an outlet to the sea and all Russians are grateful to him. German imperialism long strove to reduce Russia to its old Muscovite frontiers, and that was why for 3½ years Russia was firm in its fight against the Germans. The Brest Treaty showed Germany's intentions, and all Russian patriots rejoiced when the German monster was brought low and the danger of Brest averted. "And now this deadly danger again looms up before us. . . . Considering the already completed independence of Finland, without consent of Russia, and without any guarantees for our capital situated thirty versts from the Finnish frontier; considering the annexation by Rumania of the Russian province of Bessarabia; considering the assertion, hitherto unchallenged, of the Polish representative at the Peace Conference that Poland must be restored to her frontiers prior to the first partition, i. e., including White Russia and parts of the Ukraine; considering all this, we cannot but be alarmed at the articles of the influential *Times* on the need of establishing independent 'buffer' states in the former provinces of Russia. Russian democracy has always striven not only for its own freedom, but for the freedom of all the nations of Russia. It looks for a great and united Russia only as a federation of free peoples, united for common interests. It considers that the small states of the Baltic and the other Russian nations would be far better off as members of such a non-imperialist and non-militarist federation, than as the playthings of some great power, under whose protection they must otherwise inevitably come. It knows that in future great Russia can be neither Bolshevik nor autocratic, but free and united, and that the democracies of the other nations would inevitably fall in

unless they are 'hustled' in the direction of complete separation. Alas! the above-mentioned article of the *Times* and certain other facts show that this 'hustling' exists. . . . We must proclaim to the whole world that such a solution of the question is impossible for us, that to deprive us of access to the sea is to kill our industries, impoverish our working classes, destroy our agriculture, and make us subservient to other nations.

Russia at Bay

The fate of the nations of Russia cannot be decided without the consent of its Constituent Assembly, and without our consent not an inch of our territory can be torn away from us. We must sound the alarm! We must hasten, for even the eastern approach to the sea is in danger. In face of such a great national danger party strife must cease. In this question Russia should be as solid as a rock—it is of equal importance to all parties, to the bourgeoisie, the workers, the peasants, and the intelligentsia. Let us, in this hour, show our national unity. Sound the alarm quickly, before it is too late."

Golos Rodiny (Vladivostok, Left Kadet, Nationalist), Sept. 21, comments on the gradual dismemberment of Russia. ". . . . In the Far East the Japanese Press is already openly discussing the Allies' change of plans as regards Russia and her impending partition. And since Admiral Kolchak's Government, which is imbued with the nationalistic idea of a united Russia, will never, for the sake of conserving its authority, consent to become a protectorate, foreign circles here are beginning to favor the notion of establishing in the Far East a special Government evidently a la Lianosov (alluding to the *coup d'état* at Vladivostok). Lianosovs of an even more 'democratic' tinge are always to be found, and then, with a substitute of this sort for Kolchak, the tragi-comedy may be resumed of protectorates, patronage, concessions, and the usual bargaining with Russian property. To many foreigners Kolchak is as disagreeable as Lenin. They are both 'insufficiently attentive' to 'foreign capital.' Such are the projects. It is impossible not to discern in them the notorious harmony and concord. The question is merely who, among the Russians here, will consent to play the part of foreign screens. . . ."

THE END OF INTERVENTION—AND AFTER?

Dalnevostochnoe Obozrenie (Vladivostok, S. R.), Sept. 24, writing on the apparent abandonment by the Allies of the policy of active intervention, says that there is scarcely anyone in Russia who would be sorry to see the end of their Allies. But at the risk of being accused of scepticism the *D.O.* feels itself bound to point out its fears. The Japanese press urges the necessity of strengthening their expeditionary forces in the case of their Allies' withdrawal, since Japan has special interest in Siberia, and must make every effort to defend them. "The end of united intervention may be the beginning of the 'free activities' of individual powers and lead to intervention not in the name of Versailles

but in that of some one power or other." Russia's position would then be worse than before. "The end of intervention will only help Russia if it is brought about by agreement. Any omission which would extend the initiative of the separate powers to the detriment of their mutual activities can only render the position of our country still worse and hasten our reduction to the position of China, when every one of the world powers individually and all combined, will grow rich by means of separate 'agreements' at the cost of their 'poor friend.'"

JAPAN AND SIBERIA

Dalnevostochnoe Obozrenie, Sept. 22, on the question of Siberia in the light of Allied policy, writes: "The position of Japan is somewhat unique. Her interest in Russia culminates in Siberia. At the time when England achieved certain results in the Caucasus, Northern Russia and the Baltic Provinces, thereby preserving in the eyes of many the reputation of a 'disinterested friend'—Japan continued to adopt an inexplicable attitude in Siberia. It is true that she derived some economic advantages there and increased her influence in Transbaikalia, but all this gives her no legal hold either in Siberia or out of it. . . . The Japanese press is greatly pre-occupied with the question of the future autonomy of Siberia. It would seem that, in the light of those declared maxims by which Japanese policy is guided, the relations between Siberia and Russia are a purely domestic concern of ours. So England regards the Irish question and Japan that of Korea. . . . Siberia is inhabited by Russians, and the 'principle of national self-determination' strangely interpreted at Versailles, is there popularly applied in practice. . . . In showing a pre-eminent interest in Siberia Japan evinces neither more nor less egoism than other countries. England encourages the independence of the Caucasus and Baltic Provinces. Possessing many characteristics which afford material for the extensive development of local self-government, Siberia, nevertheless, is not, like Esthonia or Latvia, adapted for autonomy. Siberia is only beginning the process of exploiting her natural resources by external aid. The question is only whence these exploiting elements should be derived, that is to say, whether the further development should benefit one foreign country or another, or Russia as a whole. For Russia, of which Siberia constitutes a part, colonised by Russian enterprise and culture for 340 years, there can be no two answers to this question."

SPECIAL ISSUE

Our special 32-page issue of next week will contain, in addition to the important features advertised on the last page of this issue, an article by V. Milyutin, Vice-Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy, on "Sources of Fuel." This is a detailed study of the fuel needs and resources of the Soviet Republic.

The Single Revolutionary Front

THE counter-revolutionary offensive of Kolchak on our eastern front has been for the Russian proletariat no more than a new touch-stone, a crucible, in which has been tested its political conscience, its organization, and its party discipline. Unprepared to deal a decisive blow, our Red Army, accustomed to a comparative equipoise between the opposing lines, was shaken at the very first, and a breach was made. The rear line, excessively wearied by the assistance it had brought, for a year and a half, to the southern, western, northern, and eastern revolutionary fronts, could not assert a successful resistance to the invasion. We began, step by step, to abandon our positions. But, as fast as we abandoned a series of important points, Kolchak's movements forced us to fall back to the Volga basin, and a real danger threatened the proletarian republic as well as the conquests of the revolution. Signs of alarm grew stronger and stronger, until they were transformed into a vigorous tocsin over all Russia. The sleeping proletariat awoke by degrees and, as always in the hour of danger, applied itself actively to the mobilization of its forces. The word of command, which resounded everywhere and was widely put into execution was: "Everybody to the front; everybody against the advancing reaction."

The Russian Communist Party (the Bolsheviks) put itself at the head of the movement to fight against the reaction. Mobilization was proclaimed on April 11th, and on the 12th the Central Committee of the Party published the "Thesis with regard to the situation on the eastern front." These theses proposed that all organizations of the Party and trade union organizations should take the most energetic measures to aid and forward the mobilization. Every member of these organizations was to keep a special memoir (note-book) indicating what he was doing to aid the Red army; particular attention was to be paid to the giving of political information to the mobilized troops, who were to be clearly conscious of the reasons for their being called to battle. Each week, every organization was to give an account of what it was doing for the mobilization. In all schools and institutions, women were to replace men as far as possible; in the zone of the front it was found necessary to arm, en masse, members of trade unions. Means of making the peasants participate in the defense of the revolution were likewise pointed out. Special attention was paid to devising means of assuring the existence of the families of those who had gone to the front.

This was the first cry, and it soon encountered echoes everywhere. At first a series of proclamations was published by the "center"—the government of Soviets, the Communist and professional organizations—and in the province; these proclamations played an important role, explaining the meaning of the mobilization and stimulating it.

The idea of the struggle against Kolchak was made the subject of intense propaganda by means of meetings and reunions; the press answered the call to arms. At the center and in the province it was well understood that the Kolchak movement was the last citadel of organized national counter-revolution; that it was necessary to proceed once more to an extreme exertion of strength in order to destroy it, and that then the peaceful and tranquil construction of the Socialist edifice could be entered upon. The results of this campaign of propaganda could be soon ascertained. As early as April 13th, at the plenary session of the general council of the trade unions, held at Moscow, it was decided to take the thesis of the Central Committee of the Communist Party as the foundation on which would be elaborated the plan of mobilization through the medium of the trade unions. The Petrograd Council of the Trade Unions applied itself energetically to the work and the province manifested a lively activity. Information received during these last days establishes the following fact: As early as April 14th, at Penza, at a reunion in which about 2000 men took part, it was unanimously decided to form a regiment of attack composed of peasants and communist workmen (it is interesting to note that at this reunion a peasant, who formerly organized revolts against the Soviets, addressed the meeting, inviting all peasants to fight against Kolchak). At Samara numerous meetings voted resolutions, unanimously accepted, on the necessity of proceeding to the mobilization against Kolchak. At Novgorod, the Conference of Trade Unions decided to bring its best technical forces to the aid of the army and to send its best members to the front; in the province, as at Moscow, there were held meetings and reunions devoted to the aid of the eastern front. On April 16 at Syzran, 1200 men were mobilized; in the province the calling to arms of 50% of the Communists at the order of the provincial committee of the Party was received with great enthusiasm; at Simbirsk the Committee mobilized all the Communists; 500 of them were to be sent to the army, but the Trade Unions decided to arm 50% of the entire membership. At Moscow, the General Council of Trade Unions proceeded to the enlistment of volunteers; the collaborators of the "Proletcult" filled up the lists of propagandists; all the trade organizations gave proof of personal initiative to bring help to the army.

The front, at this critical hour, is certain that aid will quickly come and behind the lines the work is feverishly carried on. On April 17th, at Samara, they were working actively at the formation of the first Samara regiment, composed of Communist sympathizers; women went to the front; the Trade Unions established the positions

of their members with regard to mobilization by means of special certificates.

The Council of Trade Unions proclaimed all institutions in a state of siege; workmen furnished the personnel of the Red Cross; the same day a flag was solemnly given to the Mussulman battalion which is leaving for the front. At Melekes and Bousoulouk regiments of volunteers were organized. On April 18th at Kalouga the Communist Conference of the city decided to send to the front the greatest possible number of members. At Penza there was an abundance of volunteers enrolling in the regiment of attack then in process of organization and composed of members of the Party and of the Trade Unions. On April 19th at Alatyry the mobilization of Communists took place; 200 of them have already left for the front. On the 20th, at Pokrovsk, the Soviet, in conjunction with the Trade Unions, decided to mobilize all the members of the latter and the workmen of all ages; on the 22nd at a magnificent review, Samara honored her troops that were leaving for the front; the men are everywhere replaced by women; the Council of Trade Unions of the Province of Vitebsk decided to send to the front 20% of the men from 17 to 50 years of age; the "Bund" and the "Poale Zion" mobilized their members; at Nijni-Novgorod it was decided to call up 50% of the comrades of the Party throughout the entire Province; on the 24th, at Rogatchev, a regiment called "The Red Star" was formed of 50% of the urban population and 67% of the Communist groups. On the 25th, at Staraja Russa 50% of the Communists were mobilized; regiments which are now all ready will soon be sent from there as well as from Borissov; at Carmel a proletarian battalion was organized, 10% of the Communists are sent to the front; the same is true of Kostroma; Voronezh is sending a part of her Communists; at Cherepovets 50% of the Communists are mobilized for the oriental front; the Trade Unions are mobilizing all their members. Unheard of enthusiasm reigns throughout the Province. Moscow and the province burn with revolutionary ardor; a great number of those who do not belong to any Party speak in the papers of the necessity of creating a single Socialist front to oppose Kolchak. On the 28th the Alimentation Union and that of Mailmen and Telegraph Operators decided to call up 50% of the members; at Tver 50% of the Communists are mobilized; at Nijni Novgorod all the members of the unions are mobilized; at Vologda a workmen's detachment is being formed; at Velsk 20% of the Communists are mobilized; at Kaluga, Viatka, Vologda, in the Province of Tambov, in the district of Kozelsk, the comrades of the Party are being hastily mobilized; at Borissov, members of the "Poale Zion" Party (from 18-25) are mobilized; at Retchit all workmen from 18-25 are sent to the front, etc.

This scanty information is far from complete, but it shows clearly enough the revolutionary ardor that has seized Russia and is increasing unceasingly.

The immediate results were already felt toward April 20th. Until this day we did nothing but retreat; on the 20th we repulsed the attack at Orenburg and at Perm and we even advanced in the direction of Yelabouga. On the 27th in the direction of Bouzoulouk the enemy took to flight, leaving in our hands 20 prisoners, 4 cannon, and a great number of machine-guns and rifles. A little later, in this same direction, our offense was successfully developed. Great results have been achieved by the measures taken to improve the fighting qualities of our army and to make it more conscious of its mission: the sending of reinforcements of conscious Communist comrades from the center and provinces, and the intensification of our propaganda at the front and in the zone of the front. *We no longer retreat, anywhere.* Soldiers of the opposing army come over to our side; for example, at Orenburg, 560 cossacks with arms and horses joined us. We have even gained victories: during the night of the 27th, at the battle which took place on the bank of the Salmach, northeast of Orenburg, we inflicted a complete defeat upon the second and fifth divisions of the fourth corps of Kolchak's army, composed of the 18th, 19th, 20th and 21st regiments, of the 5th and 6th regiments of Syzran, of the 7th of Volhynia and of the 8th of the Volga. The remnants of the 42nd regiments of Troitzk, of the 4th corps, have been finally annihilated. According to the preliminary estimate, we have taken 1500 prisoners, 20 machine guns, 2 cannon, 50 carts, hundreds of rifles, 100 horses with saddles, and a great quantity of clothing and equipment. Among the prisoners are: the general of the 5th Division, four officers (adjutants of the Volga regiment); the commanding officer of the 21st regiment was drowned. The entire bank of the Salmach is strewn with corpses; 600 enemy soldiers were pushed into the river with bayonet thrusts; the detachment of brigands, under Stepanoff, the man of Pontov, including the famous brigands Kerchounoff and Meizel was completely annihilated. The second division, which has just been defeated, was celebrated for the numerous cruelties and for the fusillading of workmen and peasants.

That does not mean, of course, that we will break Kolchak's entire front with one blow or annihilate his army. We know that we have yet before us several months of stubborn fighting. But, although Kolchak's army may continue in its successes, the certainty of ultimate Victory over the counter-revolution has not weakened for an instant among the workmen and peasants of the Ural and Volga regions. They look upon the invasion of Kolchak as a temporary misfortune which will be brought to an end in the near future. Never, even during the October days, was there observable among the masses of workmen and peasants, such an eagerness to fight for the Soviet power, as is to be seen now in the zone of the eastern front. Thus at Orenburg literally all the workmen of the factories, tailors, joiners, hairdressers, cobblers, etc., enlist in the volunteer regiments. Auxiliary units are formed

by those who are too young or too old to bear arms. An analogous movement is taking place among the peasants and workmen—Cossacks in the Ural steppes; all the men of entire villages enlist in the Red Army while the women, old men, and children are removed from the regions threatened by the enemy. The entire movement goes on with extraordinary enthusiasm. The masses look upon the danger threatening the Soviet Republic as a calamity; Kolchak to them is a new form of the Asiatic plague. The role and conduct of the rail-

road workers in the zone of hostilities, deserves attention; it can be truly said that nowhere in Russia do railroad employees work so energetically and so conscious of revolutionary duty as in the zone of the front. Where their work is finished they enter the ranks of the Red Army and distinguish themselves with their heroism. So it was at Orefa and so it is everywhere. If the workers behind the line, in the fight against Kolchak show self-denial equal to that of workmen and peasants in the front zone, our victory is not far off.

A Message from Litvinoff to the Soviet Bureau

The following statement was given out by Mr. L. Martens, Representative of the Russian Soviet Government in the United States from his Washington headquarters on February 2nd:

"In a cable today from Copenhagen, Mr. Litvinoff, Assistant Commissar for Foreign Affairs, confirms the statement which I have already made that the alleged representatives of the Russian Cooperatives in foreign capitals are not in touch with the headquarters of the Cooperatives in Moscow, and in no way represent the Cooperatives as at present constituted in European Russia. The Central Union of Russian Cooperatives in Moscow is working harmoniously with the Soviet Government, and may be permitted to engage in foreign trade. Mr. Litvinoff points out, however, that the present so-called representatives of Russian Cooperatives abroad are completely out of touch with the Central office in Moscow. These representatives, having aided Kolchak and Denikin in their counter-revolutionary activities, do not enjoy the confidence of the Soviet Government. The Central Union of Russian Cooperatives, with the approval of the Soviet Government, has endeavored on several occasions to send its authorized agents abroad but has been prevented from doing so by the Allies. Moreover, Mr. Litvinoff explains, the things most needed by Russia at this time, such as machinery, railway tracks, rolling stock, etc., are outside the scope of the Cooperatives. These commodities will have priority over all other purchases as soon as trade between Russia and the outside world will be resumed. Russia is prepared to pay with gold, says Mr. Litvinoff, who predicts the possibility of an enormous trade between America and Russia. Foreign trade will be possible however, he says,

only when Russia is relieved of the necessity of fighting foreign aggressors, and when the blockade shall have been lifted unreservedly."

"Mr. Litvinoff, who is at present in Copenhagen, conferring with representatives of the British Government, states that he expects to remain in Scandinavia for several weeks. The cable received from him today reads as follows:

"The Central Union of the Russian Cooperatives in Russia is working harmoniously with the Soviet Government, but the Foreign representatives of the Russian cooperatives are out of touch with the head office. They have helped Kolchak and Denikin, and therefore do not enjoy the confidence of the Soviet Government. The Russian Cooperatives may be allowed to engage in foreign trade, but the things most needed, such as machinery, railway tracks and rolling stock, are outside their scope. Railways, etc., must have priority over other commodities. The Soviet Government is prepared to pay in gold, but no foreign trade is possible unless Soviet Russia is relieved of the necessity of continuing to fight against its aggressors, and unless the blockade is lifted unreservedly, and the small states, especially Poland, are induced to accept our peace offers. An enormous trade with America is possible if you are enabled to communicate freely with Moscow.

"The rumor from Warsaw alleging the withdrawal of the Soviet Government's peace offer to Poland is untrue and is maliciously circulated to cover Poland's aggressions."

"SOVIET RUSSIA"

in its issue of **February 14th** will contain a Supplement giving the full text of the

Russian Code of Laws on Labor

reprinted from an Official Version issued in English at Petrograd in 1919.

This issue of **Soviet Russia** will have thirty-two pages.

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The End of the Civil War

From A Recent Number of *Izvestya*

THE period through which Soviet Russia is now passing marks the beginning of the end of the civil war. There are many evidences of the correctness of this assumption. Essentially, our struggle during the past year was for the conquest of the peasantry—we were fighting a battle against the Cadets and the Mensheviki—and we now announce that we have arrived at the end of this struggle. There are many indications to show that the peasantry has, for the most part, made its final choice, between the "kulaks" (the rich peasants) and the proletariat, and that it has resolutely taken its stand by the side of the proletariat. The party of the Mensheviki and social-revolutionists, precisely those parties, in other words, who represent the petit bourgeois illusions of our middle peasantry, as to the possibility of avoiding a conflict, of attaining our goal without the waging of war—have changed their views and decided to join the side of the proletariat, and are now preaching war against Denikin, Kolchak, and Yudenich. This is the surest indication of the fact that the petty bourgeoisie and the middle peasantry are on our side. But a year or a year and a half ago, the peasantry of the Governments of Perm and Viatka, as well as in a portion of Western Siberia, was on the side of Kolchak. Now the attitude of the peasants in all these districts has shifted absolutely in our favor. While in the previous year the peasants in the districts occupied by Kolchak were eagerly awaiting the Red Army; while in the districts occupied by us they were eagerly waiting for Kolchak; their hopes in all these places are now pinned to us alone. The Civil war which we have been waging this year knows no parallel in history. There have been civil wars in North America, in revolutionary France during

the great French Revolution, but only in a country so purely agricultural as Russia were the conditions such as to make it necessary for each of the belligerents to inaugurate compulsory enlistment of the neutral masses of the peasantry. But now the whole peasantry has voluntarily joined our ranks; it stands with serried ranks behind us, and this is the best indication that we are approaching the end of the civil war.

The proletariat also stands as one man behind us. This is shown by the results of the "Party Weeks" that have been held all over Russia. The broad masses of the proletariat, hitherto neutral or under the influence of the Mensheviki or the social-revolutionists, are now altogether on our side. Thousands of neutral workers have attached themselves by ideology and in due form, but the rest of the proletarian masses, which in some cases were hostile to us, are now on our side. In the course of the last half year there has been a complete shift in our favor among the peasantry and the proletariat, and we may therefore maintain that we are at the end of the civil war. There is no doubt that the White Guards are losing the social foundation under their feet, on which they were intending to build up their future. It is now sufficient if we can deliver a severe blow to Denikin, so as to destroy his army completely.

In a military way also we are approaching the end of the conflict, as we are now facing the last exertions of the enemy. Denikin has literally mobilized everything that could be mobilized. He has resorted to the same device as that already used by Kolchak, but in greater compass and on a larger scale. Denikin has used up everything he ever had, he has staked all his resources on one card, and has attained certain results: In the course of

several months he has inflicted a number of defeats on our army operating on the southern front. But he has not succeeded in entirely vanquishing it. To be sure, we have had to exert all our strength, but we have had the great advantage that our resources had not been exhausted. Denikin has used up all his reserves, and has thus lost all his former advantage. The advantage is now on our side. We have exerted all our energy and dealt the enemy such a frightful blow, that he will not be able to recover. Along the whole front we are now taking the offensive.

The proletariat has created an army out of the earth to fill its ranks. Under unfavorable conditions, while retiring all along the line, we were yet able to perform the most remarkable work of organization, and succeeded in making our army thrice as strong as it had been in the Spring, and twice as strong as the enemy.

Our failures forced us to put all our powers to the test, to undertake a comprehensive mobilization, to send all communistic elements to the front, to rouse the enthusiasm of the proletariat. And in spite of all our failures, we finally have successes to record.

A great number of enemies have already deserted the field of battle. Finland, after having raised its sword of lath against us, still remains in this melodramatic posture; it did not dare undertake any steps against us, even when Yudenich was approaching Petrograd. Poland, Esthonia and Lithuania have given up the game. Kolchak and the Orenburg Cossacks are also giving it up. We, on the other hand, have increased our powers. We

may therefore, in discussing the question of who can keep up the fight longer, in the economic, political and psychological fields—we may therefore state without fear of contradiction that it is we who have this advantage.

On the eastern front, Kolchak is in the midst of a retreat. Our army is advancing without encountering any resistance. After having mobilized the Southern cossacks, Kolchak did attempt a little fighting for a few days. But then the enemy hastily withdrew, and soon he will be completely beaten. On the northern front we shall very soon be able to stop fighting. The English have retired, and the White Guards were never able to fight by themselves. Without doubt, in the course of the next few months, Archangel will be occupied by us. On the Southern front, the whole host of enemies has already been eliminated from the country. In the summer, the enemy did inflict a few reverses upon us. But we have had sufficient resources to defeat Mamontov and Shkurov. We have learned how to fight against such enemies, and, by a persistent work of organization, we have succeeded in rendering the opponents' situation on the Southern front hopeless. We thus stand at the end of the conflict. Without doubt, the great work which was performed in the fields of organization and of proletarian propaganda in the past year has immensely strengthened our forces, so that now—regarding our past reverses with calmness—we may say: victory is assured us; the enemy will not be able to bear what we can bear. We have greater endurance and greater reserves, and therefore we shall win, and very soon too.

The War in Russia

(Strategical and Political Observations)

By the MILITARY CRITIC OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Washington, Feb. 6, 1920.

ALL the efforts of the British War Minister, Mr. Winston Spencer Churchill, and of the former French Premier, Mr. Clemenceau, bent upon precipitating Poland into a senseless and criminal war against Russia, have ended in a complete fiasco. It may be that after a careful examination of the Polish army and of the nature of the ground where the invaders would have to meet their enemy, Marshal Foch, the French fieldmarshal, came to the conclusion that you cannot post a military cordon around Russia "with the mathematical precision with which you can set out an avenue of trees." The perilous situation of the Poles as well as the brilliant position of the Soviet armies has been taken into consideration by the Allied strategists now that the peace between Esthonia and Soviet Russia has become an accomplished fact. Consequently, the Allies have suddenly changed their policy in regard to the Polish invasion of Russia recently planned by themselves.

According to the Associated Press, Feb. 5th, Stanislas Patek, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs,

after his recent attendance at conferences held in France and England, brought to Warsaw their decision as follows:

"The Allies cannot place themselves in the position of advising Poland to attack the Bolsheviki, nor can the Allies promise assistance to Poland in such event. Should the Bolsheviki make an unprovoked assault, that would alter the situation. Poland's attention has been called to the fact that the Allies are establishing certain relations with Russia. Whether Poland shall make peace with the Bolsheviki is a matter for her alone to decide."

So it became clear enough that there can be no other way for the Poles to extricate themselves from their present difficult position "with honor" except that of signing a truce with Russia as soon as possible and withdrawing their troops within their own frontiers.

As we have already pointed out, the strategical situation of the Polish armies in Russia is hopeless. We have foreseen that they could not expect solid support from the allies, and that they would be deserted at the most critical moment. We were right. The Poles are practically alone now, with their army penetrating deep within the enemy's country, without strong strategical reserves, with-

out necessary equipment in the stores of their rear, without money, and with a very low army and civil morale; because, surely, the above mentioned reply of the Allies to the appeal of the Poles for the support of the offensive against Russia can in no way encourage the fighting spirit of the Polish troops.

And all this is happening at the very moment when the Red Army is accomplishing the concentration of enormous fresh forces on the Western front, and Moscow in its readiness to conciliate even the weakest of its enemies is still ready to discuss peace terms with Poland.

Only a few weeks ago, Poland had good reason to count on the military support of France at least. According to the *New York Times* of February 5th, "France cannot get away from the theory, of which Marshal Foch is the advocate, that the Allies ought to send a Polish army to Moscow. She wants Rumania and Poland to stage a war against Lenin and Trotsky, not for the primary purpose of protecting Poland, but for the primary purpose of crushing the Soviets." England has been energetically opposed to that plan, having realized that the Soviets are too strong in Russia to be crushed by the European coalition. It also became clear that even the military party in Rumania declined the suggestion of the bellicose movement of the Rumanian nationalists, and General Averescu openly expressed his opinion in favor of the peace with Soviet Russia.

Discussing the situation in connection with the French attitude, Mr. Edwin L. James, of the *New York Times*, continues:

"There is a strong feeling in British and Italian circles, which used to be shared by Frank Polk, that Poland is too ambitious and errs in not being content with what the Peace Conference gave her."

The Parisian newspaper, the *Eclair*, categorically stated that "Lloyd George advised Patek to make peace with the Soviets," and sees a great danger for the future existence of Poland. The reactionary *Le Temps* bitterly accuses England of having promised military aid to Poland and Persia and of having defaulted on her promise at the very moment when the Reds are threatening these countries. "We cannot content ourselves" continued the *Temps*, "with abandoning to fate the nations bordering on Russia while we speculate upon the interior transformation of Bolshevism."

What transformation the message means it is difficult to guess, but if the French newspaper has in view the inclination of the Soviet Government to make peace even with states that are not communistic, then the greater such inclination, the less need for anxiety on the part of the Allies as to the states bordering on Russia—they can be in no way endangered in case of an understanding with the Soviets.

So, leaving Poland to herself, England has again turned her attention to Asia. There has been no news at all for a long time from Afghanistan and India. Under the strict protection of their censors, the English "pacifcators" of revolutionary India

are working hard in restoring the Spanish inquisition in Turkestan, with all the horrors that attended it in the Middle Ages.

The Russo-Afghan alliance which was so unexpectedly established alarmed London immensely. The Afghans, now having in their possession the most important strategical region of Merv, and being in control of the first railway in Afghanistan, namely Kushk-Merv, naturally found themselves in a superior strategical position to their neighbors the Persians, thus producing a real panic among the British forces of occupation in Khorasan. These forces, in case of their aggressive movement towards Russian Turkestan, will practically be outflanked by the Afghans. This would be a matter of grave importance. We can firmly state that neither Afghanistan nor Russia has any intention of invading Persia. In no case would this be in the interest of their mutual policy, and undoubtedly Soviet Russia will do everything to influence the Afghan Government to refrain from any movement hostile to the Persians. The danger may come from Persia, or rather, from the British now in Persia, which may provoke the undesired penetration of the Russo-Afghan forces into the neighboring territory. Therefore we do not believe the declaration of the British War Office (*Associated Press*, London, February 5) that "the attitude of both the Bolsheviki and the Afghans towards the Persians is becoming increasingly hostile, according to British War Office advice." And this is based on "unverified" reports, as the War Office confesses, from the Trans-Caspian area, with the addition that "the transport of Bolshevik troops thence is continuing at the rate of about 2000 a week. These troops are said to be well-equipped and led by the officers of the old Russian army. Their morale and training are believed to be good."

Such rumors about the Russian movement "towards India," since the complete failure of armed intervention, have become common in the English press, which by all methods tries to persuade the whole world that it was the Russians who were trying to make complications along the Asiatic boundaries and not the English. The latter, however, are gradually occupying Persia and concentrating their army on the Afghan and Tibet frontiers, thus provoking unrest among the natives. It seems to us that England in her fear for India is neglecting to keep her eyes on the Far East, leaving to Japan a free hand to deal with Siberia and China.

Since Nikolsk-Ussuriysk was taken and Vladivostok became isolated from the Ussuri district as well as from Siberia, and the communication in Mongolia is in the hands of the Reds, the situation of Japan has become rather difficult. Vladivostok was the only port through which the Allies could maintain direct contact with their forces in Siberia, and consequently the only route remaining to the invaders by which to evacuate their troops from Siberia is to send them over the Chinese Railway to Port Arthur. But as far as we are informed the railway west of Harbin in many sections has been

seriously damaged by the Reds and seriously threatened by partisan raids, thus complicating a normal evacuation. It is believed that a considerable part of the American troops which did not succeed in reaching Harbin in time and those which were quartered in Vladivostok are at the mercy of the Soviet Army, together with part of the Japanese expeditionary forces. If Vladivostok is under the control of the Soviets, it means that all its powerful batteries and forts are in the hands of the Red Army. Once they are the masters of this powerful artillery, the Soviet troops would be able to protect the fortress from any attacks by land and sea. Naval operations against Vladivostok in winter, when the sea is frozen, are absolutely impossible, and consequently the Russians would have enough time before Spring to bring the garrison of the fortress and its military preparation in general up to the normal defensive capacity.

It is marvellous how quickly the situation in that part of Russia has changed. Only a month ago there was general belief that the Japanese would resume the offensive against the advancing Soviet Army east of Irkutsk. Now all the enemy forces are separated and in a state of disintegration, preventing not only unity of action but even complicating their measures of self-defense.

Therefore we do not hesitate to say that for Japan, at least at the present moment, there will be no possibility of remaining in Eastern Siberia, and she must withdraw her troops as soon as possible from Russian territory, in order to maintain friendly relations with the Soviet Government (the only government in Russia).

The situation of the Japanese in Siberia is in many ways analogous to that of the Poles in Russia—they both have been deserted by their allies and they know that alone they are absolutely powerless.

Trotsky—A Silhouette

An Impression of the Russian Revolution

Die Freie Tribüne, a weekly published at Vienna, publishes the following interesting and artistic study of the manner in which the People's Commissar of the Army and Navy carries on his work.

IN a railroad car painted in gray he rushes incessantly across Russia, from the Urals to the Lithuanian front, from Ukraine to the Murman coast. Everywhere where reinforcements appear necessary, where enthusiasm has slackened, or where there is a subsiding in the confidence in victory, he will be found. He makes an appeal, he rouses confidence, draws plans, organizes their realization and strengthens the will, the power and the faith. "The war is being forced upon us, and we must fight and win. . . ."

Kiev. . . .

Late at night he comes unexpectedly from the far front. During the night he is still ordering munitions for the next day. The whole state machinery is set into motion. The order must be filled immediately and without fail!

In the course of the forenoon there are sessions: the Council of National Economy, the Council of People's Commissars, the Central Military Council. Hardly are the deliberations over than Trotsky is already greeting the troops. About 15,000 good-looking, well trained Red soldiers are waiting for him. With full consciousness of the matter in hand, he receives the reports. The troops defile with the accompaniment of military music. He shouts revolutionary slogans to the passing troops, which are received with the greatest enthusiasm. With pride the workers look at their defenders; the officers of the old regime murmur with envy: "Stronger yet than one would believe."

After the parade he addresses the "cadet pupils" of the Red Army. He calls for the strictest discipline, most exact training and fulfilment of duty,

in order to be in a position to destroy the man-killing imperialism of the ruling classes.

In the evening: A mass meeting in the city theatre.

Immense masses of workmen gather around the theatre. "Our" Trotsky is speaking. Forcefully he reminds us of the sacrifices which the working class has made for the revolution, points to the occupation by the counter-revolution of the most important grain and coal regions, and denounces the treachery of the bourgeoisie, which has always accused the communists of high treason, whereas it does not hesitate now, for lust of profit, to sell away Russia piecemeal. He asks for untiring work and a joining of the Red Army. He speaks to the thousands that are waiting for him before the theatre and is received everywhere with frenzied ovations.

He is restless, organizing, gathering, building up, raising the spirits from the dead, working late into the night. At midnight: a meeting of the executive committee of the Central Workers' Council of Ukraine. A report on the military situation. He describes the dangers threatening the Soviet power from the side of the military counter-revolution, points out that the Denikin army, on account of the stretching of its front, will have to break down and that it is being revolutionized by the conscription of peasants and workmen. Yudenich and Poland are strong only so long as they are not considered by the Red Army. As soon as serious dangers should threaten from their side they will have to be destroyed. . . .

Late at night the gray car leaves Kiev. Trotsky edits, in his compartment, his paper, *On the Road*, which is printed in the gray train and distributed by the million in the Red Army.

Next day he is at Petrograd and works restlessly on.

. . . A pioneer of the social revolution, a symbol of the working class, struggling for its liberation. . . .

—*Freie Tribüne*, Vienna, Dec. 6, 1919.

STRIKE AT THE ENEMY, SPARE THE PRISONER!

(An Appeal of the Chairman of the Revolutionary War Council of the Republic)

Krasnaya Gazeta, Petrograd, July 30, 1919.

AT the time of our retreat, the counter-revolutionary bands of Denikin were committing indescribable crimes against the workers and peasants in the territories temporarily seized by them.

The Red Army, together with the whole population, is full of hatred.

While the armies on the Southern front are taking the offensive, there is ground for fear that their just indignation may in some cases bring about the killing of White guard officers taken as prisoners.

I deem it my duty to address myself to all the fighters on the Southern front, with the following admonition:

Comrades of the Red Army, Commanders, Commissars: Let your just indignation direct itself only against the enemy with arms in his hand. Save the prisoners, even those that are clearly rogues.

Among the prisoners and deserters there will be found a considerable number of such as had joined the Denikin army through lack of understanding, or under compulsion.

We are annihilating only enemies. The one who will confess his guilt, or will go over to our side, or will fall into our hands as a prisoner—he will be spared.

The commanders and the commissars are instructed to secure the strictest observance of the present order.

All cases of violation of it are to be reported in accordance with military regulations, for the immediate relegation of the revolutionary war tribunal to the place of the commitment of the crime.

Chairman of the Revolutionary War Council of the Republic, People's Commissaire for Military and Naval Affairs,

L. TROTSKY.

RED ARMY'S STRENGTH AN OFFICIAL REVELATION GRIFFIN BARRY

Dorpat, January 1.—In a talk with me today, Secretary Klishko, of the Soviet Delegation, summed up the policy of the Soviet Republic upon the conclusion of the agreement with Esthonia.

"First we do not disguise our desire for a similar peace

with all the border states," he said. "Our creed—the creed which we are fighting for—is self-determination. But it must be applied to ourselves also.

"The border states and their backers—France, England, and America—should have learned by this time that great wars cannot be won by money and munitions alone. They require men. *Ours are fighting for the vision of the new world which already has begun to exist in Russia.* Therefore, every army fighting us is over-generalled and undermanned.

PEACE OFFERS EXPECTED SOON

"We have known that for long time; our enemies are beginning to understand it. So we expect before long peace offers, beginning with the Baltic States. On that point it would be well for the Allied peoples to study the agreement with Esthonia which we have issued for world-wide publication. We want the peoples to understand it.

"As for any desire on our part to spread Bolshevism by the sword throughout Europe, I believe this horrid fear is the real reason of the existing Governments keeping alive this hopeless and suicidal war. *Our obvious effort to release regiments on the Esthonian front during the recent negotiations, so that the men shall return to work, is one little proof of our real intention.*

"It is absurd for sane people to suppose that a Workers' and Peasants Government has any place in it for militarism. Imagine what chance such a policy would have for existence in a country as war weary as Russia, even if the Soviet leaders willed it. *When we deal with the Entente we shall be willing for—more, insist on—provisions making possible the demobilization of the 2,500,000 men in the Red Army.*"—*Daily Herald*, London, Jan. 5, 1920.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOVIET GOVERNMENT

Mr. G. H. Roberts, M. P. (Food Controller), presiding over a conference at Grosvenor House, London, on Saturday, said the question of opening up trade with Russia had for some time past engaged the attention of his department.

They had been brought into communication with representatives of a number of Russian Co-operative organizations with offices in London and Paris, and as a result of his investigations he had been in communication with the Prime Minister in Paris on the subject. The result was that it was expected that certain raw materials and foodstuffs would be imported from Russia with a view to enable them to exchange their surpluses of food for clothing and other necessities.

Answering questions, Mr. Roberts said that at the present time there were a million tons of wheat in Russia ready for export as soon as transport facilities were available. Negotiations were being carried on with Soviet Russia.

—*Manchester Guardian*, Jan. 19, 1920.

Article on Lenin

Next week's SOVIET RUSSIA will contain an interesting personal impression of Nikolai Lenin, by Charles Rappaport, who has been residing in Paris for many years. This little article deals with its author's own conversations and controversies with the man who is now President of the Soviet of People's Commissars in Russia.

Many other interesting things will be found in this special 32-page issue.

Social Forces in Ukraine

Events are moving rapidly in Ukraine, and the Soviet Government will soon have entirely recovered this portion of Russia from the counter-revolutionary forces. The following interesting article from a Polish periodical, published in Vienna, makes a very good analysis of the various forces opposing each other in Ukraine during the past few months as well as at this moment.

OWING to the events which are taking place in Ukraine, the question of that country has come to occupy the chief place in the international situation—it has become its central point—at the present moment.

Out of its five principal military fronts, Soviet Russia is victorious on three. On the Archangel-Murman front the English and the Chaikovsky Government have long been beaten. In Siberia, the Red armies are constantly pursuing Kolchak in an easterly direction, after having already occupied all of western Siberia, and after having made deep inroads into Middle Asia. On the Baltic front, the Western Russian government no longer exists, and the Yudenich bands are completely wiped off the scene of battle. There remain Poland with Pilsudski, and Ukraine with Denikin.

The victories of Soviet Russia have dispelled all the expectations and hopes of the imperialistic capital and compelled the counter-revolutionary governments of the Entente to revise their program with regard to proletarian Russia. We have given proofs in our former articles that since the time that public debates were started within the Entente as to a change of tactics toward Soviet Russia, this fact, combined with the final breaking up of the Entente itself, constitutes a new stage in the development of the international situation. The negotiations which were started at Copenhagen, and which are to be continued in the future, are a reflex of the situation that had been created as a result of the halting, by the Soviet, of the two years' offensive of Capital; though by themselves, of course, they do not guarantee a durable peace, still, they constitute a turning point of a military calm, of a consummation by the masses of the situation, of looking for new avenues for the next day.

No doubt, neither in England, nor in France, nor elsewhere, is the bourgeoisie glad to talk of these negotiations, the opposing parties being immensely strong; but no less strong is the average opinion which, on drawing conclusions from the two years' experience, believes that the peace conditions, in view of the ever increasing power of Soviet Russia, are getting worse almost daily.

The governments of the Entente are vacillating and are afraid of these negotiations. The advocates of intervention are planning new expeditions and are still clinging to the black bands of Denikin and to the reaction that has its nest in Ukraine. The professional diplomats and the generals by trade have no faith in Denikin, but the governments of the Entente, owing to the fact of the

continued existence of his army so far, are staving off the pressure of the oppositionist masses demanding peace ever more stubbornly. The fortunes of the still existing Denikin army are influencing the policy of the diplomats of reaction, which is making its first unwilling and uncertain steps toward negotiations. But the situation of Denikin is bad, as is admitted by the papers of every camp, and the destruction of his army of bandits would mean not only the repelling of also this, thus far last, offensive of Capital, but as well an unprecedented territorial and economic expansion of Soviet Russia, her gaining a foothold on the Black Sea.

A Soviet Russia which includes western Siberia, which is negotiating with the Baltic states, and which is established on the waters of the Black Sea, will be more powerful than ever; it will be unconquerable.

In the measure as the Soviet armies are advancing southward, the desire of the Entente for negotiations will grow, and for that reason the question of Ukraine is at present the central point of the international situation. In Ukraine is hidden the whip which will force imperialism to treat with the revolution.

II

This is not the place for a delineation of the front of Denikin and the further perspectives of the struggle. We record, on the basis of the news offered by the bourgeois press, that the White bands are retreating on all battlefields, that their front is broken through, that they are reported every day as losing their large cities. Their field of activity is becoming narrower, while it is enclosed ever more tightly by a widely open pincers, whose one arm is around Tsaritsin, while the other, toward the west, is around Zhitomir. The preponderance of the Bolsheviks lies also in the fact that the Soviet army is driven forward by an ever more profound consciousness of their great historical role—this army is only now, after two years of communistic training, growing into a real power—and by the enthusiasm resulting from the victories over Yudenich and Kolchak. The army of Denikin, welded together with the aid of gold and watered with cheap liquor, held in one mass by the use of lashes, beaten, surrounded by the flames of peasant uprisings, must become demoralized and fall apart.

Denikin may, yes, he may, gain one or another victory; he may be able to stave off, on a limited territory, the onslaught of the revolutionary army for a short while; but, fundamentally, his doom

has been already sealed by history. Its materialization is merely a matter of time. All the news indicates that Denikin's army will be torn by the Communist armies into separate pieces and that each will be dealt with and destroyed singly. Inasmuch as in the Don region peasant uprisings are incessantly taking place and the Kuban republic is in a state of war with Denikin, his armies will have to retreat toward the Black Sea. The situation will be one resembling that of Yudenich at the Finnish Gulf, with the difference that on the Black Sea there is no Esthonia to receive the broken armies. The armies of Denikin, or their remnants, will have to surrender. Then, Denikin and his government, like Yudenich and his government, will go to Paris, their moral supporter, for their unearned bonus and the favors of a continued protection.

III

However, even though the very probable chances of a complete smashing of Denikin are raising the international prestige of Soviet Russia and will compel the governments of the coalition to begin negotiations earlier, still they do not decide as yet the form which the situation in Ukraine will take. The situation there does not depend solely on the course of the military events, but, also, and mainly, on the state of the revolution in Ukraine, i. e., on the results of the class struggle in Ukrainian society. For, as long as the revolution has not triumphed completely in Ukraine, as long as the rule of the toiling masses has not been firmly established, for just so long will Ukraine be an opportune place for counter-revolutionary efforts.

Not until Soviet Russia will have a free and sure access to the Ukrainian grain, the Donietz coal, and the states of Caucasia (naphtha and cotton), will she be assured of her predominance in Eastern Europe.

Furthermore, the firm placing of the victorious red banners on the Black Sea and at the gates of Caucasia is a death blow to the imperialism of England, at present the main adversary of Soviet Russia.

What, then, is the situation of the Ukrainian revolution? Everything indicates that it is good.

Let us turn our attention somewhat to the past. At the beginning of the Russian revolution, when the appetites of the Ukrainian nationalist parties showed themselves in all their splendor, they wanted to build up an independent ("samostijna") Ukraine from the ridge of the Carpathians up to the Volga and the Caspian Sea to the North and West, making large inroads into the Great Russian, White Russian, and Polish territories. Today, all these plans are dormant, completely smashed. In the East, independent republics have been formed in the Terek and the Kuban. On the Don, in the regions of Elisavetgrad, Poltava, Chernigov, Kiev—in the whole of Ukraine to boot—there are uprisings, triumphant uprisings, of Bolshevik peasants or such

as are in sympathy with them, who are animated by the slogan of possessing themselves of the land of the nobles and establishing the rule of Labor in opposition to the Ukrainian state. Taught by the lessons of all the governments: Skoropadski's and Denikin's, Vinnichenko's and Petrushevich's, the peasant population of Ukraine understands that neither a reactionary, nor a liberal, a democratic, or a social-patriotic power will return to them the land and secure its possession. The land, alike with freedom, must be obtained through one's own efforts and only by one's own power can it be retained. A poor Ukrainian peasant or worker probably does not know how to judge the intricacies of the Soviet constitution, but he understands and feels its sense. Soviet Russia is too great a lesson and example for him.

In the West of Ukraine, the Petlura "state" has been broken up. Not only by the fact that, owing to the treason by Tarnowski, his armies were diminished and the strategical situation changed, but also because the Ukrainian social-democratic party, whence he originates, and which was his support, is broken to pieces. It is but a few weeks since, at a conference of the party, held in Vienna, a stand was taken by the majority, to cooperate with Soviet Russia. The resolutions of the conference were directed against Petlura, and though his Lemberg organ *Wpered* (Forward) was not writing truth about these matters, there is no doubt but that this conference brought a split—a dissolution.

As an unmistakable expression of this state of affairs, the fact may serve, that the president of the Petlura ministry, Mazepa, went over to the side of the Bolsheviks; Wityk and Bezpalka did the same, taking with them 2,000 out of the total 5,000 of Petlura's troops. Thus the forces of Petlura are very small and it is unknown whether the morrow will grant him enough land on which to muster his troops.

Eastern Galicia, headed by its dictator, Petrushevich, has long since, after its conquest by the Polish armies, become merely a card in the diplomatic game. Though Petrushevich was a rival of Petlura, nevertheless the hopes of the eastern Ruthenian nationalists found their support in the army and the "state" of Petlura. However, the rivalry was not merely of a personal nature; it was rooted in a difference of political orientation. Namely, Petlura, who was directly threatened by the imperialism of Denikin, was simulating sympathy for Poland, and was looking to Poland for support,

*Mazepa, a member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party, is well known in Russia as a cultural and *zemstvo* worker.

Wityk, who served twice as a member of the Vienna Parliament, was a member of the Petlura government and a sworn enemy of the latter whom he branded as a man with demoralizing influence. (The news of Wityk's going over to the Bolsheviks was denied since.—*Ed.*)

Bezpalka, a Social-democrat from Bukovina, editor of the paper *Borotba*, was minister of labor in the government of Petlura.

in treaties that were favorable to Pilsudski as well in facilitating the latter's policy in Podolia. On the other hand, Petrushevich, whose followers, the population of eastern Galicia, have been directly experiencing the blessings of the gentle protection they received at the hands of the Polish reaction, was holding out his hand to Denikin in order to defend himself against the Polish designs. Today, when Denikin has less time for flirting with Galicia, and Petlura is crushed, Messrs. Petrushevich and Co. will seek for contact with the rulers in Warsaw, will remind them of their services in preventing the Galician peasants from plundering the land of the Polish nobles; the bargain will be surely contracted at the expense of the peasant's hide. If the party of Petrushevich and Co. will submit to the Polish rulers it will receive positions, offices, and a kind of autonomic rights; but the Polish nobility will obtain at a cheap price hired lackeys to keep the Ruthenian peasants within bounds.

When we analyze the class conditions and party relations prevailing in Ukraine, we fail to find sufficiently strong counter-revolutionary forces which could oppose the union of the toiling masses of Ukraine with Soviet Russia. Soviet Ukraine has been broken by the Entente and Denikin, with the aid of Petlura and some reactionary groups. Today, when these groups are in a state of dissolution, when Denikin is beaten, and is retreating towards the sea, we have ground enough to maintain that Soviet Ukraine, built up for the second time, will be already firm. The more so, as the Caucasian states have convinced themselves during the last year what the rule of Denikin and the Entente means for them: a death sentence to their existence.

The Ukrainian nationalists, for whose policy the development of Ukrainian culture is a determining factor, after two years of experience, can convince themselves that only the rule of the toiling masses can give Ukraine a guarantee for the development of her culture. The cultural work of Soviet Russia, which in regard to its content, form and force has surpassed everything that had been done anywhere up to now, ought to convince even the most stubborn as to whither the road leads, if the Ukrainian peasant is to have a secure existence—land and culture, schools and organizations for spiritual development. And, at any rate, he will not find these treasures through the reaction in Berlin, nor through the Supreme Council of the Entente, which carries on its conversation with the representatives of Petlura and Petrushevich in the antichambre.

IV

The victory of Soviet Russia, and thus the existence of Soviet Ukraine, will be always threatened from the side of the Polish front. But the strength of the Polish front will not suffice for long. First, because events are developing in Poland at a quick tempo for an overturn, and one of its main slogans will be precisely the stopping of the war. Second-

ly, because the Polish armies have been having increasing difficulties in opposing the Bolsheviks, the proof of which is seen in the battles on the Berezyna, where the Bolsheviks have crossed the river. Furthermore, the offensive against the Bolsheviks is difficult beyond description, if only for economic reasons, and would therefore accelerate the internal crisis. But the most important point is that the conduct of war by the Polish government against Soviet Russia depends upon the tactics of the Entente with regard to the government of the People's Commissars at Moscow. If the Entente should be compelled to carry on negotiations, then all intervention will stop, and the stopping of intervention by Poland will then be only a matter of time. For if public opinion and the voice of the workers will achieve their aim, that is, negotiations and a stopping of the armed counter-revolution, then its pressure will also reach Poland and Warsaw.

V

We began our article with the statement that the case of Ukraine has now become the central point of the international situation, and we have proved that the triumph of the revolution in Ukraine, which is undoubtedly coming, and the re-establishment of the proletarian government there will put Soviet Russia on such a powerful basis—military, economic and spiritual—that the designs against Russia on the part of the international reaction will be dealt a mortal, a final blow.

Of course, it is possible to make assumptions of a union between France and England with reactionary Germany, but the strength of Russia is developing faster than the hatred of the western imperialists for the German capital is disappearing; besides, this would probably prove to be an adventure against which not only the workmen in Germany, but also the popular opinion in the West, would come out in full force. An intervention of the West based on such premises—on the support of the reactionary Germany, but yesterday an outcast,—would be all the more obnoxious to the proletariat of the Entente countries.

—Swit, Vienna, Dec. 6, 1919.

HANDS OFF RUSSIA

The National Hands Off Russia Committee, at a specially summoned meeting on Saturday, expressed its entire approval of the idea of a special national campaign for immediate peace with Socialist Russia, as advocated in the *Daily Herald*.

It was unanimously decided to request Mr. Lansbury to ask that an immediate meeting of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, the Executive Committee of the Labor Party, the executives of the big trade unions, and the executives of the Socialist parties, should be called with the object of starting such campaign.

[The calling of a conference such as is suggested above is the business of one of the above bodies. We suggest that the best party to summon such a conference is the Executive of the National Labor Party, and we hope the constituent bodies of the Party will request that such a movement be set on foot immediately.—Ed.]

—London Herald, Jan. 5, 1920.

Christmas Scenes in Petrograd

By W. H.

I. IN THE CITY

The city is generously planned. The streets are as straight as arrows, spacious, clean; the public squares are adorned with old as well as with modern statues. On the shores of the countless rivers and canals there are piled up the palaceterraces, the church-spires, reaching skyward. Proudly over the towers of the city waves the dark-red, gold-lettered banner of the Socialist republic. It is a peculiar and remarkable mixture of old and new, of Asiatic and of European culture. The latter predominates in this city, which is not the case in Moscow. In the hotel in which I am quartered, I am given a ration of bread and food-stuffs, and in addition a large paper bag full of delicate sweets and caramels. "This is our Christmas present," the young lady tells me smilingly.

II. A PRISON

"Don't be afraid, it will not spoil your holiday pleasure," I was assured by a comrade, the administrative supervisor of the criminal prisons of Petrograd. We are approaching the building.

It is a great stone structure outside of the city. Within, there is almost painful cleanliness and order. "Go right into the hall; our festival will begin at once," are the words of welcome of the warden. In a great hall a number of people are already gathered. Downstairs, the employees of the jail, with their wives and children, the latter in their bright colored clothes, frolicking and jumping about, laughing for joy. Upstairs, on the gallery, are the prisoners. All dressed with cleanliness and care, particularly the women. They look about without fear, their faces do not reveal the gloomy and sullen features of prisoners.

The festival is opened with a speech by one of the officials. He speaks briefly, without oratory, but warmly, pleasantly, strongly. He tells the prisoners that in this new Socialist state, they are no longer outlaws and outcasts of society as they still were yesterday. The Socialist society considers them as persons who have been misled, who have left the right path owing to the pressure of the capitalist system, as fellow-citizens who will soon again take their places in the ranks of the workers, in order to build up by their side a state that is not for the rich but for the proletariat.

The short address is received with great applause by the entire audience.

And then the performance begins—those peculiar, sentimental, Russian songs—instrumental music, balalaika selections, gypsy melodies, dances—for without these the Russians can hardly live—witty couplets, recitations, a rich and varied program of beautiful and engaging impressions, an unforgettable kaleidoscope of artistic offerings, many of which are perhaps entirely new to some of the prisoners upstairs.

There is nothing propagandistic, nothing forced

—just simple, esthetic enjoyment. This enjoyment fills the whole house, and evidences itself in stormy applause. The prisoners laugh with the comedians, they sob and dry their tears when the singer relates the sad lot of lovers. The stage maintained its constant contact with the gallery, and particularly the women, on being encouraged by the manager of the show, related their impressions of each selection after its performance, which again became a source of laughter and joking.

When the hall was again lighted, you looked into nothing but beaming eyes—contented faces on which there was a cast of softness and laughter.

I asked about the performers, many of whom had played excellently, and I was told that all of them were also prisoners. They were amateurs, popular performers, musicians, and the like, many of whom are found among criminals. They are at present the wards of a penal institution known as a "reformatory," the task of which is to permit those prisoners who show an inclination for such treatment, to serve their time in freer relations and while performing useful labor. The festival today was gotten up and executed by a group of such "wards." I later learned that they all had come to this prison today without any escort, and all returned punctually to their own place of detention. Thus the Soviet power is constantly engaged in its creative labor of drawing forth from the depths of the people themselves the good and the beautiful that is within them.

III. THE PERFORMANCE OF THE CHILDREN

We are in the Workers' Palace.

The hall is one of the countless apartments of the former Nobles' Palace, which is adorned with a truly lavish hand. Gold, marble, velvet, silk.

In simple clothes, with cloths around their heads, the Russian proletarian women are today sitting together with their happy and noisy children, on the ancient seats of the nobles. At the front of the hall stands a lady, the Commissar for Social Welfare of the Northern Commune, surrounded by a lively crowd of children, all of whom seem to be excellent friends of hers. A number of societies, children's homes, day nurseries, and children's colonies, are represented here. The curtain rises.

It is a revolutionary play. A crowd is moving about vehemently and animatedly on the stage, with red flags flying, battle and victory in progress. The whole splendid drama of the revolution is presented here on a small scale. And with what ardor, how movingly, how simply all this is presented by the children themselves! When all finally stand in a row at the end, singing the "Internationale," such joy flashes from the eyes of the little victors, such pride, that the whole

audience joins in the singing, and this little one-act play becomes a sort of personal experience for all those present.

The second play is a puppet play, presented to an audience of pupils on the stage.

The young actors and actresses excell themselves in this play. You can hardly believe they are children. The comic scenes awaken a laughter that is Homeric, and the puppet play is presented with a precision, a delicacy, and a good taste, such as can be compared only with the distinguished performances of the best stages in this city of the fine arts. One is truly astonished at all this grace,

this appreciation for art, this quantity of talent, among these workers' children. It is a veritable artistic feast, this children's performance. The little audience disperses, loud with merriment, beaming, laughing—and passes out through a hall that has been transformed into a grotto. The walls are mirrors and glass decorations, relieved by artificial cliffs, among which little springs are bubbling. The astonished eyes of the children are wide with delight. They behold such miracles for the first time.

Indeed, the impression of the whole occasion is that of a miracle.

A New Way for Culture Propaganda

BY JACOB OKUNEV.

The Bolsheviki Are Indefatigable in Their Work for the Improvement of the Cultural Level of the People

LENIN'S train—that is what the peasants and workers call the train; it now carries the name of Lenin and recently returned to Moscow after a trip around the western part of the Soviet Republic.

This train consists of 15 cars, decorated with paintings in bright colors, with forceful and unmistakably revolutionary inscriptions. It contains a moving picture apparatus and screen, a book shop, and a branch of the telegraph bureau, which posted the latest news at every station and sent out bulletins with the latest telegrams. On this train were representatives of almost all of the People's Commissaries, and a staff of agitators.

This train has been in constant service for about two months. It has traveled through the governments of Pskov and Vitebsk, Lettonia, White Russia, Lithuania, and has extended its trips to Khar'kov. It has made 25 long stops and covered 3590 versts. Everywhere it passed, tens of thousands of leaflets and revolutionary pamphlets were handed out, socialist and revolutionary literature distributed, with books of all kinds, meetings arranged, lectures held, while propaganda instructed and animated the masses. The Commissary representatives who accompanied the train visited the Soviet institutions and informed themselves as to the work of the local organizations, offering suggestions and aid. Around this special train, workers and peasants assembled and "flying meetings" took place. The speeches were made from the roofs of the cars, and revolutionary leaflets and pamphlets were scattered from the bookshop like snowflakes.

During its trip the train circulated books, papers, and pamphlets worth more than a half-million roubles, distributed free more than 150,000 proclamations and leaflets, posted more than 15,000 posters, and supplied 556 organizations with various publications. About 90,000 workers, peasants, and soldiers from the Red Army attended the lectures,

meetings, and conferences; about sixty lectures were organized on all sorts of burning questions.

The local organization was informed by telegraph of the arrival of the train, and met it at the station. Sometimes the reception was very ceremonious. At Ryezhitsa, where the train arrived at night, workers and soldiers of the Red Army met it with banners, music, and torches. At the little station of Malinovka, the peasants from the adjoining villages had gathered, and their selected speaker made an address, concerning the train which carried the light of the class-conscious revolution to all corners of Russia.

It is impossible to give in a short article an account of all the work which this train accomplished on its two months' trip. Besides its agitation and the circulation of papers and pamphlets, the members of the Communist party who accompanied the train brought about improvements in the local organizations, listening to wishes and complaints of the residents and investigating the latter.

At the present time, five more trains of this kind are being organized, also boats for a similar purpose on the Volga and its tributaries, and motor trucks which will make it possible to reach places where neither railroads nor waterways are available. Agitators will penetrate the most hidden nooks of Soviet Russia, there to sow the holy fire of Revolution, to spread leaflets and pamphlets, and to waken the great masses of the peasants and the poor. Within a short time a train called "The October Revolution" will be sent to middle Russia and the regions around the Don.

Two other trains, "Communist" and "Red Army," are almost ready to be sent out on their errand. The whole of Soviet Russia will soon be covered with a living net of similar trains and boats. Thanks to them, the center will come in contact with the farthest regions of the republic. It can listen to their wishes and answer their questions.

THREE JAPANESE LETTERS FROM SIBERIA

We print below extracts from three letters, written from Chita and Tomsk, in Eastern and Western Siberia, respectively, by Mr. H. Miyagawa, Siberian correspondent of the Miyako Shimbun. The letters bearing dates toward the end of November, 1919, and presenting rather interesting data concerning conditions in Siberia, were reprinted in the above-named daily.

I

Chita, November 26, 1919.

THE population of Chita, which was about one hundred thousand in August, 1918, has now risen to about 150,000 or 160,000. This increase is due to the removal of the "Omsk" government to Irkutsk, resulting in the fleeing from the former city to the latter of a large number of refugees, which is increasing daily. About one-half of the population of Chita are Jews; of Russians and Chinese there are about ten thousand each; Koreans, three thousand; Japanese, five hundred, of the Japanese, peculiarly enough, one hundred twenty or one hundred thirty are prostitutes. The temperature at present is 35 below zero. Last year's coldest was 85 below zero. You find pigeons and sparrows lying dead in the streets where they fell frozen. Human beings also have been found frozen to death in the streets. The poor, on finding the bodies, remove the clothing and put it on themselves. The naked bodies have been devoured by dogs, and now present a terrible sight.

The houses are constructed chiefly for warmth, the walls being six feet thick. Layers of hay and sawdust are inserted in the empty spaces between the outer and inner walls; all windows are double windows, or even triple windows. Even when the thermometer shows 26 below zero, one may sometimes see a young girl and a young man sitting on a bench in the park, chatting pleasantly. The admission to the park, in summer, costs three rubles; on Sundays, seven rubles.

II

Tomsk, November 28, 1919.

The railway service here is very bad; trains often collide, and delays of eight, twelve, and even twenty-two hours are met with. Near the station of Matiskaya, a passenger train collided with a freight train, demolishing both trains and resulting in ninety-three persons being killed and three hundred and fifty injured. Between the stations of Harbin and Manchuria a huge number of cars, perhaps three or four thousand, may be seen, which have been discarded without any attempt at making repairs.

The most influential persons in Siberia now are actresses. Even great generals consider themselves honored when they have an opportunity to shake hands with an actress!

The most tragic scene I have beheld thus far was at Nerchinsk, where one hundred and twenty Bolsheviki were taken captive and shot.

III

Tomsk, November 27, 1919.

The prices of necessities are higher here than in Japan, three times as high, in fact. But some things are cheaper, as I show herewith:

Beef (per pound), 10 cents.

Chicken (per pound), 27 cents.

Milk (per quart), 6 cents.

Butter (per pound), 18 cents.

Bread (per pound), 8 cents.

You cannot buy more than four pounds of sugar at one time per person, and even this only on Saturdays. Every Russian tries to buy everything he sees. I was even asked to sell my own coat and vest straight off my body. I understand this has become a Russian custom. There is no doubt that there is great distress all over.

KOLCHAK'S LEGACIES TO REDS

Owing to the impossibility of evacuation, a Moscow wireless message states, the Whites, before leaving Novo-Nikolaevsk (on the Siberian front) strangled or killed with cold steel the majority of those confined in prison. Several were stated to have been shot. Another message states that Kolchak left 15,000 typhus cases as a legacy in Omsk.—Wireless Press.

—London *Herald*, Jan. 5, 1920.

DOCKERS' BLOW FOR SOVIET

FRENCH STRIKE MAY EXTEND

Paris, Tuesday.—Five thousand workers attended a meeting in Bordeaux in support of the strikers, who refuse to load vessels with ammunitions destined for use against Soviet Russia, and were addressed by delegates from Paris Labor headquarters.

The railway employees of the Midi lines threaten to join the strike unless the company withdraws men lent to the Bordeaux Chamber of Commerce to work cranes on the docks.

Daily Herald, London, Jan. 14, 1920.

TO THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONIST

You sowed your stony fields in cheerless days,
While storms of hate beat down and ruthless might
Made blood and tears flow in the dreadful night
That shrouded your dead and your exile ways.

But when the fiends of plunder shot the blaze
Of war around the world, and lurid light
Revealed the saving truth to every sight,
Your harvest ripened in hot passion's rays.

The grain you reaped made bread to heal the earth;
The winds and waters bore the seed afar,
And now it's harvest tide in every land.

This time, brave comrades, there will be no dearth
Of bands to aid you in the holy war:
The hour of lasting freedom is at hand!

NAOMI YARMOLINSKY.

SOVIET RUSSIA

A Weekly Devoted to the Spread of Truth
About Russia

Official Organ of the
RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU
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SOVIENT RUSSIA has a government that is very unpopular with the ruling classes of many countries, but the peoples of all countries seem to regard it much more favorably. It therefore frequently comes to pass that the governing classes in countries neighboring on Soviet Russia are quite ready to "turn an honest penny" by selling out the interests of their countries to the Allies, making of such countries as Latvia, Poland, Lithuania, and others, mere breeding-grounds of counter-revolution—and recruiting offices for the armies of the reaction. In this process the rulers not infrequently find themselves opposed by the masses of the people in those countries, who, by a stubborn resistance to the treacherous activities of their rulers, quite destroy their calculations and render so sadly unprofitable the business of selling out that the innocent joy of life quite fades from the lips of the exploiters and dealers in cannon-fodder. Thus, there is every indication that the bloodthirsty Mannerheim clique in Finland, after reestablishing the rule of the bourgeoisie in that country by murdering at least 30,000 men and boys, made every effort to strengthen the new militaristic government of Finland by an alliance with the Allies—in which project there was only one disturbing element, namely the utter impossibility of carrying it out in the face of the determined opposition of the entire population of Finland. The people of Soviet Russia recognize that they would now be facing Finnish armies marching on Petrograd—and perhaps Finnish assistance at the time of the Yudenich adventure on Petrograd in October might have turned the scale in his favor—had it not been

for the masses of the people of Finland, who fought so resolutely against any participation in the effort to crush the Russia of the workers, as to render any suggestion of such participation entirely fruitless.

AFTER Finland, Esthonia. We shall not dwell on the relations of this little country with Soviet Russia, as we hope soon to be able to present our readers with official documents bearing on this phase of recent history. Suffice it to say that a complete and final treaty of peace between the two countries has been signed and that some of the details of the treaty have already appeared in the American press.

POLAND came next. Whether or not a definite agreement has been arrived at between Soviet Russia and Poland, is an open question, but the newspapers are now making so little fuss about the alleged Soviet Russian aggressions against Poland, that we must, following the peculiar Allied psychology of distortion, interpret this as signifying that the Allies do not intend to force the Polish people to take part in attacks on Soviet Russia. If, after the elaborate newspaper campaign to prepare the mind of the world for "Bolshevik aggression," we suddenly find Poland ceasing her "defensive" invasion of Russia, what else can that mean but that the pressure of the Polish people on their tyrants has effectively prevented Poland from associating herself with the would-be hangmen of Soviet Russia?

PREOCCUPATION with the very active North makes one almost forget the equally active South. Of late, certain circles in Rumania had also yielded to pressure from the West to a sufficient extent to pretend to believe that the Soviet Government was preparing for a treacherous attack on Rumania. Perhaps the following paragraph from the Manchester *Guardian* of January 19 will allay the fears of those Allied statesmen who have been concerned over the fate of Rumania:

The report circulated by certain London papers that a strong Rumanian force had entered Russian territory, with a view to defending Odessa against the Bolsheviks, is declared by an authoritative source to be without any foundation. Not only have Rumanian troops not passed the Dniester, but they have no intention of doing so. Rumania's attitude in the question is best illustrated by the decision to disarm and intern any stray Russian units or soldiers that might seek refuge in Rumanian territory. The Rumanian authorities have undertaken to admit and look after civilian refugees until it is possible to send them back to their homes.

Of course Russian troops straying into Rumania are counter-revolutionary troops, not those of Soviet Russia.

WHEN all other regions in which counter-revolution has been organized against Soviet Russia have turned out to be disappointments to their exploiters, perhaps then we shall hear the English

Government complain more loudly than ever that Soviet troops are threatening the safety of India, that it has become necessary to organize India for military resistance to the Soviets. Of course, we shall know that this will merely mean that England is ready to stake all on one card, and to force an invasion of Soviet Russia from India as a basis. When this moment arrives, it will be interesting to observe whether or not England will use Indian troops for the purpose.

MR. Burton Holmes is one of the popular "travelogue" lecturers who tour the cities of the country with lectures and moving pictures on foreign countries. On Monday afternoon, February 9, Mr. Holmes delivered a lecture at Carnegie Hall, New York, entitled "The Vanished Russia," which in spite of its name included a number of interesting pictures and statements on the Russia of the November Revolution. There was an open air picture theatre attended by American soldiers, which was called a "Liberty Theatre," at Verkhne-Udinsk, about a hundred kilometers east of Lake Baikal. What other functions these soldiers had there, Mr. Holmes did not say. There were a number of photographs of General Semionov's military train, a formidable moving aggression, with a number of interesting cars. There was a rustically roofed open car with ugly yellow curtains, which served Semionov's officers as a lounge. There was a heavy steel car with a big gun on it, the rear car of the train. There was a compartment, inside-corridor car, with iron bars to separate the compartments, and this car Mr. Holmes called a "traveling jail." Occasionally it was detached, with all its cells full, and sent out alone along a siding or branch-line, remaining out for hours before it came back—empty. And when you asked the amiable warden about his prisoners, he would continue delicately to polish his nails, and say: "They were all guilty: their cases have been disposed of." Mr. Holmes, who did not state whether the prisoners had been Bolsheviks or not, lamented the fact that no "better way" had been found of "disposing of" their cases.

Mr. Holmes' moving pictures of the Revolution were very interesting. There were scenes taken at a review of the Red Army in Moscow, with Soviet officers looking on. There were crowds flocking to railway platforms in Petrograd, as well as swarming street scenes and traincars in that city. The crowds intermingled very freely, and there was none of the reserve and remoteness apparent in some classes in pictures that had been taken back in the Czarist days. Even Mr. Holmes, who asked his hearers, in his peroration, to arm and resist "the Russian menace, lest civilization slip back in its course, etc., etc.," did not waste any tears on the regime which the Revolution put down, on the gentry who never touched the common people "except to beat them," on the special footpath down the middle of great thoroughfares, to be used by human wretches who were ill-clad or had great bundles, on the exploitation of the poor and wretch-

ed by the side of the splendor of their exploiters, on the distribution of "largess" to the miserable chowds at the Khodinka field at Moscow, when Nicholas II, last of all the Czars, celebrated his belated Coronation at Moscow in 1896, on which occasion the unhappy thousands who had gathered to scramble for the coins which they knew would be scattered among them, rushed into the scramble and, falling into ditches and pitfalls, crushed out the lives of 1400 of their numbers.—These things Mr. Holmes also mentioned—and yet he could not see that the Government of the Workers and Peasants was a government that meant the abolition of all these things, and more—the final abandonment of all oppression of man by man in Russia.

WE had promised to print this week a complete collection of the Russian laws on labor as issued in English at Petrograd in 1919. But we are obliged to postpone the printing of this collection to the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA. The reason is this: the Petrograd English version contained a number of errors of style which are being corrected by one of our staff. We feel sure that our readers will pardon us this delay, since it means that they will have a better and more readable text of the code of labor laws of Soviet Russia.

STATEMENT FROM THE RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU

Washington, Feb. 3, 1920.

Mr. L. Martens, Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, today sent the following cable to Maxim Litvinoff, Assistant People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, who is now at Copenhagen negotiating with representatives of the British Government:

"Newspapers report that the American Government is negotiating with Russia for the release of American Red Cross party captured with Kolchak's army. I advise that the Soviet Government grant this request as before in similar cases, but suggest you call attention of the American Government to the incongruity of freeing Americans found aiding hostile forces in Russia while many Russian citizens in America are being unjustly arrested and maltreated and the representative of Soviet Russia is the victim of malicious police persecution and threats of deportation without the interference of the State Department."

Following a consistent policy of friendliness towards Americans, it has hitherto been the policy of the Soviet Government to release unconditionally all American soldiers captured by the Soviet Army. Mr. Martens assumes that a similar policy will be followed in these recent cases. Mr. Martens wishes to assure the relatives and friends of all American soldiers in Russia and Siberia that the recent dispatches need give them no cause for alarm. All Americans who may have been captured by the Soviet forces will be treated with the utmost consideration pending arrangements for their safe return.

Soviet Government Propaganda

Statement by L. Martens, Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, Before the Sub-Committee of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate

IN the course of the war imposed upon Soviet Russia by foreign powers actively engaged in efforts to overthrow the established government of Russia, my Government has employed propaganda among the invading forces as a defensive measure incidental to the actual state of war. While this propaganda has no relation to my activities in this country, I take the liberty of dwelling upon it, inasmuch as it has often been the cause of grave misconceptions.

Properly to understand the question at issue, it is necessary to consider the circumstances under which such propaganda has been conducted. Without provocation on the part of the Russian Soviet Republic and notwithstanding repeated offers of peace and cooperation, Soviet Russia has been made the object of open and covetous attacks on the part of most of the governments of the world. Without a declaration of war, the territory of Soviet Russia has been invaded by foreign troops. Agents of various foreign government in Russia have constantly plotted against my Government. Moral, financial, and military aid has been given to any group in Russia, including anarchists and monarchists, who are opposed to the Government of Soviet Russia. Every agency at the disposal of foreign governments has been employed in such attacks against Soviet Russia. All this is a matter of general knowledge, and is not denied. On the contrary, many governments have made a virtue of such conduct on their part.

The Government of the United States has also been a party to attacks against the Russian Soviet Government, including invasion of Russian soil without a declaration of war and aggressive action against the military forces of Soviet Russia.

Mr. Roger Lewis, an American newspaper correspondent and Red Cross worker in Russia has recently stated:

"I can prove that diplomatic representatives of the United States and the associated governments, while they were still on outwardly friendly, if unofficial, terms with the Soviet Government, backed with large sums of money various counter-revolutionary bands and conspiracies which were not only anti-Bolshevik but really anti-Russian in their character." (From article in *Collier's Weekly*, Dec. 6, 1919.)

Under these circumstances, and especially in view of the fact that all offers to make peace with the Allied Governments remained unanswered, the workers of Russia felt bitter against the plotters and invaders and those behind them. Being confident that the peoples of other nations were not responsible for these policies, and that they permitted these activities only because they were not

acquainted with the real situation, the workers of Russia appealed to the peoples in various countries urging them to put an end to these attacks. Appeals of this nature have been defensive measures in the war imposed on Soviet Russia by outside forces. It may be known to this committee that propaganda to overthrow hostile governments was widely organized by the Allied countries, including the United States, during the recently ended world war and was approved as a war measure. It may not be unknown to the committee that officials of the United States Government actively cooperated with officials of my Government in the conduct of such propaganda against the Imperial German Government. At the time when a branch of the United States Government, during the year 1918, was preparing the issuance of alleged documents, on the basis of which it was implied that officials of the Soviet Government were paid agents of the Imperial German Government, my Government was actively cooperating with agents of that branch of the United States Government in Soviet Russia, in circulating among the German army appeals to overthrow the German Government.

Propaganda has been carried on by the Soviet Government among the armies of the foreign powers which invaded Russia. It consisted of pamphlets distributed by aeroplanes or by other methods, stating that Soviet Russia was unjustly attacked; that she was ready to make peace at any time; and that she had nothing but friendly feelings toward the workmen of whom the various invading armies were composed. The foreign soldiers were urged to go away and put an end to this unjust invasion of Russia. I shall readily grant that such propaganda bitterly criticized governments attacking Russia, but it may also be granted that the intentions and actions of those governments toward Soviet Russia were by no means friendly. Whatever other propaganda has been conducted by the Russian Soviet Government was of similar defensive character. It is incidental to the state of war which has been imposed upon Soviet Russia, and it will cease the moment the other governments change their hostile attitude towards Soviet Russia, and when these governments, on their part, refrain from attempts to overthrow the Russian Soviet Government.

It has been charged against the Russian Soviet Government, and cited as a proof of the impropriety of the activities of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau, that Mr. Lenin, the present Prime Minister of Russia, sent to the United States in the fall of 1918, an "open letter" addressed to the "Workmen of the United States," in which attacks were made on the United States Government,

and the workers of America were urged to revolt against their government.

While not denying that a letter of this character was published by an American publisher in the fall of 1918, and assuming its authenticity,—although I myself have no personal knowledge that Mr. Lenin actually wrote such a letter or caused its sending to the United States,—I want to state most emphatically that its publication or circulation in America has not been caused directly or indirectly by my Bureau or by anyone connected with the Bureau. Having examined this letter in the form in which it was published I find that it is allegedly written in August, 1918, and was published in the United States in December, 1918. Thus, if authentic, it was written four months before my appointment as Representative of the Soviet Republic, and was published in America before my appointment and four months before the establishment of my Bureau.

It has been alleged that when my Bureau in New York was raided by officials of the State of New York, copies of this letter to a number indicating that it might have been kept for distribution, were found. I absolutely deny this charge. I never had any considerable number of such pamphlets in my office. I never distributed them in any way. I had three or four copies of this publication in my Bureau as a part of a collection of literature dealing with Russia and published in the United States, which I keep for reference purposes. The appearance of this letter in the United States has no relation whatsoever with my activities as the Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

If the letter is genuine, it was written in August, 1918, after the Allied Governments and their representatives in Russia had taken an actively hostile attitude towards the Government of the Soviet Republic. In August and September of that same year representatives of the Allied powers in Russia were found guilty of plotting on Russian soil for the disruption of the Russian Government. This letter, therefore, if genuine, must be regarded as a specific instance of measures of defense and reprisal against those powers which were openly and actively hostile to the Soviet Republic.

In his reply, dated February 4th, 1919, to the Prinkipo invitation, Mr. Chicherin, the Russian Foreign Minister, referred specifically to the fear frequently expressed in the foreign press of Russian revolutionary propaganda, and stated that the Russian Soviet Government was ready to conclude in a general agreement with the Entente Powers the obligation not to interfere in the internal affairs of those powers. Although the Soviet Government has not received any reply to any of its many offers of peace, it has scrupulously refrained from manifestations of hostility to the United States Government. In January, 1919, when the representative of the Russian Soviet Government, Mr. Litvinoff, conferred in Stockholm with the representa-

tive of the American Government, Mr. Buckler, Secretary of the American Legation in London, Mr. Litvinoff again pointed out that the Soviet Government not only was ready to enter into a binding understanding about mutual non-interference in internal affairs of both countries, but also emphasized the fact that even without such an agreement the Soviet Government was scrupulously refraining from any such interference, although this policy was not reciprocated by the United States.

This attitude of the Russian Soviet Government was again and more definitely pointed out to representatives of the United States who visited Russia and who had conferences with representatives of the Russian Soviet Government in Moscow in March, 1919. Again, in December, 1919, the Russian Soviet Government presented to the British and other Allied Governments through the good offices of Col. Malone, a member of the British Parliament, a similar proposition containing specific stipulations against interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

Two American journalists, who were in Soviet Russia recently, obtained specific assurances on this point from Mr. Lenin personally, and one of these Americans, I understand, has in his possession a signed statement written in Mr. Lenin's own hand, offering to give explicit guarantees that the Soviet Government will not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. While up to this date no such agreement has been formally reached, and representatives of the United States have continued to interfere in Russia's internal affairs, the Russian Soviet Government, on the other hand, has acted as if such an agreement had been reached.

It has been alleged that no promises or understandings entered into by the Russian Soviet Government in this respect can be trusted. In answer to such a charge I want to say that the economic interests of Soviet Russia are a sufficiently binding guarantee that such understandings will be observed. It is in the interest of Soviet Russia to establish and maintain intimate economic intercourse between Russia and the United States. It is clear that any understanding of this, or any other character, must be kept inviolate by the Russian Soviet Government, if for no other reason than because of the necessity for the maintenance of such economic intercourse, inasmuch as the Government of the United States would be free to break off economic relations in case of non-compliance.

When the vast trade between the United States and Russia, upon which the economic and social prosperity of Russia so largely depends, is established, the Russian Government will not lightly risk the loss of that valuable commercial intercourse.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize that the attitude of Soviet Russia towards the United States, in spite of the hostility of the latter toward Soviet

Russia, has been one of extreme patience and a desire of conciliation.

On several occasions the Russian Soviet Government has expressed a readiness to offer the United States great economic advantages in preference to all other countries. American citizens in Russia have been treated with courtesy, consideration and civility, even in many cases where their active hostility against the Russian Soviet Government was proven beyond doubt. Americans taken prisoners on the Northern front have been treated exceptionally well, enjoying full liberty in the city of Moscow and being permitted at every feasible opportunity to leave the country without reciprocation. The property of American citizens in Russia who comply with the laws of the country has not been molested, and every case where complications have arisen in respect to such property, the Soviet Government stands ready to recognize and restore all rights of American citizens.

DIVIDING RUSSIAN BEAR'S SKIN

FRANCO-BRITISH-GERMAN LOAN TALKED OF IN BERLIN

M. PHILIPS PRICE

Berlin, January 12.—There has been a fresh crop of rumors in the last few days about further recruiting by Kolchak and Denikin agents in Germany for the Russian counter-revolutionary armies.

Yesterday's *Allgemeine Zeitung* officially denies that the German Government has any knowledge of it, but supposes that isolated individuals, on their own responsibility, are trying to recruit for these foreign armies, and are thereby making themselves liable under Paragraph 141 of the Criminal Law. But matters are not so simple.

First, it is necessary to put the unkind question—What is the German Government, or, rather to be precise, how many German Governments are there in Germany, and what is their policy about Russia? The fact is that Germany is now as she was during the Thirty Years' War—a recruiting ground for any duke, prince, bishop, or other robber bandit who possessed a bludgeon and plenty of impudence. So now she is a recruiting ground for the twentieth century robber bandits in top-hats or brass helmets who possess machine-guns and bags of paper money.

It is not surprising, therefore, to hear that conversations have taken place between Herr Mankewitz, director of the Deutsche Bank, and unofficial agents of the French Mission, at which a 600 milliard rouble loan was discussed, to be taken up by England, France, and Germany, and guaranteed by the future counter-revolutionary Government of Russia on the railway and mineral wealth of the country. Rumor has it that Germany is to supply the cannon meat (led by French officers) and England the bulk of the cash.

ALLIED CAPITAL IN GERMAN BANKS

So far, however, I am convinced that the matter has not gone beyond the stage of unofficial discussion, because among these international counter-revolutionaries the spirit indeed is willing but the flesh unfortunately is weak. Nevertheless, these symptoms deserve to be carefully watched. For it should not be forgotten that the Deutsche Bank, the Dresdner Bank, and the Disconto Bank had all three, before the war, considerable French, English and American capital invested in them, and anything in which they got their fingers is sure to have at its back high international finance that knows no fatherland and only one enemy—Socialism.

Then it must not be forgotten that there are groups here among the big industrial bosses of West Germany who have representatives in the Foreign Office, and who are out to curry favor with the Allied Military Missions. To

them can be attributed the intrigue with the French General Niessel which I announced a fortnight ago to send Bermond's German troops back to the Baltic Provinces and the Petrograd front. The correctness of my statement is proved by the fact that last week the Communist "Red Flag" four times exposed this intrigue and demanded an official explanation but the Foreign Office has so far observed a stony silence.

THREE SETS OF OFFICIAL INTRIGUES

On the other hand there are groups in the Foreign Office, the War Office, and among the big business bosses who are opposed to supporting the Russian counter-revolution, and are quite ready to enter into business relations with the *de facto* Government of Russia. The existence of these people provides part of the armoury for the Churchill-Northcliffe campaign about the so-called Bolshevik-German conspiracy. As a matter of fact, these people are no more influential than the pro-Kolchak elements here, and the two neutralized each other while fighting round the unfortunate Herman Mueller, who is one of the few people trying to be honest in the whole business.

Meanwhile it may be possible to judge the confusion reigning here on Russian affairs when I say that often two "ambassadors," pretending to represent the same part of the former Russian Empire, appear at the Foreign Office to demand recognition. And while one set of German officials is in touch with Moscow, another is ready to catch fish with Kolchak in Lake Baikal and with Denikin in the Black Sea, while a third is interested in Petlura and is printing paper money in Leipzig for some Ukrainian Government which has everything except territory to govern.

—The Daily Herald, London, January 15, 1920.

RELIEF FOR POLAND

There would perhaps be less reason for hesitation about loans to Poland if the policy of the Polish government were less obscure. We still hear from Warsaw about the heavy offensive against Poland which Trotzky is alleged to be preparing, and the Polish army is said to be so destitute of almost everything that unless the allies quickly extend aid the Poles will "either have to look to Germany for aid or make peace with the bolsheviki." Certainly Germany is in no position to extend aid, so that the only alternative is peace with the bolsheviki. This the Moscow government has been repeatedly offering to Poland, and Gen. Bliss lately testified that the real danger lay not in the alleged offensive of the bolsheviki but in the risk that the Poles, already deep in Russian territory, might go further still, making it necessary for the Russian government to resist these encroachments.

In this connection it is to be noted that Stanislas Patek, Polish foreign minister, has gone to London for a conference with Lloyd George which is supposed to relate to the British premier's request that the Poles evacuate Russian territory not assigned to them by the peace conference. Thus far the Polish government has refused to comply with this request, asserting an "ethnological" claim to the territory, to which no serious importance can be attached, and also the necessity of holding strategic position against an "eventual" attack by Russia. But a frontier which is likely to provoke a war with a stronger country can hardly be called strategic, and Poland's defense against bolshevism would be materially improved if it would disband its army and set its people to work.

In so far as Poland is to participate in the loan of \$150,000,000 for the relief of Poland, Austria, and Armenia, in behalf of which President Wilson has addressed Congress through Secretary Glass, the case for aid would be far more impressive if Poland would abandon its imperialistic efforts to expand to the furthest frontiers to which its empires once extended, and cease to be a cause of unrest in eastern Europe. By putting itself on a peace basis it would be in a position to profit by aid from outside; to lend it money to prosecute an endless war would be throwing money into a bottomless sink.

—Springfield Republican, January 29, 1920.

Official Communications of the Soviet Government

We began last week the publication of a series of complete Russian wireless statements. We continue this week and are giving below the Soviet wireless bulletins issued on October 4 and 8. These statements include a number of interesting paragraphs on the various activities of the Soviet Government, and are always modest and truthful. Next week we shall present complete wireless issues for October 7, 9, 10, 14, and possibly other dates also.

SOVIET WIRELESS OF OCTOBER 4TH, 1919. D1 1575

Military Bulletin of the Russian Soviet Republic, October 4th

NORTHERN FRONT. *Sectors of Northern Dvina and Murman.* The Red troops are continuing to advance. *Sector of Petrozavodsk.* In the region of the River Suna, we took possession, in our victorious advance, of considerable quantities of munitions as well as telegraphic and other material. An attempted attack by the enemy, forty versts to the northwest of Olonetz, broke down under our fire. *Sector of Povienets Bay.* A red hydro-aviator dropped bombs on enemy's ships.

WESTERN FRONT. *Sectors of Lepel, Borissov, Bobruisk.* The red troops have had new victories.

SOUTHERN FRONT. *Sector of Stary Oskol.* The Red troops, pushing back the enemy's attacks, took possession of a line of villages. *Sector of Pavlovsk.* The Red troops, continuing their advance, have reached a line from ten to thirty-five versts to the south and southeast of Pavlovsk.

TURKES-TAN. We have occupied Karmovitie, twenty versts to the south of Tsarev. *Sector of Chizhinski.* Second. One hundred and ten versts to the southwest of Uralsk the enemy has been repulsed toward the south.

EASTERN FRONT. *Sector of Ishim Railroad.* The Red troops have taken numerous prisoners, and have effected an advance.

The Moscow Proletariat and the Southern Front

The Moscow Communist Committee has sent to the southern front a first group of workers, to whom Kameneff delivered a moving speech, pointing out that the choice today is between Soviet power and the power of the Czar. Down there on the fields of battle this question is being decided. "We are convinced that your devotion to your duty as revolutionists is all that is needed to drive out Denikin and to enable us, on our victorious line of march, soon to attain the Black Sea, driving on before us all the bands of capitalists whom Denikin drags with him in his cars." One of the departing comrades replied to these words with the following laconic statement: "We swear by this sacred red flag there will be not one step back, only steps in advance."

Public Opinion in the Provinces

Izvestia publishes an interview with Kalinin, after his return from his tour of the regions of Tula, Penza, Samara and Orenburg. The railroad train which bears the name "The October Revolution," on its fourth trip performed a task excelling at

least by one-half each of its preceding trips. There were more than three hundred thousand auditors at the meetings; one hundred and ten thousand attended the moving picture exhibits, the greater part of the lectures taking place in the districts surrounding the railroad. The peasants, who had been informed two days in advance, came hurrying up from distant villages, many even fifty kilometers away. All came to attend, from children to old men. The peasants, who formerly considered with some skepticism the Soviet power, as the peasants of all countries consider all authorities, all of them now recognize the efforts of the Government to improve the lot of the provinces, and to organize the economic life of the country. They are displaying a limitless confidence in the Soviet power. A proof of this is the sincere acceptance of the grain monopoly. As for the workers, it is impossible sufficiently to admire both their devotion to the Soviet power and their own initiative in all fields. Thus, in the district of Kuznetsk, Government of Saratov, they have themselves installed a new glass factory, which has already manufactured two millions of military cups, and is today furnishing daily eight cases of plate glass. In another district, the workers have put up a paint factory. In most of the military hospitals which were visited, the operation, in spite of all difficulties, is excellent, and the soldiers declare themselves satisfied. Many have even been able to install X-ray laboratories. In general, the strength of the Soviet power is now growing. "That is the fundamental impression brought back from my last trip," declares Kalinin.

The Polish Domination

The Poles feel that their situation at Minsk is very unstable, because of partisan bands of Bolsheviks operating in their rear, from whom they daily expect attacks on the city. The Polish regiments recruited in the large cities have been infected with the revolutionary contagion. The Poles in the rural districts continue to be occupied with the persecution of Communists, whom they shoot down without mercy, and in the sacking of villages.

The Situation at Archangel

The *Shenkursk Journal* reprints in its entirety the minutes of the famous meeting which took place about the middle of August at Archangel, when the Whites were at bay. Governor-General Miller declared that the last attempt at mobilization had

petered out and that, in addition, the army now had a considerable number of Bolshevik sympathizers who were continuing their work. The rebellion at Onga was declared to be a terrifying incident. General Miller then went on to say that the peasant masses were absolutely refusing to fight against their Russian brothers. In the meeting, one of those present, the former President of the Municipal Council of Kholmogory, violently attacked the reactionary policy of the Government, demanding a complete reform.

Maintenance of Way Workers

At Nizhni-Novgorod a great meeting of maintenance of way workers passed a resolution calling upon the workers to enter the Red Army and to support victoriously the final battle against the White Guards.

The Butcher of Tsaritsin

Denikin, at the end of his resources, ordered a general mobilization at Tsaritsin. The workers of all factories replied by declaring a general strike, completely stopping the tramways, the water supply, the electrical service, etc. The authorities, by way of reply, redoubled their arrests. In three days the secret police imprisoned several hundred of able-bodied workers, many of whom were shot. The population is eager for the arrival of the Soviet troops.

In Siberia

In the region of Narym, Government of Tomsk, the rebellious movement has assumed tremendous proportions. In the city of Narym the workers and peasants have seized the power. Organized detachments are attacking the Whites, who have yielded ground to the Reds at many points. The peasants are forming Soviets.

Food Campaign

In the Government of Saratov, the peasants, in their assemblies, are deciding to deliver all excess grain to the uses of the alimentary service to satisfy the needs of the Red Army and of the workers of the cities. In the Government of Ryazan it is calculated that a million poods will thus be collected before the first of November. On October first, two hundred thousand poods had already been sent in by the peasants, as compared with twenty-eight thousand poods by the same date last year.

The Mensheviks and the Red Army

Izvestia publishes in full a resolution of the Central Committee of the Menshevik Party which, in view of the savage offensive of the counter-revolution, formally calls upon all the members of the party to take the most active part in the work of defense both in propaganda among the proletariat, and by their cooperation with the Red Army. The Menshevik Central Committee appeal to the Council of Defense and to the Central Ex-

ecutive Committee of the Soviets asks them to grant its members every facility in the accomplishment of their mission.

Communism and the Trade Unions

It is well known that the Federation of Book-Workers was one of the most reactionary, and that one of its divisions, up to the last "Congress of the Book," defended a position of neutrality. But since the formation of a united All-Russian Federation, on the basis of a support of Communism, the local groups of a series of cities, such as Rybinsk, Orel, Tambov, Vladimir, Kinechma, Chonia, are reporting their adhesions. At Kozlov, the printers' union has also been connected with the Yellows up to the moment of the incursion of Mamontov's hands. But the latter definitely opened the workers' eyes as to the real meaning of the pretended neutrality of the trade-union movement, and on September 9, they completely broke their relations with the Yellows, to join the All-Russian Federation.

The Whites at Kursk

Pravda reproduces the story of a young factory foreman who escaped from Kursk a few days after its occupation. "Hardly had the Whites arrived, than they gathered together all the 'maintenance of way' workers and declared to them that they were to work from the rising until the setting of the sun, and, in the shops, from six o'clock in the morning until ten o'clock at night, at wages of eight, six, or even four rubles, respectively, according to categories, and were to receive a pound and a half of bread at the rate of a ruble and a half a pound. While at work, each group of three or four is supervised by a Cossack with whip in hand. The Whites have lists of all the Communists and Soviet sympathizers, and from the very first day they set to work shooting them down, together with all the members of their families. As for the Jews, they were massacred for the simple reason that they were Jews. Thus, there lived in the same block with me two poor Jewish families of refugees from Courland, one of them a family of six, the other a family of three. All were cruelly murdered, not sparing even the little children. On the next day, the Whites ordered a mobilization of young boys of fourteen and fifteen years of age. The young men of seventeen and women from seventeen to forty were set to digging trenches. In the suburbs inhabited by railroad workers, I saw numerous corpses, most of them disrobed and without shoes. Killings took place, without examination, on the slightest denunciation. Everybody regrets bitterly the departure of the Reds. The workers are leaving Kursk in little groups in order to go to Soviet Russia. The Whites have hardly any troops and almost as many officers as soldiers. I had not left Kursk before the arrival of the Whites, because, as I was a non-partisan, I did not think they would persecute me." And yet, the reporter of this story was savagely cut with a sword-

stroke over his head, because he presented a certificate of identification which bore a Soviet seal. Thus, at the end of a week of White domination, we already find the working masses of Kursk engaged in an exodus toward Soviet Russia, fleeing from their pretended liberator as fast as they could.

Petrograd and the Southern Front

It is well known that the Red Army is equipped not only in numbers and in armaments, but much more still by the spirit which animates it and by its determination to defend the revolution and the future. For the Russian Communist Party has always made it a duty to pour into the army the greatest possible number of active communist forces which might render the army more conscious of the ideal for which it is fighting, and which might instruct and enlighten the army and thus make it invincible. The magnificent victories on the eastern front are due chiefly to agitators who succeeded in a few weeks in creating compact regiments of enthusiastic Communists. Last Saturday the Central Committee decided to make use of the same tactics on the southern front, and already the Petrograd organizations have sent three groups of their best workers. Moscow followed their example, and soon all the centers of Russia will be forwarding noted Communists to the southern front, which will inspire this front with the necessary ardor and solidarity to crush Denikin. An immense crowd of Petrograd workers, accompanying their comrades to the railroad station, noisily displayed how profoundly it felt in harmony with those who were leaving and with the soldiers at the front. "We are going to the southern front," said Zalutski, "to defeat Denikin and to conquer resources which are indispensable to us. We are struggling for coal, for grain, for everything the north needs to live on. Much blood of workers has been spilled in the struggle. The bourgeoisie will perish in this blood. Over our blood Communism will grow and flourish."

A Letter to Denikin

Lenin publishes in the newspapers the following letter on the subject of the Petrograd workers sent to the southern front: "The newspapers have already made known that the workers of Petrograd have begun an intensive mobilization and the forwarding of their best workers to the southern front. The taking of Kursk by Denikin amply justifies this burst of energy on the part of the Petrograd proletariat, and their example should be followed by the workers of other industrial centers. Denikin hopes to arouse a panic in our ranks and to force us to think only of defending ourselves on one front. Foreign radio messages show with what zeal the imperialists of France and England are aiding Denikin in this process. They are likewise aiding him by sending munitions as well as hundreds of millions of rubles. The foreign radio messages shout out to the whole world their

alleged opening up of the road to Moscow. The capitalists are trying thus to terrify us, but they will not succeed in making us afraid. Our troops have been assigned according to a well thought-out plan which is being strictly carried out. Our march against the chief fountain head of the enemy's forces is being prosecuted inflexibly. The victories won during these last few days, the taking of twenty cannons in the region of Boguchar, the taking of Vyechenskaya, all these prove that our advance against the enemy's center has been successful, and it is only this center that still affords Denikin an opportunity to organize a serious force. Denikin will be crushed as Kolchak was crushed. We are not people who can be frightened, and we shall continue our work until we have realized the victory. The taking of Kursk and the enemy's advance puts us before a problem, namely, to bring up reinforcing numbers in order to repulse the enemy at this point. Now, the workers have shown by their example that they have admirably understood this problem. Without yielding to any delusions concerning this danger, without minimizing it in any way, we may state that the example of Petrograd has proved that we have all these supplementary numbers of men that we need. In order to drive back the enemy's advance upon Orel, in order in our turn to take the offensive against Kursk and Kharkov, we must, in addition to using the forces at present at our disposal, mobilize the best representatives of the proletariat. But in order to repulse this danger to our earlier forces, we must add new detachments of vanguard workers. The proletariat, as has always been the case in the course of our revolution, will maintain and direct the masses of the working population. Already for a long time the workers of Petrograd have had to bear much more than those of other centers. Famine, the threat of foreign enemies, the sending off of their best workers across the whole expanse of Russia on all sorts of missions,—the proletariat of Petrograd has suffered more by all these things than that of any other place. And yet, we do not observe in its ranks the slightest discouragement or the slightest weakening. On the contrary, bending down into the struggle, it has there drawn new forces. It continues to send fresh forces all the time. It has admirably discharged its role of a vanguard detachment, sending supports whenever they are necessary. The soldiers drawn from the peasant class find new leaders in the midst of their class, in the midst of the workers themselves, who are more developed, more class-conscious, more courageous. That is why in our peasant army a reinforcement of this kind gives us a decisive advantage over the enemy. For the enemy, in order to strengthen his army, possesses only the spoiled children of the nobility, and we know that it was this element that ruined Kolchak, as it will ruin Denikin. Comrades, workers, all go about this new task, following the example of the Petrograd Communists!

SOVIET WIRELESS OF OCTOBER 8, 1919

The Suffering of the Red Army

THE counter-revolutionary paper *Rodina* states the importance of the victories of the Red Army in Transcaspia, ascribing its success to the superior numbers of its cavalry, which has increased owing to the fact that some of the Turkomans have openly gone over to the reds while others have left the whites, taking with them their horses, and, having seized arms, have taken to flight. The paper admits the situation to which the whites have been reduced in that region to be desperate.

As Under the Old Regime

The Latest News, published by Denikin in Novy Oskol, reports an order issued by the chief of staff of the volunteer army to suspend all its Jewish officers. Thus we return to the conditions existing before the revolution of February, 1917, when Jews were excluded from all grades of officers in the army.

The English on the Murman Coast

According to deserters from the Murman coast, the evacuation of that country by the English is due to the fact that the English volunteers have categorically refused to remain any longer in the North of Russia, and have become convinced that there is no reason whatever to make war on Soviet Russia.

The Consequences of Commercial Freedom in Siberia

The official *Messenger of Omsk* enables us to form a definite idea of the economic situation in the far East under the regime of commercial freedom raised by the Whites. The value of our rouble in the month of May was one-fourth its value in January. One cannot describe the bacchanal that is taking place among the Russian and foreign speculators in their game to debase the Russian money and ruin the Russian people. The Far East is seized by an incomprehensible craze for riches and gambling. There are two markets; one deals in money, the other in merchandise. Stock-gambling goes on mostly in both of them. One credit establishment in Vladivostok has sold one million in Siberian money at a premium of 70 per cent. All this money is concentrated in the hands of five or six houses, which dictate its price. Tsarist money is paid for a premium of 200 per cent. In regard to merchandise, this phenomenon attains huge dimensions. Its owners sell it one day to buy it back the next at a higher price, in order to resell it later at an enormous profit, exceeding by many times their temporary losses, thus lowering the value of money and raising the price of goods. In one week, for instance, the cost of merchandise and products increased 200 per cent. In Harbin the situation is still worse. Part of the population is engaged in profiteering, while the rest go to bed on an empty

stomach, convinced that their unappeased hunger will only increase tomorrow. The paper complains that not only are Russian speculators enriching themselves by hundreds of millions, but also foreigners who seem to be bent on making the lot of the Russian people worse from day to day. In the midst of these orgies of speculators, postal employees receive but 450 roubles a month, according to the same bulletin.

The Financial Situation in Soviet Russia

Izvestia reports that according to information of the Commissariat of Finance banknotes issued by the Soviet Government are meeting with a better reception in the provinces.

The Central Press Bureau

The Central Committee of the Union of Journalists, the Central Press Bureau, gives the following account of the work it has accomplished during the last four months. It has organized 254 centers of propaganda and published 90 special editions for the provinces, on the day of Soviet Propaganda. The Bureau has taken the initiative in undertaking the posting of newspapers in the streets of the capital and the provinces, an innovation that meets with great success among the people. The Bureau also is continuing to supply the army with newspapers and various other publications.

Fine Arts in Soviet Russia

The importance that the Commissary of Education attaches to object and aesthetic lessons is well known. In order to form a teaching staff capable of carrying out its program, special courses of pedagogy have been established where teachers will learn drawing, modeling and the application of various games and play in teaching. Besides, conferences on the theory of art and the program of the modern school will also take place.

Metal Workers' Congress

The Fourth Congress of Workers in the machine shops, represented by sixty delegates, the majority of whom are Communists, has just taken place in Moscow. These conferences of the governmental trust in the metal works were always of considerable importance in the development and organization of the Soviet industry. The main object of the present gathering was the question of food supply. The general tendency expressed itself in a desire for a closer union between the workers' federations and the commissary of food supply. The principle of compulsory exchange of industrial for agricultural products, approved by the latter, was recognized as a just one. It also expressed its wish to see the development of agricultural estates link themselves with that of various industrial establishments. In regard to organization, the congress stood for the collective principle in management and for identity of the executive bodies.

All the decisions of the Center must be strictly carried out. A new general directorate of the trust, the majority of which is composed of workers, was elected. The Congress calls the attention of the newly elected body to the necessity of putting into practice the article of rules giving them the right, in agreement with the Central Committee, of the metal federations to make necessary changes in the personnel in a factory management, even before the expiration of the term of its members.

The Political Movement

On October 8, the Communist Party Week took place in Moscow. Up to the 15, meetings and conferences devoted to the discussion of the communist program were held in factories and military barracks, after which workers and soldiers were free to join the party without any formalities. The aim is to enable the thousands of workers who are acquainted with the party, but who have remained out for one reason or another, to join branches and participate in the life of the party. A similar thing took place in Petrograd and gave wonderful results; the same will certainly be the case in Moscow. It proves how much the Communist Party feels itself to be the true expression of the proletarian will, since it fearlessly invites all the workers to join its ranks by a simple declaration and acceptance of its program.

It is reported from Moscow that Communist groups have been organized in many units of the garrison and in the military hospitals. Even soldiers indifferent to political doctrines turn on all occasions to the Communist committees for information on many questions.

The conference of Communists at Ryazan has decided to consider all its members mobilized and at the service of the revolutionary committee of the government.

The general assembly of railway workers of Samara and Zlatoust passed a resolution condemning political indifference at this period of the actual and decisive struggle of the workers against the bourgeoisie. There can be no non-partisan in our midst, since the latter only hinder the Soviet Government in its work.

Demoralization Among the Whites

The Military Board of Health has received information that illustrates eloquently the condition of the White guards. From the 17th to the 23rd of September, 15 military doctors, 2 pharmacists, 32 assistant doctors and 1 ambulance, with full force, went over to the Reds.

Social Welfare in Soviet Russia

The preparatory courses for inspectors of Social Welfare will be closed in the near future. In Moscow, graduation will require five years of government service. These courses will be followed immediately by a new series.

Reconstruction

Information published by the press gives us an idea of the steps taken by the Soviet power for

the best utilization by the people of the meagre resources left to it as a result of foreign invasion and the capitalist exploitation. Thus the manufacture of soap is hindered by the lack of fats, which used to come from Siberia. The main supply of soap is turned over to the Moscow cooperatives and part of it to the laundries and barber shops. A thousand pounds are kept in reserve for additional distribution of one-quarter lb. among the 180,000 workers. The reserve toilet soap is portioned out one piece a month to all children from one to five years of age. For mothers having babes in arms 7,000 lbs of soap are reserved in Moscow and 5,000 lbs. in Petrograd. There is also a reserve fund of 5,000 lbs. per month in Moscow.

Military Bulletin of Soviet Russia, October the 8th

In the Lepel region, on the Western front, the Red Army has captured a series of localities on a front of 40 versts. Twenty-five versts to the south of Zhitomir, we have made new advances. In the Kozelets district, a violent battle is taking place. On the Southern front, in the Livny region, the Red Army repelled the enemy attack. In the Kostornaya district, the combat continues to be favorable to us. In the Voronezh region, the enemy was driven a great distance to the rear. The Red Army is fighting on the outskirts of Boguchar. In the Western region of Khoper the Red Army has driven the enemy from its positions. On the Turkestan front, to the South of Tsarev, we encountered enemy scouts. The enemy attack was repelled in the South. *Uralsk region.* Forty versts south of Iletsky Gorodok, the Red Army met with great success. The Eastern front is on the Tobol; attempted enemy advances have been repelled by our fire.

Education

A great meeting organized by the League of Educational Workers and Socialist Culture took place in Petrograd on October 6. Zinoviev in his address drew a parallel between the Russian and Western intellectuals. In France, for instance, they have from the very beginning of the imperialistic war not ceased protesting against it. Lorient, the Liebnecht of France, is a plain school teacher, and besides him, the teaching profession has given many soldiers to the proletarian revolution. In Russia, the intellectual class is only beginning to awaken. Others spoke of the mistake of the intellectuals of the old socialism in their opinion that the Russian people were insufficiently prepared for the revolution. Menzhinskaya commented upon the decree of compulsory education. The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Assembled at the Uritsky Palace, after having heard the report of Zinoviev, we, the workers in the educational institutions of Petrograd, knowing more than any others the activities of the Soviet Government in the realm of civilization, proudly declare to the universe: Intellectuals and workers of the world, know ye that no government has done as much as ours in raising the intellectual level of

the masses. It has covered the country with an immense network of cultural Centers and pours out into the people a flood of knowledge which is bringing light to their consciousness. Know that all the lies of the enemies of the workers, crying out that the Soviet Government is destroying civilization, are but an indication of the malice and helplessness of an enemy at bay. We are addressing ourselves to you, intellectuals and workers of the world, and we say to you with all the power of our hearts, do not believe the Russian bourgeoisie, those partisans of the black reaction. Know that the only expression of the popular will are these very SOVIETS that the bourgeoisie of the whole world is preparing to strangle. Spread everywhere and always the truth about the Soviets, which are striving to make happiness reign over the earth. Demand of your representatives that they let alone our exhausted country that dreams only of creating a new joyous existence for those who until now lived in suffering and slavery.

The Red Army Cavalry

It is reported that to the East of Boguchar the Red Cavalry broke the enemy front and routed seven regiments, taking a great many prisoners and an enormous quantity of materials. It has also captured many localities.

In the Denikin Camp

A Bolshevik war prisoner who escaped from Denikin tells that the Red Army prisoners captured by the Whites, are, after having been beaten up mercilessly, incorporated in the ranks of the White army, which they leave at the first opportunity. The peasants are awaiting the Soviet troops with impatience. The Whites, fearing uprisings by the peasants have not dared to occupy Kriucha and Skipnikovo, abandoned by the Bolsheviki. A great unrest, resulting from the bad treatment of the officers, is apparent among the Cossacks. *The Kuban Country*, a newspaper, states that Denikin has organized a regiment of Calmucks, Tcherkesses, Ingoushes, Ossetins and Tchetchins, which is drowning in blood the revolts that are springing up in the rear. The paper fears that these revolts, which are becoming more important every day, may endanger the existence of the Denikin Government. According to *The Kuban Country*, *The Azov Country*, a Rostov daily, was fined 5,000 roubles for having published an appeal of the Mensheviki and Social-Revolutionists of the Don, exhorting all to support the Bolsheviki and the Soviets.

Sources of Fuel

By V. MILYUTIN, Vice-President of the Supreme Council of National Economy

THE enemies of Soviet Russia have used all their efforts to strike at her most effectively in depriving her of wheat and combustibles. To this end, the English have got control of the Baku naphtha wells, while Denikin and his counter-revolutionary generals are still busy with the destruction of the Donetz coal basin. Our industry is suffering most of all from lack of fuel. Nevertheless, it has been possible for the working-class of Soviet Russia to combat this, through economy of reserves, and the discovery of new fuel sources. In fact, new discoveries have just been made, which look most encouraging. Half way up the Volga, in the districts of Kazan, Simbirsk, and Samara, immensely rich beds of combustible schist and naphtha have been found. The operations have begun there already. According to communications from Gubkin, the famous geologist and mining engineer, the beds of the Simbirsk region are very extensive. He immediately set about to have it analyzed, and to get an estimate of its importance. These researches showed that there was a surface of a hundred and sixty kilometres that could be utilized, and that about two hundred million poods could be obtained from it. Samples of this deposit were sent to Moscow for analysis, and to determine whether it could be more advantageously used for fuel, or for the extraction of liquid products from naphtha. The heat value of this deposit reaches nearly 3,000 calories, and tar can be ex-

tracted from it to the amount of 15 or 20 per cent. At the order of the Supreme Council of National Economy, operations have already begun in the Simbirsk region. By the first of November this year, a monthly output of a million poods is expected. Moreover, a factory is in process of construction there for the treatment of the product. In addition to this, geological investigations have already shown that the schist deposits in another region, near Syzran, are estimated at a value of about two million poods. The proximity of the Volga and the railroads which cross that region, as well as the high quality of the schist, make this deposit even more important than the one at Simbirsk.

All operations for the extraction and treatment of combustible schist in the territory of the Soviet Republic have been concentrated in the hands of the Central Schist Committee of the Supreme Council of National Economy, under the presidency of the geologist Gubkin. Starting next spring, the Council will undertake a series of geological investigations in the regions of Novo-Uzenak and Kostroma.

The intensive exploitation of schist opens up to Soviet Russia splendid prospects for the creation of a branch of industry which is absolutely new in this country. At the same time the important question is the drilling necessary in the search for

naphtha in a region situated 20 versts up the Volga from the Tyetyushi district of Kazan. A bed of bituminous dolomite six meters thick has been discovered for a stretch of nine kilometers, directly adjacent to the Perm naphtha system. In certain parts of this bed, a thick block film of naphtha has been observed. This phenomenon is more noticeable in the district of Dolgaia Poliana. Following these favorable signs, the Council of National Economy gave the Naphtha Committee entire charge of the exploitation of naphtha in the Soviet Republic, and the immediate undertaking of drilling operations in that region. In fact, a detailed geological survey of the land is being carried out. Furthermore, the Geological Committee is sending out several geologists to examine a series of projections of naphtha and naphtha-grease in the northern part of the government of Samara, in order to determine the location of deep soundings for operations. It is needless to emphasize the importance of these fuel sources for the whole industrial life of Russia. The situation of the beds, and of the naphtha sections indicates that in the near future one of the most important industrial centers of Soviet Russia will be created there; remarkably favorable conditions for transportation are produced by the Volga and its tributaries, and by the railroad, which has the advantage of being in the most productive fuel region. The Supreme Council of National Economy is taking the most energetic measures for bringing about the greatest possible extension of operations.

(From a Moscow wireless of September 13, 1919, numbered D1 1494.)

PRE-SCHOLAR INSTRUCTION

A Soviet Wireless Message of September 22nd, 1919, Official Number Dc 1532

TAKING advantage of the fact that our review of the labor of the Pre-Scholar Section has just been completed, I would like to communicate some of the results that have been obtained. Under the imperial government pre-scholar instruction practically did not exist in Russia. Only in the capitals and in a few large cities there were kindergartens for the use of the children of the rich, which have been established on private initiative. The Commissariat for Public Instruction, from the very moment of its appointment, took the task of pre-scholar instruction in hand. The first year, nevertheless, was hardly more than a year of preparation. Important results came, but they came later. The budget for the first six months of 1919* amounted to 120 millions, and that of the second to 330 millions, a figure which is still considered insufficient. The study of 23 governments, out of 33, shows that we now have 121 kindergartens, 7 homes, 375 open air schools, and 2 colonies. These establishments serve 128,300 children. Of course, these figures are still low when we consider the

* The national budgets for the various departments of Soviet Russia are drawn up not annually, but semi-annually.

millions of children in Russia who are of pre-scholar age. And besides, it is impossible at present to offer precise statistics. Yet, in comparison with what existed before, this figure represents an enormous progress. At present the Supreme Council of National Economy has allotted to the Section for Pre-Scholar Instruction 4,740,000 arshins of cloth, 370,000 spools of thread, and 3,000 pairs of stockings. In this way each child will be supplied during these six months with 46½ arshins of cloth and 3 pairs of stockings. Although the delivery of these products will be only a gradual one and will probably be somewhat delayed, the result is thus far nevertheless a satisfactory one, and is therefore characteristic of the success of our Socialist economic organization.

In accordance with its original plan, the Section for Pre-Scholar Instruction has created comparatively few kindergartens, but on the other hand, rather a large number of model gardens. It is only the demands of the population which are now obliging us to extend our work over a larger field. Without giving up the idea of model gardens serving as centers, the Section for Pre-Scholar Instruction is opening hundreds upon hundreds of new kindergartens of a more elementary character, which are naturally to be considered as provisional.

The affection felt by the peasants for the kindergartens is something phenomenal. Often the peasants organize them at their own expense, asking us only to furnish women to teach them. The entire staff which we have prepared in a great number of provincial courses and centers is infinitely more deeply moved with sympathy for the Soviet power than was the former teaching staff. The Government intends in the future to continue this work and to spare neither resources nor energy in developing it. For the children from 3 to 8, whom we designate as of pre-scholar age, are in a formative stage of their personal development, and it is just this period in which we must implant in them the radiant principle of Socialism.

LUNACHARSKY,

People's Commissar for Public Instruction.

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HOW THE CZECHS CAME TO FIGHT SOVIET RUSSIA

PARIS, Jan. 9.—The *Daily Herald* publishes secret documents exchanged in 1917 and 1919 in connection with the Austrian separate peace attempt between the at that time President, Masaryk, and the President of the Czech National Committee at that time in Russia. The National Committee feared that through this separate peace the independence of Czecho-Slovakia would be menaced, as Austria made the integrity of her territory one of her conditions. Masaryk exchanged telegrams on this matter with Machar, the President of the Czech National Committee, characterizing the prospects for his country, in view of this situation, as serious.

A second document related to the negotiations of Masaryk with the French military authorities, who demanded as a condition for the recognition of Czecho-Slovakia as an independent state the instigation of a revolt of the Czechs in Russia against the Soviet Government. Masaryk answered in a telegram that he would not do this and could take no steps in this direction without first having thrashed out this point with the Entente. But when he received no concessions at all, he reported to Machar that it was essential for the recognition of Czecho-Slovakia to fulfill the wishes of the Al-

lies, even if this should condition bloody conflicts between the Czechs in Russia and the troops of the Soviet Government. Soon thereafter the Czechs occupied the Volga line and the Siberian railway. In Paris the greatest efforts were made to prevent the publication of these documents.

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES IN EASTERN SIBERIA

(From a private letter of a newspaper man, dated at a station on the Great Siberian Railway, near Vladivostok, December 15 1919.)

. . . Were it not for the Siberian people the Soviet Army could never have conquered Siberia. It is very difficult to make a definite forecast here, as every day we expect something new. Every morning our American railway men are coming to the office with the same old question: "Something new?"—meaning an uprising, a new government, or at least a train wreck, which we have here only too often. For the last few months trains are not running at nights, and passengers trains between Vladivostok and Habarovsk are escorted by armored cars which, to tell the truth, amount to nothing. As soon as the Reds fire on these trains the guards start tearing off their shoulder straps and throw away their rifles. . . .

We regret to admit—what the reader already knows—that we have not been able to keep our promise to print this week the Code of Laws on Labor of the Russian Soviet Republic. Next week, however,

"SOVIET RUSSIA"

will print this code in full, carefully revised as to its English and legal terminology. One of our later issues will print a full collection of all the laws relating to marriage, family relations, etc.

Among the other material in our next number will be new articles by Max M. Zippin, Lt. Col. B. Roustam Bek, and other regular contributors to SOVIET RUSSIA.

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This issue contains, in addition to the regular 24 pages of text, an eight-page Legal Supplement, containing the full text of the Code of Labor Laws of the Russian Soviet Government.

The Power Behind the Red Gun

By MAX M. ZIPPIN

THE astonishing onward sweep of the Red Army of the Russian workers and peasants in Siberia, and in the "domain" of Denikin, has naturally startled the world and compelled the Allied governments to sit up and take notice. A friend of mine with whom I was traveling over the Siberian railroads, in the days of Kerensky, and in a "courier" train at that, called my attention to the fact that the Red Army was actually making much better time now than we were, and certainly had not as many stops, nor such long ones, as we were making. Indeed, it is not at all an offensive movement that the Red Armies are performing now in Siberia. It is a walkover.

Of course, it is because it is a red army that the Red Army is enabled to accomplish all these wonders. Another army, not so animated with one great idea, and not so heartened by the conviction that the Russian proletariat will eventually come out the victor over all the forces of the exploiters and speculators, could never thus succeed, and never has thus succeeded, in the history of mankind. But there is in Siberia another power that should have an equal share in the laurels of the Red Army. I refer to the little "red" so-called "guerilla" detachments, here, there, and everywhere in Siberia, all along the wide steppes, the thick forests, the long roads, the cities, big and small, the villages and hamlets of Siberia. I refer to the Siberian Bolsheviks, who never let their guns fall from their hands, and who have been constantly boring from within that decaying body, politic and civil, of the Allied darling, Kolchak. And I am convinced that were it not for the courageous and heroic Comrades in the rear of the Kolchakists, and their martyrdom, the Russian Red forces would have hardly

had that holiday jaunt over Siberia (and this is equally true in the case of Denikin and whatever their other names may be).

In SOVIET RUSSIA attention was called to this fact several times. The map of the guerilla warfare was published by SOVIET RUSSIA in its issue of October 18, and the numerous articles on this subject, have given at least a partial conception of what the small but powerful red detachments have achieved in Siberia. But since this was all compiled from Siberian newspapers, as it could not otherwise be, and since most of what was achieved in Siberia by these little brave forces was suppressed by Kolchak's and the Allied censors, we hardly know anything of what was really done there. Only the final victory over the black forces, that is being achieved now, will make it possible for us to delve into all the facts and know the full story. Only when Russia will free herself from her enemies, interior and exterior, and be in a mood to write the profuse history of her Revolution, will we have a real insight into the great work done by the "local reds," as they are frequently referred to by the Allied press, a work as magnificent as the great Revolution itself. And only then will we know how great were the sacrifices that these "local reds" have brought, and how many of them have perished in this colossal struggle for the happiness of the Russian masses. The liberal world knows fairly well today what Kolchak has done to his opponents, even of the lukewarm type of socialists, and it requires no stretch of imagination to understand how the Bolsheviks of Siberia have fared when they fell into the hands of the Allied fighter for "democracy" who now fights no more.

And I honestly believe that we should be paying

only a small part of our debt to these brave and heroic "local reds" if we were to state that it was they that have made the victory of the Red Army so seemingly easy, and its task so apparently light. Because when the Red Army entered a city, or a village in Siberia, or else took possession of a part of the railroad, it found the ground prepared and the road ready for its coming. It was always met by a population not only friendly, but enthusiastic and impatiently waiting for it. And some one had to prepare this condition for the Red Army. Some one had to keep the great red fires always burning in the midst of that black Allied-Kolchak atmosphere. Some one had to uphold the great idea and to keep alive the great hope in those terrible surroundings created by the Kolchak blacks and Allied whites. And the "local reds" did it.

The following is again only an additional and partial enumeration of the activity of the Bolsheviks, of those true martyrs, living and working under the constant fear of death and torture at the hands of Kolchak in Siberia. I have it from information found in Siberian and Japanese newspapers, and some of the documents that have even the official stamp of the Japanese High Commander, that is, that were published by the man who was entrusted by the Big Four, or Three, or Two, or One, to ward off, as the saying goes, the red terror from Japanese and other democracies. I am merely mentioning this fact so that the gentlemen who are nosing about for sensational stuff and romantic stories for the friendly newspapers may not be disturbed and may partake of their fat meals peacefully. There is nothing subterranean about the whole affair, and there is no "special red courier" involved in it. It came by the straight legitimate road, via the Chinese, and hence, the American post offices, and not in the soles of the boots of sailor-boys, who manage apparently to carry stores of goods as large and as various in assortment as that of our big department stores, and then only in one sole of one boot—or is it a shoe?

The following is a true translation of a proclamation by the "local reds" which had a very wide circulation all over Siberia and which, as was proved satisfactorily, came from one and the same quarter, which again proves quite conclusively that when some one said some time ago, that all the red detachments of Siberia were unattached and not connected with any central organization, he was simply mistaken:

"Comrades: The foreign bands, in collusion with our thickheads and hangmen, have throttled our October revolution here in Siberia, and have overthrown our people's government.

"The enemies of the working masses, the enemies of our revolution and the Soviet republic, the friends and the sons of the bourgeois elements in alliance with the soft-bodied traitors, the Mensheviks and the Socialists-Revolutionists, are robbing us of all the freedom and rights that we have won by our blood, and for which the Russian working class has striven for long generations. They are reviving the old order that the parasites, the manufacturers, the land-owners, and the czarist officers may

again live in luxury. They are returning to the village exploiters the land that they robbed from the peasants, and to the officers their golden braid and high pay.

"Our enemies are destroying our revolutionary order, our acquired rights, together with the land riches that the workers, peasants and Cossacks have created by much labor and endurance. Let us, therefore, all of us, revolt as one man against them and let our battle cry be: *Down with the exploiters.*"

A short, concise proclamation. Nothing is told here of the future plans, as is the case with the proclamation of the Socialists-Revolutionists calling upon the masses to revolt against Kolchak, which was published in SOVIET RUSSIA 3 weeks ago. It is not necessary. The Russian workers and the poor Russian peasants know well from experience what the Soviet form of government has done for them; they know equally well that it is *their* government, and they surely know what to expect of it when it is again restored to power.

The "local reds" of Siberia need money and food to hold together their organization and their fronts. How do they do it?

"We are torn away from our center, and we are compelled to shift for ourselves for a while," reads one order of the Revolutionary Committee, "and until our Comrades will come to our rescue we shall have to acquire food and finances by means of our own."

And then comes the plan, which is as simple as you can make it, and, judging by their successes, it works remarkably well. The plan in a few words is this: The financial needs of the revolts are covered by moneys seized from Kolchak government institutions, or expropriated from rich speculators, or by compulsory contributions from the same, which amounts to about the same thing. In every town or village where there is a revolt in progress, or in contemplation, there is always a revolutionary staff that takes care of this part of the program. It will be interesting to add that there is a uniform decision by the "local reds" that the revolutionary staffs under no circumstances shall expropriate the poor or even the middle peasants. There is also a strict order to each and every red soldier to pay in full the market price for all the food and forage they are compelled sometimes to take from the middle peasants.

Ammunition is acquired by a still simpler method, namely, by getting hold of the Allied ammunition sent to Kolchak and the others. The fact that all these "bands" are thoroughly armed is conclusive evidence that this method is successful; they have no other sources there. There is even an order on hand showing how all the ammunition that the "reds" have appropriated from the Allies was delivered to the little partisan detachments spread over the Amur and Transbaikalian region. Again, by the simplest method imaginable. "For the purpose of delivering the ammunition," the order tells, "there has just been organized a big transport, consisting of the wagons and horses recently confiscated from Ataman Semionov." Perhaps that is the reason why the Chief Commander of the American forces in Siberia refused to give

to Semionov a portion of the American rifles, sent to Kolchak, and there was nearly a break in the diplomatic relations of the American Government and His Excellency, the Prince of Mongolia, the Chief of the Robber Bands of the Buriats, etc., etc., "General" Semionov. But then, sending these rifles further West, that they might reach their destination, was by no means giving full comfort to Kolchak. The "local reds" had spread all over the Siberian road, and there was at that time a pretty powerful "band" near Novo-Nikolayevsk, and, sure enough, they got some of it. All in all, it seems to me quite erroneous on the part of foreigners to "kick" against the Allied governments for their helping only one side in the Russian civil war against the other, while continuously professing not to interfere in Russian internal affairs. The bulk of the war materials sent to the "saviours" does reach the red armies, the red "bands," and the "local reds," whether the Allies will it so or not, and we should be rather thankful to them for the part they are playing.

Contrary to the popular belief, or rather to the Allied press, the "local red" armies of Siberia are organized in the most efficient manner, and most careful discretion is displayed in their mobilization. One must bring the most reliable proof that he is worthy of joining these little red forces. According to an order on hand, in the revolutionary armies of the Bolsheviki in Siberia, only volunteers are admitted, and only such as have proper recommendations from at least three persons well known to members of the groups as proved and tried supporters of the Soviet Republic. And this holds good for all the "local red" detachments all over Siberia. In the little red armies the most stringent revolutionary discipline is maintained, only the noncommissioned officers being elected by the members of the detachments, while all the other higher officers are appointed by the revolutionary staffs and are subordinate to these revolutionary staffs. The order is uniform, and while the whereabouts of the High Command of all these detachments is unknown, it nevertheless exists and displays an undisputed authority over the detachments, and is in constant communication with the local revolutionary staffs, scattered over something like five hundred fronts, over a distance of some eight thousand miles.

They have also a number of secret organizations in the Allied-Kolchak armies, whose mission is to demoralize these armies, again under the leadership of a powerful if, for a while, unseen Committee.

There is sufficient proof to show that these secret organizations have performed their task to perfection. But one can rest his case by merely quoting the Associated Press correspondent, who is not supposed to tell the whole truth as long as he can help it. The quotation is from a despatch from Taiga, at one time Kolchak's headquarters, and it reads:

"According to well informed circles the Siberian armies were demoralized under Bolshevik propaganda, and, due

to the long retreat, the men did not desire to fight. Their officers did not dare give battle under the circumstances. Because of desertions, the armies have dwindled to mere skeletons. Several units have been killed and some of the officers have gone over to the Bolsheviki."

In the Siberian cities, the Bolshevik propaganda never ceased, and the tortures and the revolting atrocities of Kolchak never hindered them. All the workers were openly with the "reds," and whenever there appeared a publication of the workers not merely for the workers, it was always Bolshevik. Of course Kolchak quickly suppressed these workers' publications, but they managed to reappear again and again, and most of the time under the same names, if under different editors. In Vladivostok, for instance, there appears and reappears a publication of the organized workers under the name *Truzhenik*, which is thoroughly Bolshevik. Another paper of the same policy appears and reappears in the Amur region under the name *Rabochiy*, and so forth. Great numbers of the town workers and of the railroad workers readily join the forces of Kolchak, in order to desert afterwards with the ammunition and equipment that the Allies have so obligingly supplied them with, even if by an awkward and bloody road. Rumors of the victories of the red armies spread like wildfire among the town workers, and are hailed with joy, and all the assurances of the Kolchak commanders to the contrary help but little. And every victory of the red armies is a signal for the "local reds" to come out into the open and prepare for the further victorious advance of the Red Armies.

One would suppose that in the villages the Socialists-Revolutionists, with their mission of democracy, and the great words of the Constituent Assembly on their lips, have more luck. Not so. In the villages as in the cities it is the "local reds" that dominate and whose propaganda is supreme.

The *Russkaya Ryetch* (Novo-Nikolayevsk) tells of a whole series of villages where the peasants refuse to pay taxes to the "government" as well as to the Zemstvos. In the village of Novotroitsky, county of Bakinsk, the peasants held a meeting and passed the following shortest resolution on record: "Taxes we will not pay and you can't do anything to us." The collector sent out a hurry call for a punitive expedition, but no punitive expedition dared approach this village. The above Kolchak organ takes rather needless pains to prove that it is all the work of the horrible Bolsheviki. In the villages of Isakovskaya, Zhuravlevskaya, Moskovskaya, Tulsкая, the paper adds, the Bolsheviki have actually all the peasants with them, and have organized them for resistance.

One county Zemstvo tells officially that the peasants of Agafonikh and of Vierkh-Agaf have refused to pay their taxes, being under the influence of the Bolsheviki. Furthermore, the mobilized (by Kolchak) in these villages are not only not handed out, but actually defended by the population.

In *Svobodnaya Sibir* a correspondent enumerates a number of official communications on hand, showing the feeling in the villages.

One reads: "The president of one of the largest

villages near Irkutsk, in answer to the question of why the collection of taxes is so slow, writes that the population flatly refuses to pay them, claiming that this government of Kolchak is only temporary, and declaring that they will pay taxes only to the Soviet governments. And he adds that there is no means of collecting, since even punitive expeditions have availed nothing."

One president of a Kirghiz village writes: "How can you expect any payments from the population? There was, first, the Provisional Government, then came the Soviet Government, then came the Siberian, then the all-Russian, then the Directorate, then the Dictatorship. The peasants plainly state that they want to wait until there will be a stable government." He too, confesses that it is all the result of the Bolshevik propaganda. The correspondent enumerates a number of villages where the peasants have done away with the tax collectors, quite openly, "that the enemies of the people should hear and learn."

There is a confession of one of the Zemstvo workers that went to the villages to carry to them the great tidings of the organization of the Siberian Committee that was to overthrow Kolchak and the Bolsheviks. It was in the Amur region where he intended to work and his experiences are related in the "Rabotnik" of Blagovieshchensk, one of those little struggling Bolshevik organs that appear and disappear again, under the nose of the watchful Allied commanders and their allies, the Semionovs and the Kalmykovs.

"Almost all of the young men in the villages have left for the Bolshevik fronts, and there remain only the old folks and the children. And it is remarkable how even the old pious peasants are supporting the Soviets. They are not at all convinced that their sons have acted right in leaving for the numerous red fronts. They are not at all sure that this action is in accordance with their religion, and their old beliefs. But then it is their own sons, their own blood, and right or wrong, they cannot help siding with them. But while their feeling towards the Bolsheviks is somewhat hazy, their hatred toward Kolchak is both open and outspoken, and their hostility towards the Zemstvos and all the other so-called democratic organizations is even more glaring. Often our workers were attacked bodily by the old villagers who blamed all the troubles on us. 'Why don't you let our sons alone? Why do you come to aggravate us in our pain? It is enough that we have two fighting sides, and there you come with a new one.'—were interrogations and explanations that were hurled at our workers from all sides at the meetings.

"One of our workers was nearly torn to pieces because he had chosen to make an insulting remark about one of the leaders of one of the villages, one who had since gone to the red front. Grishka was his name, and the Zemstvo instructor tried to belittle him, telling the peasants that Grishka was after all only an illiterate. A wonderful cry of anger came from all sides. They have known Grishka since childhood and they can all vouch for

his honesty. Besides, 'if he was as unimportant as you say', came from one of the audience, 'how is it that the Americans, the Japanese, the English, the French, and all the world are after Grishka?' One had to hear the outbursts of the peasants. They are actually proud that one of theirs has become so important a figure as to have the whole world of governments after him."

Another one tells of his experiences in the Transbaikalian region, another of the Japanese-Semionov "spheres of influence." The villages are almost depopulated, the young men having gone to the fronts of the "local reds," and the old folks and the children hiding in the woods or in the surrounding hills from the wrath of the Japanese and Cossack fighters for democracy. No cultivation is visible for hundreds of miles, and nothing but bare land is before the eyes. The little houses are closed tightly and only here and there, from the interior of some, a sigh comes that is quickly choked off. They have had many assaults by the punitive expeditions and they are in constant fear of such. There is no oil to be gotten and when night arrives a gruesome darkness enwraps the village. The schools have long passed out of existence. The libraries that were built once with so much love and hope, are like phantoms. Only once in a while the frightful monotony is broken by an outburst of a drunken cry or intoxicated laughter from one drunk with the poisonous Japanese liquor or Kolchak monopolized vodka.

The relater tried to organize the remaining few into a local of the Socialist Revolutionist party. He was nearly stoned. They wouldn't hear of any other party but the Bolsheviks, or rather the Soviet party. They openly lay all the blame for their plight at the door of the Socialists-Revolutionists and the Zemstvos. Weren't these parties once supporting Kolchak and the Allies? Not a kopeck would they give for the so-called democratic organizations. Surely nothing to the tax collectors. But the secret emissaries of the "local reds" that come in the nights are fed with the peasants' last crumbs.

The following humorous incident happened in the village of Tabagatay, in Transbaikalia. The villagers, for the most part old men, have sacked the big flour mill of Goldobin there and the stores were quickly despatched to the red fronts of the neighborhood. Previously the Bolsheviks had organized a full detachment in that village of the local young men. The leader was one officer, Smolin, by name, a stranger to the villagers, but a powerful and convincing speaker who quickly won the masses for the cause of the Soviets and was idolized by them. When the punitive expedition came, the leaders disappeared and the peasants left there have suddenly all become "dark people." "We are a dark people," they pleaded, "and we only do what we are ordered to. An officer came and told us to organize for the defence of the fatherland, and we did. He then told us to carry off the flour of the mill because the owner was against the fatherland, and because it was needed for the defenders of the fatherland, and we obeyed. We are only a dark people."

And these are only fragments of the big story of what the "local reds" have done and are doing in Siberia to prepare the road to victory of the great red armies.

Of course, it must be conceded that the Kolchakists and their Allies have helped greatly these little red "guerilla" forces by the mere fact of their being so cruel and atrocious to the population. I presume President Wilson had just these atrocities of Kolchak and the Allies in Siberia in his mind when he said, in his message to the Jackson day diners at Washington: "The world has been made safe for democracy, but democracy has not been finally vindicated. All sorts of crimes are being

committed in its name, all sorts of preposterous perversions of its doctrines and practices are being attempted." The unspeakable Russian Monarchists and their friends, the foreign Imperialists, were undoubtedly powerful, if unwilling, confederates of the "local reds" in Siberia, and have greatly helped the latter to win the fullhearted trust and the unwavering support of the masses. But this does not diminish in the least their gigantic accomplishments. And while we express our wonder and admiration of the great Red Forces of the Russian workers and peasants, let us not forget the little red "guerilla" and the "local reds" detachments that have paved the victorious road for them.

The War in Russia

Strategical and Political Reflections

Washington, Feb. 11, 1920.

"If you wish your opponent to withdraw, beat him," said Marshal Foch (*The Principles of War*, page 36).

The Russians have beaten their opponents and beaten them severely, and the latter have not only withdrawn but they are compelled to acknowledge that Russia "cannot be crushed by force." "A ring of fire around Russia is impossible," admitted Premier Lloyd George in his speech in the House of Commons, because "the Baltic States are making peace with the Soviet and no nation apparently is willing to provide the funds for a continuance of military operations."

"We have failed to restore Russia to sanity by force. I believe we can save her by trade," declared the British Prime Minister, and it seems to us that it is more likely that Lloyd George, thanks to the inexplicably paradoxical situation, is restoring his own sanity after the bitter lesson which the Allies have received from Moscow.

"One year ago, continued Lloyd George, I expressed the opinion that armed intervention was not the real means for reconstruction in Russia; but I was not listened to." This hypocritical confession of the responsible planner of the war against Russia inspires serious reflection. In those days apparently, in 1918, when Great Britain was busy together with France, intriguing in Russia and trying by all means to overthrow the Soviet Government, the London War Office, in co-operation with representatives of the Russian reactionaries, was busy elaborating a plan of campaign against the Russian people. The war in Russia was necessary for the general policy of Premier Lloyd George, not so much for the abolition of the Soviet regime in Russia and the re-establishment of a united powerful state, as for the weakening of the Russian nation physically and economically.

André Glarner, writing from Paris to the London "*Evening Telegram*," on January 19, 1919, regarding the divergencies in the political aims of Great Britain and France in Russia, said: "It is to Great

Britain's interest that Great Russia should not be reconstituted, for there have been in the past too many conflicts between Russian and British interests in the East, and there would be the danger of similar conflicts in the future. Mr. Lloyd George is all the more inclined to take this attitude because he knows he has the support of the Labor Party, which, like the French Socialist Party, does not favor intervention in Russia."

Clemenceau naturally understood a strong Russia as an imperialistic Russia which may support capitalistic France by means of a strong military alliance, while the British Premier regarded the restoration of a strong united Russia, imperialistic or communistic, with equal prejudice; his political aim was the complete disintegration of what had been the Russian Empire. Therefore Lloyd George, powerful and influential in those days, unquestionably able to prevent armed intervention, and, by recognizing the Soviet Government, to put an end to the civil war in Russia, preferred to prolong that war as long as possible.

"It is hardly the business of the Great Powers," said Lloyd George to the Council of Ten on January 16, 1919, "to intervene in lending financial support to either side, and there seemed to be three possible policies: (1) Military intervention, (2) A cordon sanitaire (the blockade), and, (3) To summon these people to Paris to appear before those present, somewhat in the way that the Roman Empire summoned chiefs of outlying tributary states to render an account of their actions."* The last proposition speaks for itself. Russia was condemned in advance by the British Premier to be a tributary state of Capitalistic Europe.

At the same time, Lloyd George frankly admitted that, "if he now proposed to send a thousand British troops to Russia for this purpose, the armies would mutiny. The same applies to U. S. troops in Siberia; also to Canadians and French as well. The mere idea of crushing Bolshevism by military

* "The Bullitt Mission to Russia—Testimony before the Committee on Foreign Relations," Huebner, New York.

force is pure madness. Even admitting it were done, who would occupy Russia? No one can conceive or understand bringing about order by force." In regard to the suggestion of besieging Soviet Russia, the peace-loving Prime Minister of civilized England pathetically exclaimed that this would be "not a health cordon, it is a death cordon," and he continues: "Moreover, as a matter of fact, the people who would die are just the people that the Allies desire to protect. It would not result in the starvation of the Bolsheviki, it would simply mean the death of our friends. The cordon policy is a policy which, as human people, those present could not consider."

With regard to the military ability of the anti-Bolshevik leaders, Lloyd George was very skeptical, summing up the geographical and strategical circumstances of the country. Neither Denikin nor Kolchak and General Knox held the confidence of the British Premier, who was absolutely convinced that the Czecho-Slovaks would not fight the Russians because they "are very democratic, and they are not at all prepared to fight for the restoration of the old conditions in Russia."

Speaking of a possible meeting with the Bolsheviki in Paris or somewhere in Europe, Lloyd George ridiculed the idea that their appearance amongst the representatives of the civilized nations would convert France and England to Bolshevism, as is feared, and for his part, Mr. Lloyd George was not afraid of Bolshevism if the facts should become known in England and the United States. The same applied to Germany, he said; he was convinced "that an educated democracy can be always trusted to turn down Bolshevism."

All this was said by the Premier Lloyd George, while a concentration of the Allied forces in Russia and the equipment of the reactionary Russian armies was in full progress, and soon thereafter a most terrible and criminal war against the Russian people was started, led by the same British Prime Minister who considered such a war to be a product of madness.

The crime of the Twentieth Century, which was begun by the Kaiser, has been completed by Clemenceau and Lloyd George, with the sole difference that the Kaiser, when he challenged the world, was certain that he could lead Germany to victory, and sincerely believed in the strength of his army, while Lloyd George plunged his country into the suicidal adventure in Russia, certain that it would be a failure, and understanding that intervention and the blockade were a crime against humanity.

Now after an all-round break-down of his military plot in Russia, Lloyd George again dares to appear as a savior of Russia, but now disguised as Hermes. He believes he can "save Russia by trade."

A new intrigue to overthrow the Soviet Government is being planned in London. The perfidious politicians of the West still do not realize that their whole conspiracy has for a long time stood revealed at Moscow. They do not or will not understand that, having been forced to recognize the defeat of their enemies by all the world, Soviet

Russia is strong enough to force the Allies to recognize its government also. They do not understand that even a complete cessation of hostilities cannot be accomplished without a formal armistice, followed by a peace treaty and later by treaties of the several states with the Soviet Government of Russia, the country with which these states are anxious to resume trade. Only such treaties can guarantee any exchange between the interested countries and Russia, and only when this is accomplished honestly and fairly can the Allies expect a complete demobilization of the Russian army. The armistice with the Soviets is the first act of approachment, and this act in itself is a recognition of the Soviets. Therefore the new aim of the Allies in Russia, to establish there an anti-Bolshevist "democratic" government, may be considered as nothing else than a new challenge to the Russian Republic, a warning to the victorious Russian people to meet the old foe advancing a screen of alleged commercial connections.

Soviet Russia sincerely desires a peace, a peace as offered by her to the Allies on many occasions and still open, while, victorious and strong as never before, the Soviet Government now desires a formal conclusion of an unequivocal peace treaty with its enemies, because it does not want to live under the constant threat of war. Otherwise the armies of the Russian people may have to fight for this peace, and there is not the slightest doubt that they will win. Lloyd George is quite right in saying that "there is nothing to fear from a Bolshevik invasion of surrounding countries, or the middle East," because the Soviet Government is far removed from any idea of any kind of invasion, but not because, as the British Prime Minister suggests, "the Bolsheviki cannot organize a powerful army." Mr. Lloyd George may be assured that there is sufficient military strength in Russia to clear the territory of the Russian Federal Republic of invaders and put an end to the foreign military occupation of parts of the territory of Russia proper which remain under control of England and France. And this deliverance will be accomplished, if necessary, not with any idea of imposing a foreign rule upon the people of these regions, but with the general aim of Soviet Russia, to free them from the political and economic slavery of Western Capitalistic imperialism, thus permitting their people freely to achieve their own ideals of government.

The strategical position of Soviet Russia at the present moment is such that its government can speak with the Allies in quite a different language than it has thus far been using. A study of the military situation in which Russia finds herself now proves this. There is now much news about the Archangel and Murmansk regions, but as far as we can gather, the Allies have completely liquidated their affairs in that part of Russia, under the protection of the severe arctic winter. They undoubtedly have shipped from Archangel and Murmansk all the material which they were able to save, as well as evacuated those Russians who expressed a willingness to leave their motherland for ever. This

the Allied officials accomplished, expecting with the coming of spring to meet the Russians in a more peaceful atmosphere, in order that they might hand over the occupied places to the Soviets. We do not consider as possible any fighting in these remote regions of Russia.

The tragic end of Kolchak, who was killed, possibly after a trial, by his own soldiers, is a reflection of the liquidation of the so-called "All Russian Government," and relieves the Soviets of the problem of dealing with this Supreme Ruler, the worst of modern times. With his death ends the counter-revolutionary movement in Siberia, where a fresh organization, similar to that of Kolchak, is absolutely impossible. After such bitter experiences as the Allies have had with the "All-Russian Government," even the Japanese are realizing that there is no way to approach Russia except by dealing directly with Moscow.

Since the complete failure of armed intervention in Russia, Japan found herself deserted by the Allies, and her military position in Eastern Siberia has become critical. On several occasions we have expressed our view that the Japanese policy towards Russia was far from being based on the principle of conquest of Siberian territory, and this our supposition was recently confirmed by the Japanese Premier Hara in a cable from Tokio (delayed, the *Sun* of Feb. 11). "Japan has absolutely no territorial ambitions in Siberia," stated the Japanese Prime Minister in parliament. "We will not take a single square foot of territory, and the minute the Red menace is settled, Japan will withdraw every soldier." And this was emphasized by the statement of General Oi, Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese troops in Siberia, who said: "If Japan had any such aims in view, she would not have waited until the present moment. Had she wanted anything in Siberia, she would have taken it long before this—at any time, at her convenience." And further on, General Oi continues: "We understand that Japan alone is unable to guarantee peace in the immense Far East, and that it is necessary for Japan to co-operate with another large power, such as Russia."

Summing up these two statements, it is not quite clear what Premier Hara means by the "Red menace," and what "large power, like Russia" General Oi has in view, that will co-operate in the Far East with Japan. Russia is all Red now, and there cannot be any menace from Russia to the rest of the world, now that the policy of the Soviet has been openly and firmly declared. Ultimately, with the triumph of the Russian revolution, this "menace" had ended; but, on the other hand, if General Oi supposes that Russia will aid Japan in the aggressive policy toward China and Corea, he is entirely mistaken. Russia will not co-operate with any state in any imperialistic movement.

The last uprising in Northern Corea is no more of Russian origin than are similar movements in India, Egypt and Persia. All these movements

arise from purely local conditions. The oppressed Koreans no longer could stand the Japanese tyranny, and they have arisen, arms in hand, to defend their independence, and Japan must reckon with this significant event, just as she must observe very carefully what unexpected surprises may be expected in China, and especially in Mongolia.

In view of these complicated political circumstances, naturally, the Japanese were unable to undertake any determined military operations in Siberia, otherwise we would have seen long ago in the first line of the Kolchak army, west of the Lake Baikal, twenty millions of Koreans, even poorly armed though they may be, and 400,000,000 Chinese in their rear, prevented any possibility of Japan's properly supporting Kolchak, and there cannot be any question of a war waged by Japan against Russia, especially on Russian soil.

Therefore we are much surprised to find, in the editorial of the *Sun and New York Herald*, of February 3, 1920, a very dangerous suggestion to Japan regarding aggression by her against Russia." Should the outcome be another war in this presumably warless world," says the *Sun* and the *N. Y. Herald*, "should Japan find it necessary to throw a large military force into Siberia, to head off the on-sweep of Bolshevism toward her shores, it will be a clear case of self-defense. In that event, there should be no criticism of Japan in other countries, least of all in this country," viz., America. Well, does the *Sun* realize what a war between Japan and Russia would mean? Did the author of this editorial study the general political situation of the world before writing these words? We are sure he did not, and it is clear to us that had he gone seriously into the matter, he would have refrained from any such suggestion, and we are ready to explain why. America wants peace; the Americans are far from any idea of supporting the Japanese in their conquests in China, Corea, and least of all in Siberia, and, in spite of this real feeling of the majority of the American people, America might be enticed into a war with Russia, in case British intrigues should push Japan into that disastrous adventure. Japan cannot act single-handed and it is not Great Britain or France which can help her—no one except America could support Japan against the Russian people. Will Americans do that? The answer to this question we are leaving with the Americans themselves.

In Southern Russia the situation is speedily progressing in favor of the Russians. The Russian troops, in spite of a useless and criminal bombardment by the British fleet, have entered Odessa, thus again proving that a navy alone, without a strong landing force, is powerless against shore defenses.

It is really inexplicable how patiently the British are tolerating the mockery of their military and naval puppet, Winston Spencer Churchill, who practically tried to kill the last chance for Great Britain's approaching Russia, and who gradually leads his country into a most terrible debacle from with-

in. The drama of Novo-Rossiysk is very characteristic. Denikin's officers, in order to save their own lives, are hurrying up embark themselves and their families on board a transport. Following the example of their gallant chief, they are abandoning their men to their own destiny. Such a cowardly and base morale on the part of the commanding element of the Denikin forces naturally disgusted the men, who promptly sentenced their leaders to death and sank the ship from the shore batteries. Is it not a remarkable example for those who try to find the reality on which to base a judgement of the morale of the Russian Revolution?

According to a despatch from London, dated February 12 (N. Y. Times, Feb. 13), the pursuit by the Russians of the remnants of Denikin's forces into the Crimea is being continued. The London War Office admits that the resistance of the invaders to the Russians appears "entirely to have collapsed with the Red occupation of Odessa. The Reds now are pushing towards the Dniester along a front of 120 miles," the message says, and goes on to say that the Reds are making rapid progress in the steppes region, with Sebastopol and Theodosia, ports in the Crimea, as their objective. The seizure of the Petrovsk Railroad by the Reds naturally "would constitute a serious threat" to the reactionaries and their supporters, because their communications with the volunteer fleet in the Caspian Sea, which has its base at Petrovsk, will be cut off. At the same time, the Russian army is approaching Yekaterinodar, which the reactionaries are hastily evacuating and which is very probably already in the hands of the Russian forces. We must not forget the fact that Yekaterinodar was the main headquarters of Denikin, being his military and administrative center. And the British, instead of sending troops "to save" the Caucasus, as was recently reported from London, are hurrying 200,000 troops out of Batum, and following the example of their General Denikin, are transporting their troops to Constantinople. "The advices do not state," says the message, "whether the situation at Batum, which recently had been regarded as threatening, had improved (sic), warranting the withdrawal of the British, or if it had grown worse and the British were compelled to withdraw" (N. Y. Times, Feb. 3).

In any case, we can assure our readers that there are no British officers who will withdraw voluntarily from that region. They were compelled to withdraw from a purely strategical standpoint, and we foreshadowed this a long time ago. The whole Caucasian population hates the British, and naturally joined the Russians in clearing their country of the common foe, and they have succeeded in doing so.

There was a successful Russian attack on the North-Western front, in the Dvina Sector, which put an end to the Lettish operations against Russia.

On the western front, there reigns absolute silence. Rumania, as Lloyd George said, is anxiously watching Hungary, and passively looking to the

East, while the Poles are negotiating peace with Russia.

The end of the sanguinary tragedy in Europe and Asia is approaching, and neither Lloyd George nor any other capitalistic peace maker will be able to prevent it.

Forging Soviet Newspapers

Official Soviet Wireless of October 15, 1919

It is hardly necessary to point out at this time that lies about Soviet Russia are in very active circulation. Nor do we need to state that the Soviet Government occasionally issues official refutations of these lies. A particularly interesting form of deception is the subject of the wireless message given below.

REPLYING to an English wireless message, we are authorized to declare that there never has taken place any Communist meeting in which any statement was made to the effect that Soviet troops were incapable of maintaining a winter campaign. On the contrary, all the resolutions passed by all the meetings give evidence of the firmest determination to continue, until a final triumph over the imperialistic brigands, the defensive war that has been imposed from without on the Russian workers. Not only are the Soviet troops on all fronts determined to hold their lines, but they will also drive out the White Guards, and all the supporters of the Entente in the territories invaded by them. It may be that Denikin's army is aiming at Moscow as its objective, but we are in a position to declare that the Soviet Government, far from having decided to evacuate the city, is determined to press its advance as far as possible into the South. The newspaper *Pravda*, which speaks of the projected evacuation of Tula, can be nothing else but one of the sheets that have been invented and manufactured entirely by the agents of the Entente.*

The enemies of the Soviet Republic will soon learn to their cast that Petrograd is no more in danger than Moscow. Aside from these corrections we must congratulate the English wireless station on the preciseness of its communications.

* Soviet wireless messages have already given information on these sheets. They are printed outside of the boundaries of Soviet Russia, and are precise imitations, except as to the nature of their contents, of the appearance of official and party newspapers published in SOVIET RUSSIA. See SOVIET RUSSIA, No. 23 (November 8, 1919).

Russian Soviet Laws

Our readers will find in this issue the promised Code of Soviet Laws on Labor. We are pleased to inform them that we intend, in the very near future, to print another, larger supplement, containing all the Laws of the Soviet Republic on Marriage and Family Relations. It is probable that these laws will be printed in pamphlet form by the Russian Soviet Government Bureau, for sale at a low price. This will be the best answer to misrepresentations of conditions in Soviet Russia.

The Young People's Movement in Russia

BEFORE the February Revolution of the year 1917 there was in Russia no movement of the young people of the working class, as far as the existence of special young people's organizations was concerned. The youth of the working class was represented in the illegal, underground, general socialistic circles and organizations and comprised in them the most advanced element. The young people's circles existing here and there were very slight, as a result of their working conditions, and consisted in the majority of cases of intellectuals and students attending the gymnasias or engaged in graduate or private study. Only among the Polish and Jewish youth were there germs of young people's organizations.

The bourgeois young people's movement also appeared very weak. Even the bourgeois youth and that of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia was not organized, to say nothing of the youth of the working class, who remained away from the liberal and Christian young people's societies. The organizations of the youth of the schools, labor units for the cultivation of the land belonging to men at the front, the organizations for aid to wounded soldiers, etc., were very small in number, and collapsed at the first breath of the Revolution before they had had a chance to develop. The February Revolution gave the working and peasant youth of Russia a chance to proceed to the building up of their own organizations. Throughout Russia great activity began in this direction.

The first to be established was the Petrograd organization. Immediately after the outbreak of the February Revolution organized groups were formed in the large works and factories of Petrograd among the working youth. The latter were particularly numerous in the three great factory districts of the city, in the Narva, Peterhof, Viborg, and Neva quarters. After the organizing, at first on the basis of city districts, these groups later formed a general city organization, named "Labor and Light." The fact that bourgeois-liberal elements had sneaked into the organization accounted for the absence of any political platform; the organization pursued solely cultural and educational aims, and its program of work continued a good deal of chauvinistic appendages. It may be well understood that such an organization could not long satisfy the radical element. And so it happened that in June, 1917, an independent group was formed for the purpose of founding a new "Socialist Federation of Working Youth." Several city district organizations that had seceded from the "Labor and Light" at once joined the new organization. On August 18, 1917, the first general city conference of the working youth of Petrograd took place. It did away completely with the "Labor and Light" society and sanctioned the "Socialist Federation of the Working Youth of Petrograd"

as the sole unified organization of the young workers. At the same time the Conference joined the Young People's International. Although the political platform of the new organization was of a general socialistic nature, its activity from the first stood under the sign of Bolshevism. Only isolated intellectuals stuck to the Right or Centrist Socialist groups. But this was true of very few of the young people of the working class and very rare in the case of juvenile workers.

The sphere of work of the Socialist Federation of Working Youth included activity in political, cultural, and educational fields, then the protection of the economic interests of the young people. Training conscious fighters for Socialism, raising of the general level of development of the young people, the six-hour day for juveniles below 18 years of age, the abolition of night work, and other measures for the protection of young workers—these were the essential points of the working program of the Socialist Federation of Working Youth. The organization was divided according to city districts. The membership was not particularly large, at one time attaining the number of 16,000. The society worked in close connection with the Petrograd Bolsheviks, but at the same time was regarded as an independent organization. The Petrograd society published the magazine called *The Young Proletarian*, the first number of which appeared on November 15, 1917. The society defended the Revolution with arms. Thus in February, 1918, at the time of the advance of the Germans the society went to the front nearly *en masse* and there organized fighting divisions of the young people's federation. Petrograd remained without active members and the organization approached dissolution. Only after the conclusion of the Brest peace it was reorganized, and it has continued its activity to this day. All through, many members of the organization have been active in the Red Army, Communist, Soviet, and other workers' organizations of adults.

In June, 1917, there was founded in Moscow the organization known as the Society of Young People with the Moscow Committee of the former Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, or Bolsheviks. The great majority of the members were young workers. Only expressed Bolsheviks were accepted for membership, although without compulsion of party membership. The purpose of the society was to deepen the Marxist view of life among its members, to spread Bolshevik ideas among the working youth, to protect the economic interests of juveniles, to further general intellectual development, and not least to work for active membership in the party. There were 200 members. The activities of the society were in close conjunction with those of the party. It was formally a subordinate division of the party.

The sixth party conference of the Bolsheviks, held July-August, 1917, adopted a resolution regarding the organizing of the young people which says that the young people's societies must be spiritually bound up with the party but must at the same time retain their indolence. In view of this resolution, and as a result of the necessity of carrying the work out into the widest masses of the young people, the society was reorganized. In the program of the new organization, "The Federation of the Working Class Youth of the Third International," it was announced that the organization would fight on the one hand against the Social-traitors, and on the other against the Anarchists as a petty-bourgeois movement. Meanwhile the society united great masses of non-partisan, politically uncertain working class youths. The number of members vacillated between 2,500 and 4,500. The mass of the young people soon came under the influence of a central division of young Bolsheviks and were soon convinced of the correctness of Bolshevik ideas. The society did political propaganda work and cultural work, at the same time developing great activity in the field of labor protection for juveniles by advancing among other things the demand of the six-hour working day for young workers up to the age of eighteen, supported the party in its daily running work and provided the party from its own ranks with new fighters for Socialism.

In the days of the October Revolution, during the fight with the counter-revolutionaries in the Ural region, on the Don with the Czecho-Slovaks, at the time of the advance of German imperialism against Soviet Russia and at the present moment when the republic of the proletariat is fighting numerous enemies, the Moscow branch of the Federation of the Working Class Youth of the Third International, as well as the branches of the other cities, sent out many fighters for Communism who, first in the ranks of the Red Guard and now of the Red Army, have proved objectively that the proletariat is able to give his life when it is a matter of liberating himself.

We spent more time describing the Petrograd and Moscow organizations because they are regarded as the models upon which the organizations of the working class youth of the country at large have been built up, and while the latter bore different names, they did essentially the same work.

Very shortly after the February Revolution young people's organizations were formed, not only in the capital cities and in larger towns in the country at large, but even in smaller towns and factory settlements, and even out in the country. While in the cities and in the individual factory plants the societies of the young people were pure class-organizations in their make-up and in their purpose, the newly formed organizations of the peasant youth in the country were to serve in most cases purely cultural and entertainment purposes. More rare was the formation of societies of a socialistic character in regard to their purpose. Such organi-

zations were grouped mainly about factory towns, the working youth of which performed organizing work among the peasants in the surrounding villages. However, the greatest part of the peasants' organizations were far removed from politics. They adopted the most sentimental names, such as "Awakening," "Dawn," and the like.

The October Revolution gave the young people's movement the next impetus and advanced the spontaneous arising of organizations and furthered their activity. Immediately after the October Revolution there arose in Petrograd and Moscow the idea of calling an All-Russian Congress, and in that connection came up the necessity of an All-Russian young people's organization. But there were many hindrances in the way of the convening of such a Congress, thus first of all the grave political events, the difficult situation of Russia and other factors. Nevertheless, in October, 1918, it was found possible to call the Congress. It was opened on October 29 and remained in session until November 14. The Congress was attended by 178 delegates representing 20,000 members. The results of the Congress were the organization of the work on an All-Russian basis, the setting up of a general program, and the working out of a uniform constitution, then the formation of the All-Russian Communist Young People's League, and the election of the Central Executive.

At the present time the League has a membership of 70 to 80 thousand juvenile workers and peasants, united in 600 to 700 organizations. To the All-Russian Young People's League belong the young people's societies of the Ukraine, Lithuania, and White Russia, forming two organizations, the Communist Society of Working Class Youth of the Ukraine and the Communist Young People's Society of Lithuania and White Russia. Thus both form a part of the All-Russian Communist Young People's League. The first-named has 10,000 members and has branches, particularly in the cities. The first Congress took place in Kiev July 25, 1919. The other, as a result of the occupation of Lithuania and a considerable part of White Russia by White Guards was at the time paralyzed. The individual societies in Russia are divided according to provincial and district areas; often sectional congresses and conferences are called.

The main body of the League are working and peasant youths and only a small part belongs to the Communist intelligentsia. The young workers and peasants are accepted freely as members, while an intellectual must first have recommendations and a test period. The League has several printed organs. In all there appear at present 15 magazines and 2 dailies. The Central organ of the League, *The Young Proletarian*, appears in Moscow. The strongest organization is in Petrograd and has over 6,000 members, distributed over 14 district organizations. Each of the latter has its own club and in the various factories and shops party groups. From the members of the League was formed a division of 1,000 troops, a part of which

is now serving on the Petrograd front, while the rest are protecting the interior of the city. Recently the League had a mobilization which called several thousand of the members to arms. Many active workers are thereby called away, and this hampers the work. In some villages societies' activities were suspended because of the absence of the best workers. Meanwhile the activity of the League has not been completely stopped, and it is

being strengthened and extended visibly by the addition of new unused forces from among the working youth.

For the 5th of October the Central Executive has called the second All-Russian Congress of Young People's Societies, which will without a doubt strengthen the young people's movement in Russia and advance its development to a high degree.

Moscow, July 25, 1919.

Two Years Ago

The Testimony of a Menshevik

IT is easy now to point out the mistakes of the Russian Communists and to criticise their tactics, partly from the point of view of morality and humanitarian ethics. Nor is it more difficult, in view of the complete disorganization of Russian industry, of the increased misery, poverty and famine, to condemn the system now in force in Russia. But we should ask, what was the situation in Russia before the November revolution?

The author of these lines in 1917 belonged to the Russian Social Democratic party, which was energetically combatting the Bolsheviks. However, during the two years that have elapsed, I have had an opportunity to convince myself that the November revolution was really a historical necessity, and that many things that we formerly thought impossible may now be explained and justified on this assumption. Particularly the course of the German revolution and the German economic situation have enabled us to understand more objectively the conditions in Russia.

Let us recall the situation in Russia on the eve of the November revolution. The army was completely disorganized and wanted peace. The situation in the interior of the country was extremely dark, the provisioning was insufficient. The *Official Journal of Commerce and Industry* published on October 1st, 1917, an editorial article entitled "The Economic Debacle" (*Razval*), adding data on the increasing number of enterprises that were disintegrated. The Mensheviks then demanded radical measures in the direction of the nationalization of big industries. The Kerensky government itself demanded a monopoly of sugar and the nationalization of the mines. In spite of this the information was widespread that Russia was on the eve of an economic catastrophe that no one could spare her.

The industrial leaders were sabotaging openly every measure undertaken by the government. Economic and political struggles were becoming more outspoken. The reaction was again becoming stronger and the advance of the troops of Korniloff showed that the government had no other allies than the revolutionary masses of the workers and soldiers. But it sought to attach to itself the bourgeois parties, and that is why it remained

socially and politically hanging in the air and why it was economically sterile. Of the bourgeoisie only the very young fought for it.

The Bolsheviks might easily have seized power, since the Kerensky government had fallen into an *impasse* from which there was only one way out—either to go back, to go with the reaction, or to advance towards a purely Socialist government, determined to put an end to the war, and to try by means of energetic economic measures to remedy the poverty situation. The Bolsheviks have not succeeded in these two things, but Fate, and not they, are to blame.

It was clear that if there was no outside help Russia could not either end the war with a peace that would be at all honorable, nor survive her economic conditions, nor transform conditions in the direction of Socialism. But what else was a Socialist government to do when in power? Was it to continue the bourgeois policy, voluntarily to put itself under the yoke of Entente imperialism?

The time required for Socialization would be long, and even many of the Bolsheviks themselves opposed hastening it; but quick decision was required of them, partly by the struggle that they were waging and the international situation, but chiefly by the German imperialism after the peace at Brest-Litovsk. Industrial managers did not want to continue operating the enterprises, at least not after there was any opportunity to sell them. Germany wished to obtain an entirely special position in case there should be anything that was not nationalized. We must admit without exception that the organization that has been created is quite insufficient, but the fault falls upon other shoulders, particularly on those of the intellectuals who sabotaged this reorganization. In short, the moment has not yet come to judge and estimate all that the Bolsheviks have done or not done in this period. But it is certain that only they dared to save Russia, by their own force, out of this extraordinarily difficult situation, and to oppose the old imperialism and to throw into the masses the torch of social revolution.

Disregarding the gigantic effort of the Bolsheviks in the field of education, their rule, as such, has

a magic influence on the masses. Without doubt the material situation of the workers has grown considerably worse during the past few years, since Russia was generally impoverished. Without doubt the struggle for existence is today much more difficult than it was, and yet the mass of the Russian workers rallies to the Soviet power, since it is their own power, since thanks to this power they have attained an entirely different social position. And even the Menshevik opponents of the Bolsheviks consider it necessary in principle politically to defend the existing system against all the Denikins and Kolchaks.

We surely cannot close our eyes to a series of mistakes, even of crimes, committed by the present system, but we understand that they follow from the physical and moral isolation of Russia. In an international atmosphere many of these mistakes

would be impossible, even futile.

Those who wish to struggle against the Bolshevik terror should not bring up moral arguments but should make an effort to cease the blockading of Russia, and to advance the cause of Socialism in western Europe, then the Bolshevik movement will take on quite different forms, more "European" forms. And then we all admit that the 25th of October (November 7th), is a turning point in the history of Socialism, but it depends upon other peoples to prevent this date from becoming a common disaster to the entire Internationale.

SPECTATOR.

(From the *Leipziger Volkzeitung*, No. 253. The author of this article is a Menshevik economist who is very well known, a contributor of the *Neue Zeit* and the *Vorwaerts*, and to the Swiss Socialist press.)

Communist Saturdays

Proletarian Workers' Discipline

THE Soviet Press, writes Lenin, reports many examples of heroic deeds performed by soldiers of the Red Guard. In the defense of the accomplishments of the revolution against Kolchak, Denikin, and other hirelings of the landed proprietors and capitalists, workers and peasants have repeatedly achieved wonders of valor and endurance.

Not less worthy of admiration are the heroic efforts of the workers in the rear. In this connection, the establishment of the Communist Saturdays by the workers, on their own initiative, is of far reaching importance.

The introduction of the "Saturdays" has barely begun, and yet the institution is already of immense importance. It is the beginning of a new revolution, of a revolution which is a workers' revolution in the highest measure, which is more material, more radical, and more significant than the mere overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for it signifies nothing less than a victory over indolence, over disorder, over the petty bourgeois egoism, a victory achieved by the working class themselves, a victory over all the bad habits bequeathed to the workers and peasants as a legacy of the capitalistic anarchy. Only the soldification of this victory may secure the creation of a new public, socialistic, discipline, and render impossible a return to capitalism by making Communism invincible.

What are these Saturdays?

Early in May, 1919, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia issued a manifesto to the workers in which the committee called attention to the necessity of devising new methods of productive labor and of replacing the old habits that had been transmitted by capitalism with new revolutionary customs. The immediate consequences of this appeal are well illustrated in the following article in *Pravda*, the central organ of

the entire Communist Party in Russia. In the edition of this paper dated May 17th there appeared an article under the title, "The Revolutionary Communist Workers' Saturdays." This article gives an idea of the first reply of the Communist workers to the appeal of their party. The following is an extract from this article:

"The communication of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party concerning revolutionary labor has given a tremendous impulse to the communist organizations as well as the communists themselves. Many railroad workers, under the influence of a similar impulse, went to the front, but the majority found it impossible to leave their responsible positions in order to find in the field opportunities for truly revolutionary activity. The reports that have been received concerning the slowness with which the work of mobilization proceeded, caused the special section of the Moscow-Kazan Railroad workers to turn their attention to the study of the mechanism of the railroad administration. It was then discovered, among other things, that as a consequence of irregularities in the work done, important orders and urgent operations in the repair of locomotives had been delayed. On May 7th, in a general meeting of the Communists and members of the Special Section of the Moscow-Kazan Railroad, the question of a coalition of methods of work, or a transition from words to deeds, in their participation in the war against Kolchak, was proposed. The following resolution was passed:

"In view of the serious internal and external situation which has been created by the struggle to defeat our class enemies, we Communists and friends of the Railroad Workers must make a new effort by yielding one hour daily of our leisure time, in other words, by increasing the work day

by one hour. We can attain the same end by giving six full hours in succession on Saturdays. In view of the fact that the Communists in the defense of the conquests of the revolution may spare neither their health nor their lives, this work is to be done without compensation. Communist Saturdays shall be introduced in all of the Special Section until the final victory over Kolchak has been gained.”

After some hesitation and discussion this resolution was unanimously adopted.

On Saturday, May 10th, at six o'clock in the evening, the Communists and friends of the Special Section, as well as the soldiers, reported for their work, divided into groups, and were allotted to their assigned places by their foremen without further ceremony.

The excellent results attained by this revolutionary work is apparent to anyone.

The intensity of work in the operation of unloading exceeded the normal by 270 per cent. All other work was performed with practically normal intensity. In this way delays in the execution of urgent orders, caused by a lack in labor supply, were avoided.

The work was continued in spite of a number of irregularities which were easily remedied, but which had delayed individual groups for thirty or forty minutes. The administration that had been installed to supervise the work had hardly time enough to prepare the work, and perhaps the

statement of an old foreman who claimed that the work done on the Communist Saturday was equivalent to that of an entire normal week was not much exaggerated.

Ten per cent of the Communists were regular employes, the others were in positions of responsibility, or were normally engaged in other lines, all the way from railroad and other commissars to union officials and members of the transportation commissariat.

The zeal and the esprit de corps in this work reached a height hitherto not observed. Once when the workers, employes, and managers rushed like a swarm of busy ants at a gigantic cylinder weighing more than forty poods in order to roll it to the proper place, there ensued as a result of this common labor a feeling of well being which filled us with certainty as to the victory of the working class.

Those present at the conclusion of the work witnessed a scene for which words are too weak. About 100 Communists who had remained on the spot, and whose eyes were flashing with fire, hailed the successful completion of the work with a triumphant outburst of "The Internationale." They felt as if the peals of this triumphant hymn were surging from their souls and rolling through the Moscow of the workers, thence to fill all of Russia and waken the backward and petty-spirited in all places.

Against The Russian Blockade

*An Appeal of the Czecho-Slovak Social-Democratic
Women to the Women of All Nations*

Prague, December 24th.

Women! The Russian Soviet Republic is oppressed with hunger and distress. Exhausted by the world war, distracted with inner conflicts, cut off by the rigid Entente blockade, the millions in Russia are suffering misery and horror. Mothers become insane when they look at their half-dead children; men in the desperate effort of saving their children, find themselves tempted to commit crimes—and the children, struck by the blighting frost, die like a young, tender crop.

The blockade, the wilful starvation of Russia, which is a terrible crime equal to that of war in its effects, is being perpetrated against millions of innocent men, women and children, a race with a high cultural mission, a people that has presented to us the most magnificent literature in the world, the greatest thinkers, the most self-sacrificing heroes of progress. Women! Call upon the conscience of your Governments, of your representatives in Parliament, of your labor leaders, demand the lifting of the blockade against Russia! Raise your voices for the protection of weeping mothers, dying children,

men in despair. Protest against the blockade in the name of humanity!

You American, English, French and Danish women, should demand the opening of the boundaries and the sending of foodstuffs to Russia, which will also be done by the women of the Slavic nations, who have lived through the blockade of the world war and who know all its terrors. Citizens! Women! Show that you can unite a love and understanding of human misery with an abhorrence for violence, and devote your powers to the struggle for peace between nations, for the humanizing of civilization and for the lifting of the blockade. Russia is the advance-guard of Socialism, the bearer of the ideas and aims which we honor, and for that reason Russia must not starve! Demand the opening of the boundaries of our European states, for free trade with Russia! We must help the hungry; and we must also secure them peace, labor, and bread!

Committee of the Czecho-Slovak
Social-Democratic Women of Prague.

The Mobilization of the Communists

ON April 10, 1919, the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party issued some publications regarding the situation in the East. The Central Committee pointed out that one of the quickest ways of getting rid of the counter-revolutionary menace, was to have the Communist Party take an active part in the struggle on the front. The Communists should join the forces of the Red Guards in order to spread the spirit through the ranks of the army, and arouse their consciousness. The Communists must be found in the front ranks.

At the same time the Central Committee sent to the front some of the most well-known party workers in Moscow and Petrograd. And shortly afterwards, the mobilization of Communist forces was begun. This mobilization showed admirably the extent to which the local organizations are connected with the central body. The district committees responded to the central call more rapidly than could have been expected.

As soon as the publications of the Central Committee appeared, we began to receive information which showed us that all Russia was preparing a great Communist mobilization. By the beginning of May, when the mobilization was at its height, the Communists were clamoring to go to the front. We are printing here a brief summary of this mobilization:

May 3-5: At Orcha and at Orel the mobilization of Communists was brought to a most successful close. Fifty per cent of the members of the party were mobilized. The same is true of Maloyaroslavl and Pougatchevsk. At Bobruisk, Shenkoursk, and Volsk, complete units were ready to leave.

May 5-7: In Samara, Syzran, Saratov, Zaisk, and Pokrovsk, 30 to 50 per cent of the Communist comrades were ready to join in the struggle against Kolchak. The younger members of the party were concentrating their forces. Saratov, Polipsk, and the district of Samara had organized units of students.

May 8-10: In the district of Tula, 10 per cent of the Bolsheviks were mobilized for the front; 25 per cent of the members of the Communist Party in the city of Tula were sent to the munitions plant to increase the output. At Kursk 1,500 Communists responded. At Yegorievsk, the best workers of the executive committee of the Soviet and of the party were included in the 50 per cent of the party members that left for the front. Military instruction was carried on actively everywhere.

In fact, the outburst of enthusiasm was spreading to the women. At Oboyan several women joined the Communist unit; 17 women left Kursk with a company of infantry; many women enlisted in the Communist unit which was being organized at Penza; at the recruiting station in Lgov, 15 women enlisted and set off for the Eastern front with the first section.

May 10-15: Two Communists' units left Penza

in high spirits. The mobilized Communists showed tremendous enthusiasm as they went out from Shchigry, Ustiug, Kaluga, Yegorievsk, Riazansky, Pskov, Mohilev, Minsk, Voronezh, Borissoglebsk, Vitebsk, Saratov, Tver, Belevsk, Simbirsk, etc. A large number of party organizations had already organized more than 50 per cent of their members. In many cases it was 70 and 80 per cent.

Such a great number of Communists responded to the call that further appeals would have been superfluous. Communist volunteers left in throngs for the front. The following communication was received on May 14, from Totma, in the district of Vologda: "The 80 per cent of the Communists which left here, went as volunteers. Besides this, there were some peasant volunteers that did not get registered."

May 15-17: Fifty-four volunteers from the village of Vitovka (district of Samara) enlisted in the Communist unit, and 44 at Lgov. Among the comrades that left Choisk, was a peasant 72 years old, whose example called forth a great crowd of volunteers. At Kharkov, Chernigov, Vladimir, Orechovo-Zouievo, long lines of volunteers stood before the party offices.

If anything could have been said before about any lack of enthusiasm among the Communists or in the Red Army, there could be no uncertainty about their spirit now. The eagerness to go to the front was so strong, that measures had to be taken to keep a certain part of the party organizations in their places.

Some idea of the spirit among the masses, after the Communist mobilization, can be gained from the letter which the city of Kaluga caused to be written, by Comrade Yaroslavsky, and which was published in the *Pravda*, the organ of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party:

"In Kaluga," writes Comrade Yaroslavsky, "the mobilization was accompanied by a band. Generations to come should know about the way in which these men went to the front. I have seen soldiers leave many times, and the difference was striking. Most of those who went were in good spirits, or calm. There were no tears shed at parting, nor was there any of that excessive liveliness, that always hides the most burning heartache.

"I organized a short meeting at the station. The volunteers spoke, and they expressed themselves with ardor and sincerity. When I got up to say a few words, and when I saw before me more than two thousand men with their knapsacks,—men of New Russia—I was filled with a strong and deep feeling that was shared by these comrades. I spoke of the great sacrifice the people must make to defend their right to a free and happy life. And when I asked that the blessing of the workers and the peasants should go with these men, who were giving their lives and the best that they had so that the supremacy of labor should be established upon the earth, the peasants bared their heads

and made the sign of the cross. The pope, who was there, also uncovered his head. This was so unexpected for many of us, and such a great and significant moment, that people said afterwards, "I was nearly taken off my feet." For me, it was a proof that my words had penetrated into the inmost depths of their hearts. These men had shown in their own way that they understood the meaning of the events that were taking place around them."

FRENCH CAPITAL IN RUSSIA

From *Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie* (Far Eastern Review), Vladivostok, Nov. 15, 1919.

According to the Italian Economic Publication, "*Economic Italy*," the amount of French capital invested in Russia prior to the war aggregated 17,591,000,000 francs, distributed as follows:

Government loans and government guaranteed municipal loans	15,268
Railway and tramway stocks and bonds without government guarantee	80
Other stocks and bonds:	
Banks	718
Metallurgical works	750
Oil companies	307
Coal companies	200
Chemical works	5
Other industrials	57
Miscellaneous	206
	17,591

COMMERCE WITH SOVIET RUSSIA

From a well-known English daily we reprint the following paragraphs which would seem to indicate that trade between England and Soviet Russia is now possible by way of Esthonia and Lettland. Between the former and Soviet Russia there is a definite peace agreement, while the latter has already signed an armistice with Soviet Russia.

POLAND, FINLAND, ESTHONIA, LETTLAND, LITHUNIA

So far as British regulations are concerned, there are no special restrictions on trade with these countries, but, as in the case of other foreign countries, export licenses are required for goods on lists A and B, and general prohibitions of import apply to these as to other countries.

CONSULAR CERTIFICATES OF ORIGIN AND INTEREST

These certificates are no longer required for goods imported into this country.

DECLARATIONS OF ULTIMATE DESTINATION AND DISCLOSURE OF CONSIGNEES

These declaration will no longer be required to be made in respect of exports from the United Kingdom, and disclosure of the name of the consignee on bills of lading or shipping manifests is unnecessary, except in a limited number of cases where the Imports and Exports Licensing Section may continue to specify on an export licence the name of the consignee.

Note.—The above statements deal only with such regulations as are in force in the United Kingdom. Traders should also have regard to the restrictions on imports and exports in operation in foreign countries.

—*Manchester Guardian*, Jan. 15, 1920.

RUSSIAN SCIENTISTS TO SEEK ATOMIC STRUCTURE

London, Feb. 1.—Experts at the Petrograd Experimental Institute, encouraged by Professor Rozjstvensky's discovery of the construction of the lithium atom, have decided to form an atomic commission for elaborate research work.

This commission will be composed of leading scientists, and will follow up the professor's method in studying other atoms.—*The N. Y. American*, Feb. 2, 1920.

This is a fine instance of the scientific acumen of the Soviet authorities. Unquestionably the fundamental progress of chemistry lies in the direction of research on atomic structure. With the advent of the phase rule, X-ray analysis, and the newer theories of structure and valence, chemistry has been put on a par with physics as a science. No better instance of the excellent judgment of the Russians with regard to the future of science and the essence of scientific progress could be found than in their decision to expand on the theories of Bragg, Moseley, Langmuir and Rozjstvensky.

WOULD-BE FINNISH KING

The Helsingfors *Sanomat*, the government organ has just printed an interview with Olaf Ashberg, perhaps the most powerful banker in Sweden, and Son-in-Law of the Parliamentary leader Branting.

"How many marks will be accepted in foreign markets for the pound or dollar has very little to do with what political party is in power in Finland," says Ashberg. "It has everything to do with Finland's relation to Russia. Finland can get all the foreign loans she needs when she resumes her function as a mid-station between the great markets of the East and the West. While the Russian frontier remains closed chaos may be expected."

MONARCHIST CANDIDATE ON SCENE

This warning of coming disaster is futile so far as the Monarchist and Pro-German Group is concerned. It is now the most active and determined group here. The wealth of its members enables them to ignore the factor of the high prices which fall so heavily on the middle and poorer classes. General Mannerheim, their widely-advertised candidate for the Finnish throne, who was recently received by the British and French Governments, will arrive home just before the Conference.

In Finland his supporters are in constant and fairly open relations with Berlin. So direct is the connection that whatever happens in monarchist circles in Germany may be expected to be speedily imitated here. Attempts may even precede events in Germany. These facts are perfectly well known to foreign residents and the diplomats in Helsingfors, including, of course, the British Legation.

—*London Herald*, Jan. 5, 1920.

PICTURES NEXT WEEK

SOVIET RUSSIA for February 28 will again be a 32-page issue. It will contain, among other things, reproductions of half a dozen recent Soviet posters, some of them being encouragements to enlist in the Red Army; others are connected with educational matters. These alone will be of interest; read the second editorial page of today's issue for further announcements.

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THE amiable attempt to distort the truth in headlines, even when the matter beneath the headlines is more plausible, continues to be one of the favorite practices of the press that favors the Russian reactionaries. (Habit had almost impelled us to write, "of the pro-Kolchak press," but pro-whom are they now?)

Thus, the N. Y. *Times* of February 15 begins an article on page 7 of its "Section I" as follows: *ESTHONIAN PEACE A LENIN MAKESHIFT. Terms will be Quite Different When Local Reds Get Control, He says. Land Not Lost for Good.* But the text of the news item, which is a Copenhagen dispatch of February 14th, runs as follows:

In an address to the Workers' Council in Moscow recently Premier Lenin, alluding to the peace made with Esthonia, is reported to have said:

"We left in the hands of Esthonia districts populated by fully as many Russians as Esthonians, not being ready to shed the blood of the workers and peasants for the sake of some strips of country which, anyway, are not definitely lost.

"Esthonia is passing through the Kerensky period, but the dawn of Soviet rule is near. Then there will be quite other peace terms."

The headlines might have led you to believe that Lenin (meaning the Soviet Government) was planning some treachery against the little state of Esthonia. The fact disclosed by the text is simply this: Instead of using force and treason, the time-honored weapons of imperialistic aggression, as the instruments for spreading the benefits of the Soviet theory of government over the former provinces of Russia, the Council of People's Commissars seems confident enough in the justice

of its rule to permit Esthonia to watch in peace the progress of Russia's development, so that Esthonia's people may themselves decide whether they will continue to govern Russians instead of Esthonians. Perhaps it is the wise hand of Lenin, as the *Times* headline insidiously suggests, that arranged this far-sighted agreement with Esthonia, for it was Lenin, years ago, who preached the necessity of leaving the small peasant, even in communities where the Revolution was completely in power, to administer for himself his wretched parcel of land, so that he might compare his own yield with the superior profits of the nationalized estates in his neighborhood, and decide for himself whether he wished to remain a petty peasant working "on his own," or a free worker on the state farming enterprises. If Lenin is responsible for this phase of the peace with Esthonia, we can hardly accuse him of engaging in "makeshifts." Makeshifts are for the moment; they are the devices of small minds working for temporary advantage. To permit your friends to see their errors and themselves correct them—would rather deserve the name of Statesmanship.

* * *

BUT it is not only within the boundaries of the former Russian Empire that the Soviets may rest content with the peaceful spread of their enlightened administrative philosophy. Surely the domain of international finance, with its at present all too sensitive expression in the fluctuations of foreign exchange quotations, is the last field in which newspaper editors would expect a resolution by the methods now being successfully carried out in Russia. And yet, here also Soviet Russia has led the way. We have not yet seen the book of Dr. G. Vissering, President of the Netherlands Bank, who recently returned to Holland from America, called "International Economic and Financial Problems," but we learn from the N. Y. *Times* of Feb. 15 that this treatise discusses the institution of an international system of barter. It is said that this new proposal is the reflection of considerable study that has been in progress in Holland, on the subject of the present seriously low quotations (from which Holland has as yet suffered but little) of European money as compared with American, with the resulting impossibility of carrying on a sufficient volume of trade between the two continents. We quote a few of the words of the *Times* special cable:

Discussions have been taking place to promote the exchange of goods between Holland and abroad as much as possible without payment in money. By means of a clearing house the goods imported and exported would be exchanged at their respective values, only the balance being liquidated by means of draft. It is suggested to establish a main office in Amsterdam, with branches at various cities abroad. The discussions, which at present are of a preliminary nature, are being carried on by the Netherlands Bank with other bankers, exporters and importers.

Now, it is a well-known fact that exchanges of goods within Soviet Russia, between the various

government factories, mines, banks, and other enterprises, are conducted in just this way. It is a rather interesting fact in the economic history of our times that the highest achievement of capitalist society in the field of finance, namely, the manipulation of credit and commercial operations to the practical elimination of cash payments, should have been carried to its logical conclusion by the financial and business administration of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. But we shall not pursue this subject at present. Our financial theoreticians at home have treated it very exhaustively in their official reports, and we suppose our readers would rather have such material from the pens of the authorities themselves. For this reason we shall print in the next number of SOVIET RUSSIA the official report of the activity during the first two years of the Soviet Government, of the "Financial Policy of the People's Commissariat of Finance," as it appeared in *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* of November 7, 1919.

UNTIL they make up their minds to deal effectively with serious economic problems, the puppets of the Entente may continue to amuse themselves with all the outward trappings of sovereignty. Newspaper reports recently assured us that certain Baltic States had definitely fixed upon their national colors, and we believe, if we are not mistaken, that Esthonia has a flag with alternate red, white and red bars, while Latvia has bars of blue, black and white, beginning at the top. The arrangement is horizontal in both cases. Presumably an effort was made to avoid color and scheme of the present flag of the Soviet Republic, as well as that of the former Empire of the Czar. Like their big step-brothers who have been sponsoring them from foreign parts, these little states have succeeded in keeping off one another's preserves, as far at least as the choice of a "national" flag is concerned. Without coming to blows, they have succeeded in picking out colors that would not bring the respective countries into conflict with each other, and possibly the Allies even allowed them to do it without being themselves consulted. "Self-determination" is not always ignored.

BUT when Poland receives serious offers of peace from Soviet Russia, and when Polish workingmen seriously urge the present Polish Government to consider such overtures seriously, the Allies must be consulted. And where the Allies are concerned, matters are very carefully weighed, and the deliberations are duly protracted. Thus, according to the Associated Dispatch of February 12, from Warsaw, General Pilsudski told the Socialists and Workers of Poland, eager for peace with their brothers in Soviet Russia, that, "if the Bolsheviks showed the same sincerity (as Poland!) peace might be expected soon, but, he added, Poland's answer would not be given before March, as the Allies must be consulted on various questions." (*New York Times*, February 15.)

HOW strongly we wish that the official news from Soviet Russia that we have recently been publishing in the form of October wireless messages from Moscow, might obtain more general publicity by appearing in the daily press of the United States! But while a veritable flood of serious official information is daily forwarded by the Moscow wireless stations, in Russian, English, French, German, Italian, and other languages, very little of it is ever printed in American newspapers. We are doing the best we can by reprinting the messages as soon as copies reach us, but unfortunately most of our material is four months late. However, it is the best and latest material on internal affairs in Russia that is accessible to the reading public in this country, and we therefore invite the attention of all serious students of Russian affairs to these messages.

IF we may trust the Associated Press reports of the last few days, Vladivostok has been in the hands of Soviets since January 31st (in other words, for three weeks), while Odessa has been almost as long in a condition of liberation by the advancing Soviet armies of the Southern Front. Of course, not all of Siberia has been cleared as yet of counter-revolutionists, and perhaps the Japanese Government may temporarily overcome the reluctance of its people to be misused for purposes of invasion in Siberia—but the fact is that from Odessa to Vladivostok, a distance of about 5,000 miles, the sway of the Soviet authority is all but undisputed. Some military work no doubt remains to be done, but the feeling seems to be that the United States will not intervene, and Soviet Russia has practically disposed of the Allied forces invading her territory.

Next Saturday

SOVIET RUSSIA will contain a number of interesting features. Among them are:

1. *Wireless messages of late October and early November dates.*
2. *Special messages from our Paris Correspondent.*
3. *The above-mentioned Financial Report.*
4. *A Comment on the Code of Labor Laws.*
5. *Sensational Revelations of a Petrograd Conspiracy.*

AND A NUMBER OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Official Communications of the Soviet Government

SOVIET WIRELESS OF OCTOBER 7

NORTHERN FRONT. Local engagements in the vicinity of Archangel and Murman. **WESTERN FRONT.** Red troops have won new successes against the enemy in the vicinity of Gdov. *Region of Kiev.* Red troops after a violent combat drove the enemy from their positions. *Region of confluence of River Tetereva.* We captured an armored enemy ship and sank another. *Region of Chernigov.* The enemy were repulsed beyond the river Oster in the vicinity of Kozelets. **SOUTHERN FRONT.** Red troops, overcoming violent enemy resistance, took the city of Sievsk. In the vicinity of Kursk we have made a new advance. *Region of Livny.* An enemy attack was repulsed. Engagements favorable to us are in progress in the vicinity of Kastornaia. *Region of Voronezh.* Violent engagement being fought. *Region of Klietssaia.* Attempted enemy attack was repulsed. *Region of Arkantsev.* Enemy attacked Red troops in the vicinity of Tsaritsyn but were repulsed. **TURKESTAN FRONT.** *Uralsk Region.* Fighting continues. **EASTERN FRONT.** Enemy attack on Tobol was repulsed. Red troops have been successful along the Ishim railway, capturing numerous prisoners and materials. Our advance continues on the Northern railway.

Opinion in the Provinces

The congress of village soviets of the Zaborov canton unanimously passed a resolution denouncing the White guard assassins of Moscow and calling for an implacable war against the counter-revolution.

At Viatka the day set aside for the collection of reading matter for the Red army has been most successful. The Section of Public Instruction had organized seven joint conferences in addition to numerous meetings. Lectures on the history of books, the social regime and education, the revolution and public instruction, etc., were given in the motion picture theatres, with free admission to all.

The vessel, "The Red Star," was stationed for two days at the capital of the district of Pokrovsk, and at the village of Zolotoye. During the day the instructors visited the city institutions, at night all the work was transferred to the vessel, where there was a cinematograph that was visited by 25,000 spectators. Enormous quantities of publications were sold or distributed. At the same time on the shore and in the city four meetings attracted an immense crowd of citizens, soldiers and young people. The representatives of the central executive committee were warmly applauded. They organized a conference open to all the parties, in the course of which the program of the Communist Party was explained. The local institutions were inspected and the needs of the population carefully studied. In the village of Zolotoye there was held

a meeting of peasants, who showed the liveliest interest in the question of Socialist agriculture. From there the instructors went to a large village of the interior. Then the "Red Star," finding itself on the first of October at the village of Balyklei, received a visit from numerous Cossack peasants, and its orators were applauded at several meetings, which brought together about six thousand participants. Everywhere the local needs were studied and noted down for transmission to Moscow.

The Provinces and the Front

Immediately after Petrograd and Moscow, the Communists of Nizhni-Novgorod began a new mobilization for the Southern front. All the members of the party are advised that the first task of the Republic at present is the annihilation of Denikin with the shortest delay. At the same time the Communist Party is constantly increasing its ranks in this place. Thus the Communist groups are multiplied among the commercial flotilla.

News of General Nikolayev's Funeral

The fifth of October all the proletariat of Petrograd performed fitting obsequies for the general who died at his post for the Soviet Republic. All the garrison units and the city corporations were assembled with their orchestras and standards. Zinoviev pronounced a few words with great emotion. "The day that we had to defend ourselves against an audacious enemy Comrade Nikolayev placed at our service his knowledge and experience to defend the cause of the workers and peasants. He was a general of the ancient regime, but that did not keep him from coming to the defense of the proletariat republic. It is for this that our enemies hated him. He died a hero with faith in the work which he defended. His name will shine as a star for the future generation." Tens of thousands followed the procession to the roar of cannon and the music of orchestras.

Denikin's Support

Journals of the Don district announce that in the government of Stravropol a monopoly of whiskey will shortly be introduced. Sale will be authorized even to private dealers.

In the Azerbeidjan

According to journals of the Don district there is furious fighting in the Azerbeidjan between those who want to keep peace with Denikin and those who, like the Minister of War, Makhmendarov, are for war with him. The detachments of partisan Reds in the region of Touapse are supported by the workingmen, and the Denikin commandment finds itself unable to fight against them. The commandant of the city threatens to bombard the workingmen's quarters. In the country of Tchét-

chene the insurrections are incessant despite the bloody reprisals of the volunteer army.

The English at Lenkoran

At Lenkoran the power of the Soviets was proclaimed by the local population. The English troops after a bloody battle succeeded in overturning the instituted government, arrested the leaders and turned them over to the volunteer army at Petrovsk.

The Crimean Massacres

The massacre of arrested Communists continues in the Crimea. Numerous victims are mentioned at Yalta. Among them it seems very probable was the famous writer, Veresayev, who was accused of sympathy for Bolshevism.

At Kustanai

On the ruins which cover the common grave of the seven thousand Red peasants shot by Kolchak several meetings have been organized which have brought together tens of thousands of peasants. In the village and the district the revolutionary enthusiasm is indescribable. It has penetrated even the intellectuals, who have offered their services to the Soviet power.

Last Efforts of Kolchak

Kolchak is trying to use to the maximum the Cossack population of the Irtysh. An order of mobilization called all the classes from seventeen to fifty-five years, but the Cossacks flee in order not to obey. The attempted mobilization of the Cossacks of Irkutsk has been just as unsuccessful.

In Siberia

Following the continual revolutionary outbreaks among the peasants and workers, Koltchak has proclaimed a state of siege in the entire region of Irkutsk.

Against Denikin

The sixth of October the majority of the Communists of Borovitchi, mobilized immediately after the Central Committee circular was issued, are leaving for the Southern front. There remain in the city only those who have been judged absolutely indispensable.

At Moscow

The general assembly of Hat Factory No. 4 places itself without reserve at the service of the Red army. The general assembly of the Kakhman factory declares that all the workers without exception should either be at the front or employ all their efforts to increase production in the interests of the Red army. The general assembly of Confectionery Factories No. 5 has decided that all must as one man work for the success of the Soviet power and the Red army. A numerous assembly of the Besmanny quarter unanimously adopted a resolution inviting all the citizens to redouble their energy and abandon all negligence in the defense of the Republic. In the Zamoskvorietchie quarter meetings and reunions were held which brought together thousands of workers from various factories. Everywhere were adopted resolutions show-

ing once more the ardor with which the proletariat of the quarter are ready to defend the Soviet power and the Communist Party.

The Best Agitators

Thousands of fugitives, eye-witnesses of the atrocities of the Whites, who narrate the bad treatment which they have had to suffer, create among the populations the farthest removed from the front an inflexible desire to fight against Denikin. Thus in the government of Moscow, fugitive peasants from Ukraine, formerly indifferent to the Soviet power, tell the peasants of the pillage, the massacres and the hangings by the White bands. They recount how the unfortunates are quartered, living, how the Whites when they attack form their first line of women, aged, and children, then the Red prisoners, and advance themselves only behind this living shield. The peasants unanimously curse this modern invasion of Tartars.

On the Railroads

A special commission has established the following principles for the constitution of disciplinary tribunals for the railroads. These tribunals are permanent, and are formed of delegates from the syndicate for labor inspection, and the extraordinary commission for transports. The investigation of affairs is to be immediate.

Manufacture of School Material

The factories for the manufacture of school material at Viatka, long known in Russia, have been increased since the establishment of the Soviet power by numerous additions connected with agricultural information, hygiene and medicine, the popular theatre, etc. In five months these factories have turned out for the schools articles to the value of more than two and a half million roubles.

Life of the Workers

The summer season in the peat-bogs is described in *Pravda* by the committee of peat factories of Chatoura. Numerous expedients have increased the light among the workers and the peasants of the neighboring villages. A theatre has disclosed unknown talent and presents at the same time both original and classic works with great success. A troupe from Moscow gave a concert of music and song consecrated to Russian authors. The cinematograph, working at least once a week, has given pictures by Tourgenyev and Tolstoi. Before each performance a member of the factory committee or of the syndicate bureau gave an exposition of the situation, or treated of questions of literature or art. The library attracts many readers, of whom seventy out of a hundred are workingmen. In the hall of the theatre political or economic meetings are held. The organization of a people's house is planned for November or December.

The Communist Youth

On the fifth of October was opened the second All-Russian Congress of Communist Youth with three hundred delegates representing about six hun-

dred organizations. Trotsky took the platform, showing that the hope of the revolution was in the youth of the country, either in the war or in the work of peace which remains the principal object of the Soviet power, although since its birth it has not known a single day of tranquility, so to speak. Through war we are advancing towards that new regime that the bourgeoisie tried desperately to prevent. If the English, French or American bourses left us in repose, all the enemies of the Soviet power, deprived of their own force, would be seen to fall immediately. But we have not wrested the power from the bourgeoisie to yield to the menace of foreign imperialism. At the least danger we turn to the young generation, who reply to us, "We are here, ready for the combat." Petrograd has just sent us hundreds and hundreds of proletariat tried in the revolutionary battle. The grandeur of our epoch lies, indeed, in the fact that it tempers the character of the Russian people. We live in a smithy where thousands of hammers are

striking. The sparks may here and there burn us, take away such and such from our ranks, but in our womb are conceived tens of thousands of fighters forged of the same steel. That is why despite hunger, despite cold, we have not weakened, that is why we go firmly to our goal in the pure confidence that there can be no return to the past. We shall humble Denikin as we have humbled Kolchak.

Firemen's Service

The Supreme Council for National Economy has decided to place all the local fire brigades under charge of the State. This requires a credit of almost eight hundred million roubles per semester. It is planned to establish five hundred new fire brigades this year in the cities and towns.

Public Hygiene

The Commissariat of public hygiene is holding at Moscow a conference of the bacteriologists of all Russia. Their program is published in *Izvestia*.

SOVIET WIRELESS TO THE BERLIN FOREIGN OFFICE, OCTOBER 9

The following is a protest addressed to the present German Government, against its toleration and encouragement of counter-revolutionary enlistments of Russians in Germany.

After the undersigned People's Commissariat felt obliged to declare, in radio 1150, of the 22nd of August that the Russian government must hold the German government responsible for the propaganda circulated among the Russian prisoners of war in Germany with the purpose of persuading them to enter White Guard companies, and for the transportation of a considerable number of such war prisoners to the territory of enemies of the Russian people, and after the People's Commissariat in radio 1161 of the 27th of August had advised the German government that the return home of German prisoners must be suspended in view of the failure on the part of the German government to reply, the Foreign Office explained in radio 14491 of the 5th of September that orders had been given to prevent all propaganda among the Russian prisoners of war. The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs regrets having to state that documents in the possession of the Russian government prove absolutely that the German government not only has taken active part in securing for the White Guard bands, and that it is in league with an extensive organization formed in Germany for this purpose by the enemies of the Russian people, but also that a part of the military forces of the White Guard operating against the Russian Soviet Republic are in the direct pay of the German government. We can cite order No. 36, dated Berlin, May 28, signed by the chief of the military section for the formation of Russian volunteer troop organizations for the North-west front, General Staff Captain of the Guard, Von Rosenberg, and countersigned by an adjutant first lieutenant. This order is directed to the leader of an echelon, Colonel Boboshko, who is ordered to proceed to the station Commandant at Mitau with the echelon, and to report upon arrival. We refer further to the com-

munication to hand of Denikin's representative at Berlin, Major-General Potocki, No. 116, May 7, to Colonel Mazakov, the commander of the second Kiev echelon in the camp of Wetzlar. In this communication Denikin's representative explains that Prince Lieven's detachment is in the pay of the East Prussian German Command, but that its intention was to place itself under the command of General Yudenitch, in order to join later the Northern Army of General Miller, the Eastern of Kolchak's, and the Southern under Denikin. Negotiations with the German Command were directed by the Russian counter-revolutionary Senator Bellegarde. General Potocki says further that he will give the official order to permit the unpleasant recruiting agents of Petlura and others into the camp. The Russian Soviet Government considers itself compelled in view of this to regard the troops operating against Soviet Russia, which are composed of such members as have been raised in Germany, as irregular bands raised directly by the German government against the same; and to hold the German government itself responsible for the fact that recruiting for these troops, which, as is known, has been practiced with the use of the most unscrupulous methods, is directly the active participation of the German government in the formation of these irregular bands. Confronted by enemies thus led against the Russian Soviet Republic by the German government, the Russian Soviet Republic sees itself forced to conduct itself correspondingly towards German subjects in Russia and among others the German war prisoners. In view of the means taken with the aid of the German government to impress Russian war prisoners for the troops operating against Russia, the Russian government cannot but take counter-measures on its part.

PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

SOVIET WIRELESS OF OCTOBER 9

The following message gives detailed proof of the conditions against which the preceding message protests.

The Soviet government has for a long time been informed of the relations existing between the White Guards of Yudenitch and the German government. It is at present in possession of several documents proving that the German government has recruited and sent to the front the greater part of these White Guards. It is revealed by these documents first that Prince Lieven's troops, as Denikin's representative at Berlin writes, are in the pay of the German government; second, that the agents who enter the camps of Russian prisoners to recruit for Yudenitch are all under the direction of Denikin's representative, who has the power to forbid admittance to the camps to recruits of tendencies which are hostile to him. Third, that Yudenitch possesses an official organ for the formation of echelons of White Guards with an officer of the German General Staff at their head. The text of these documents follows: First, translations from the Russian, "Russian Military Mission at Berlin, May 7, 1919, No. 116. Colonel Kazakov, commanding the second Kiev echelon at the camp of Wetzlar. In reply to your note No. 81, dated May 5, which has been given into my hands personally by Captain Zelenetski, I communicate to you in order that you may make the greatest possible use of it, that this is not the moment to cause trouble and inquietude in our corps of officers now when we are applying their military forces in Germany as circumstances demand to defend our tortured fatherland. I myself am the representative of Denikin's army and, nevertheless, conforming to the military and political conditions I favor the organization of all the military expedients which conduce exclusively to one sole end, that which is proposed and supported by the army of Denikin. I would never facilitate the entry of Russian officers into Polish, German, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, or other troops, if they could turn against the Russian national purpose to reconstitute Great Russia. That is the reason you may believe sincerely that I draw nobody into any adventure, I act openly, but at present our unhappy situation does not permit us to make everything public, for we Russians have enemies who do not want the real re-establishment of Russia. To come to the questions submitted by you, I reply, first, that the Russian detachment of Prince Lieven now forms an integral unit, in view of its effective force of five hundred men of the Baltic Landwehr and receives its pay from the German Command at East Prussia; second, that the political attitude of this detachment depends on the success which it counts upon, that is, after the capture of Riga it plans to place itself under the command of General Yudenitch, and to form a part of the Western Russian front operating with the aim of joining itself in the future to the army of the North under General Miller and Kol-

chak, and to the army of the South under General Denikin. Third, that the Wetzlar detachment can be sent any day, for all the pourparlers with the representatives of our allies at Berlin, the French, the English, and the Americans, are ended, and all sympathize with the idea of Prince Lieven's detachment. The pourparlers with the German Command are directed by Senator Bellgrade, and the Germans have uniformly given their assent to the sending of the detachment. As to the rest, the answer follows from what I have just said. These are the reasons that have obliged me to consider this arrangement as absolutely Russian, without any admixture of class interest. The barons see nothing in it, but conditions are favorable for the establishment of a new front or territory against the Bolshevik army. You ask me to send my benediction in writing. You have seen a paper signed by me at Colonel Sobolevski's, and a similar one at Captain Leontiev's, designed to inform very quickly those who are not sufficiently informed, but I am unable to reply with other arbitrary proceedings, nor in general with any kind of suspicious personalities, I do not wish to use them, and I shall not. The irresponsibility of some individuals gives them the right to speak for themselves and for others, but I ask earnestly that merely my official delegations be believed, which I deliver very carefully in order to avoid false interpretations. As to Lieven's detachment, I made last week a complete report to General Chertcherbatchov at Paris, beseeching him to co-operate on his part with General Yudenitch in this matter. However, the recruiting agents and others act at their risk and peril, and I can only order officially that access to the camp be denied them, but if that business is done secretly I am unable to institute a gendarmerie and police for those people. They ought to be replaced by the healthy patriotic sentiment of the corps of Russian officers wishing to see as soon as possible the resuscitation of Great Russia and not of scattered fragments where the politicians will then try for years and years to stitch together that Russia which ought to be in the hearts of all the sons of the fatherland. Major-General D. M. Pototski."

Second translation from the German "Military Bureau for the formation of Russian volunteer troops for the Northwest front, Berlin, May 28, 1919, No. 36. To Colonel Boboschko, Commandant of the echelon. I command you immediately upon receipt of the present communication to proceed with the echelon of 77 officers and volunteers of Colonel Sobolevski's detachment to Mitau, to the station Commandant. Report directly upon arrival. Chief of the Military Bureau, Von Rosenberg, Captain of the Guard of the General Staff. Lieutenant of the Guard performing duties of aide-camp (Signature illegible)."

The Blockade—As It Is Viewed in Paris

(From our Paris Correspondent)

PARIS, Jan. 23.—If hypocrisy is the homage that vice pays to virtue, we may regard the gesture of the Supreme Council in the matter of the blockade as the direct consequence of the military victories of the Soviet Government and the overwhelming desire of the Allied peoples for peace. The declaration of January 16, which is unanimously attributed to the influence of Lloyd George, is steeped in hypocrisy and the vaguest sort of verbiage. The events of the last week, the repeated rumors of new military enterprises against Russia, the despatch of the Allied fleet to the Black Sea, the sending of munitions and reinforcements to the Caucasus—first made public and then as usual denied—and the announcement of Marshal Foch's visit to Poland, all tend to confirm the impression of dishonesty and equivocation on the part of the Allied statesmen. They do not want peace, but the peoples, more than tired of the criminal assassination of Russia and the useless shedding of blood, have demanded peace. The Allied statesmen respond with a pretence of peace. The business and manufacturing interests of the world, who cannot get along without raw materials from Russia, have demanded that they be allowed to trade with the Soviet Republic. The Supreme Council's answer is a measure calculated to permit access to the Russian supplies without interrupting the military struggle against the Soviet Republic—in short, Lloyd George would both have his cake and eat it as well.

How this equivocal experiment will work out, may perhaps be better known when this letter reaches New York. It has all the mischievous elements of the Prinkipo and Bullitt affairs. But if its aim is to defeat the Soviet Government by a diplomatic ruse, the Supreme Council might better not have spent its time drafting the proposal. The Soviet Government has always been able to hold its hand in the diplomatic game, and the wireless despatches from Moscow indicate that the People's Commissaries are fully on their guard against new manifestations of trickery. The London *Herald* has published a long interview with Litvinoff from Copenhagen on this subject, in which he discusses particularly the function of the co-operatives. These organizations have not been interfered with in Soviet Russia, and in return, though non-political, they have given their general adhesion to the Soviet power. But the foreign trade has been centralized into a national monopoly, and according to Litvinoff, the Soviet authorities may or may not allow this trade to go through the channels of the co-operatives. In any case, they resent the attempt of the Allies to dictate or in any way influence the internal economic organization of the country.

In the business circles of Great Britain, great activity has followed the blockade announcement. The National Wholesale Co-operative Society is

concluding an enormous deal with the Russian Co-operative Unions, carrying out the plans formulated as early as 1916. Private corporations have also interested themselves in the prospective Russian business. In France, where business has not been prepared for the resumption of Russian trade, a special corporation for the exploitation of Russian trade was formed last Monday. It has very large financial backing. These preparations might be regarded as a guarantee of the sincerity of the Allied purpose in raising the blockade, but it is quite likely that they too may be deceived. If trade is actually started on a large scale and the industry and railroads of Soviet Russia begin to revive, will the Allies stick to their declaration or will they back out in fear, as they did with the Prinkipo, Bullitt, and Nansen proposals? That probably depends on the alignment of power within the Supreme Council.

The common opinion credits England with wanting to conclude peace with the Soviets, and France as wanting to conclude war. But which England and which France? Up to date France has been represented by Clemenceau, who was continually frothing at the mouth against the Russian Revolution. But now he is gone, and the new government is much less militaristic. Also, pacific business interests are coming to the front, and they will have a greater hand in determining the French policy. The change is already noticeable in the semi-official press. *Le Temps*, which had previously inveighed against any tractations with the Bolsheviki, and played up the Far Eastern menace in order to block the Litvinoff-O'Grady negotiations, has now come out frankly against the blockade. It not only admits that the blockade has thus far failed, but that further application of it would be worse than useless. It sees in the partial raising of the blockade a real change of policy towards the Soviet Government, and hopes that the experiment will succeed (that is to say, succeed in desocializing the Socialist Republic of Russia). On the other hand, *Pertinax*, in the *Echo de Paris*, representing the militaristic opinion, rants against the decision, as the militarists ranted a year ago against the Prinkipo proposals. He throws the whole responsibility on the Manchester school with its "peace on earth to whoever shall buy our cotton goods."

In England the militaristic hold on the government is represented by Winston Churchill and the Northcliffe press. Churchill dreams of building new empires, and would fight the Bolshevist Government because it stands in the way of British expansion in the territory of the old Russian Empire. The Northcliffe press has adopted the same attitude, and has advertised far and wide the menace of the Bolsheviki in India. This is the old British imperialistic game. In order to protect themselves

against a supposed menace (which would not exist if it was not deliberately provoked by the attempted strangulation of Russia), the British people must send troops to the Caucasus. Later the story will read that in order to protect their interests in the Caucasus, they must send troops into the Ukraine and Turkestan, etc.

The British manufacturing interests, and of course British Labor, desire to come to an agreement with the Soviet Government as early as possible, and to give up the entire policy of adventure. One possible issue of this conflict of interests is the resumption of Russia trade on a small scale, simultaneously with the continuance of military intervention. During the Napoleonic wars, British merchants were permitted by license from their government to supply the French army with uniforms, but this did not prevent Great Britain from fighting Napoleon's armies.

But if such a compromise were worked out—neither peace nor war—the amount of trade with Russia would be infinitely small. As Litvinoff pointed out in his interview, practically the only port available is Petrograd, which is ice-bound during the winter. In the Black Sea, trade would be obstructed by the piratical bands of counter-revolutionaries who are in possession of a part of the old Russian fleet that had been turned over to them

by the Allies, and by the presence of the British fleet itself. The most natural channels of trade are through the ports of the Baltic states, and through them trade cannot at present be carried on because of the continuance of the state of hostilities. The Allies have prevented and are still preventing the conclusion of peace between Russia and the Baltic provinces. If at the same time they are trying to restore the Russian trade, they are in reality trying to accomplish an impossibility.

Very significant is the non-participation of America in the blockade discussions. The American State Department several months ago sounded the Allies on the removal of the blockade, but has not intervened further than that. And yet, when one reviews events, one remembers that it was the consent and participation of the United States that supported the Allied policy of intervention in Siberia and the whole series of measures against Russia. America has now renounced her part in the whole business, and is withdrawing her troops from Siberia. But alas! the damage once done cannot be so quickly undone. The Allies have found means to continue their intervention, to continue their interference in Russia affairs without American participation. American manufacturers cannot sell their goods in Russia, because of the Napoleonic dreams of a Churchill in England and a Foch in France!

Recollections of Lenin

By CHARLES RAPPAPORT

The celebrated Russian Socialist who is the author of this article has been living in Paris for many years. We take the following personal reminiscences of Lenin from a book entitled "Homage a la République Socialiste," which has recently been printed in Paris.

IT was in the year 1902. His book, "What Is to Be Done?" had just fallen into my hands. Or rather, I should not call "What Is to Be Done?" a book; it is an execution—an execution of the "Socialistic" reformism represented by Bernstein and the Syndicalistic reformism which is preached in Russia by Boris Krichevsky.

This brilliant pamphlet contains in embryo all of Lenin's tactics. It is a life and death struggle upon two fronts: against the capitalistic bourgeoisie and against opportunism, both in a Socialistic and in a Syndicalistic cloak.

His organizing genius is also apparent in this book. Lenin is not content with general tendencies; he also proposes a goodly number of practical measures in order to awaken the party from the lethargy into which it had been plunged by the failure of the terroristic tactics. He demands the formulation of "professional revolutionaries," that is, people who live only for and by the revolution. He is ready to avail himself of all the questions of the day in order to set them down as a foundation for the revolutionary struggle.

The agrarian question already plays a promi-

nent part in this question. Czarism is represented as a remnant of feudalism. In order that capitalism may attain its full development and offer a foundation for the modern class struggle, it must first overthrow Czarism by means of the revolution. Lenin opposes the "economism" of the group surrounding Krichevsky, and advocates the revolutionary political and social struggle. He wishes to win over the peasants for the revolution by increasing their land holdings.

"What Is to Be Done?" created quite a stir in revolutionary circles. Old revolutionaries such as Paul Axelrod made reservations, but the allied themselves with Lenin, who was then the editor of "L'Étincelle," appearing in Geneva, which led the struggle against the opportunist danger. In order to fight opportunism it was necessary not to become involved in quarrels with Lenin.

I became personally acquainted with Lenin on the occasion of a conference in Paris at about this time. The thing that most impressed me in the personality of the present leader of the Soviet Government was the clarity and energy of his ideas. For the first time in my life I heard from

the mouth of an orthodox Marxist the words "armed insurrection"; the Marxists of the old school had come to the point where they considered every call to revolution to be an antiquated "Blanquism."

About 1903 there ensued the split between Martov and Axelrod on the one hand, and Lenin and his friends on the other. Lenin had forced this split by utilizing a slight majority (of one or two votes if I am not mistaken). This is the origin of the so-called "Bolshevism," which, entymologically speaking, means nothing more than majority. Since I was in favor of unity, I did not attach myself either to the Bolsheviks or the Mensheviks. As Russian Socialism did not possess a single means of operating legally and it was persecuted by the Czarist banditti, I could not see how it could afford to indulge in the luxury of a split, which must necessarily condemn it to inactivity. And I later gladly seized the opportunity of declaring my solidarity with Plekhanoff, who was also working for unity. But it was a unity on the basis of the Left.

In spite of a sort of external unity, the struggle of the various tendencies went on all the more sharply. Every editorial meeting of the party paper developed into a real battle between Lenin and Zinovieff on the one hand, and Martoff and Dan on the other. I then became more intimate with Lenin. His power to work was marvelous. He was simultaneously the first theoretician of his group, its editor, its organizer, its tireless orator. He possessed an extraordinary strength of will. Here is a fact which may serve as proof of this statement: One group of adherents of his, among whom were Lunacharsky and Bogdanov, were trying to fuse the Marxian doctrine with the teachings of Ernst Mach. Lenin smelled a danger for the purity of the doctrine, and more particularly for its tactics. And, already forty years old, he plunged into the study of philosophy. He worked his way through a whole library of philosophical writings and produced a philosophical treatise in which he mercilessly exposes the philosophical errors of his friends. Those who know the difficulties of philosophic study will be able to appreciate this work of Lenin's, who made himself a philosopher in order to save the theoretical integrity of his party. Being a passionate friend of clear and transparent relations, Lenin considered the union of opposing elements—Bolsheviks and Mensheviks—as an intolerable yoke. For the second time he broke up the unity of the party. I was unable to agree with him. For, together with Plekhanoff, Lenin was indisputably the leader of the party and of its organs. He was therefore giving up a position which seemed to me to be very favorable and his friends of the present day then thought as I did; among others Lunacharsky and Trotsky. But the later course of events showed how absolutely irreconcilable were two tendencies, one of which advocates a rigid carrying out of the class struggle doctrine without any compromise,

while the other—in spite of all its fine words—actually amounted to an advocacy of class harmony and a surrender of Socialism. The history of the revolution of 1917-18 has clearly shown this. The majority of the Mensheviks joined with the Democratic bloc, and, under the knout of Kerensky, was completely controlled by it. Lenin's tactics do not consist in concealing oppositions and fractures, but in forcing them into their most emphatic expression. When he finds himself in the presence of one who is vacillating, he does not take him by the hand and lead him over to the Left, but permits him to move to the Right and even pushes him on in his course. There are situations in which it must require a superhuman will and an unparalleled clarity of mind to resist a tendency toward reconciliation. Lenin's closest friends, Zinovieff, Lunacharsky, Rykov, were in favor of an alliance with the Left of the other Socialistic parties; they resigned from the Central Committee of the party in the most ostentatious possible manner. Lenin stood figuratively alone, but he stood firm. The situation was completely opaque. No one could know how things would turn out. Kerensky and the Cossacks still had the upper hand. The German armies were invading Russia. The Entente was threatening. Lenin turned out to be right; success was his; his friends returned to him, his enemies were defeated. I seek in vain for a parallel in history. I cannot find such a parallel. You may make what objections you please to Lenin's tactics. You may propose to him other and more practical tactics. But, regardless of what may be our tactical reflections, we can obtain no other impression of Lenin than this: "Ecce homo!" This is a man!

And we may add: A man that represents a class that has only its chains to lose and a world to gain. You may crush an individual man, but you cannot crush the proletarian class, for the future belongs to it.

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SOVIET RUSSIA

SPECIAL LEGAL SUPPLEMENT, FEBRUARY 21, 1920

Soviet Russia's Code of Labor Laws

1. The Code of Labor Laws shall take effect from the moment of its publication in the *Compilation of Laws and Regulations of the Workmen's and Peasants' Government*. This Code must be extensively circulated among the working class of the country by all the local organs of the Soviet Government and be posted in a conspicuous place in all Soviet Institutions.

II. The regulations of the Code of Labor Laws shall apply to all persons receiving remuneration for their work and shall be obligatory for all enterprises, institutions and establishments (Soviet, public, private and domestic), as well as for all private employers exploiting labor.

III. All existing regulations and those to be issued on questions of labor, of a general character (orders of individual establishments, instructions, rules of internal management, etc.), as well as individual contracts and agreements, shall be valid only in so far as they do not conflict with this Code.

IV. All labor agreements previously entered into, as well as all those which will be entered into in the future, in so far as they contradict the regulations of this Code, shall not be considered valid or obligatory, either for the employees or the employers.

V. In enterprises and establishments where the work is carried on in the form of organized cooperation (Section 6, Labor Division A of the present Code) the wage earners must be allowed the widest possible self-government under the supervision of the Central Soviet authorities. On this basis alone can the working masses be successfully educated in the spirit of socialist and communal government.

VI. The labor conditions in the communal enterprises organized as well as supported by the Soviet institutions (agricultural and other communes) are regulated by special rules of the all-Russian Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissars, and by instructions of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and Labor.

The labor conditions of farmers on land assigned them for cultivation are regulated by the Code of Rural Laws.

The labor conditions of independent artisans are regulated by special rules of the Commissariat of Labor.

ARTICLE I

On Compulsory Labor

1. All citizens of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, with the exceptions stated in sections 2 and 3, shall be subject to compulsory labor.

2. The following persons shall be exempt from compulsory labor:

- (a) Persons under 16 years of age;

- (b) All persons over 50 years;

- (c) Persons who have become incapacitated by injury or illness.

3. Temporarily exempt from compulsory labor are:

- (a) Persons who are temporarily incapacitated owing to illness or injury, for a period necessary for their recovery.

- (b) Women, for a period of 8 weeks before and 8 weeks after confinement.

4. All students shall be subject to compulsory labor at the schools.

5. The fact of permanent or temporary disability shall be certified after a medical examination by the Bureau of Medical Survey in the city, district or province, by accident insurance office or agencies representing the former, according to the place of residence of the person whose disability is to be certified.

Note I. The rules on the method of examination of disabled workmen are appended hereto.

Note II. Persons who are subject to compulsory labor and are not engaged in useful public work may be summoned by the local Soviets for the execution of public work, on conditions determined by the Department of Labor in agreement with the local Soviets of trade unions.

6. Labor may be performed in the form of—

- (a) Organized cooperation;

- (b) Individual personal services;

- (c) Individual special jobs.

7. Labor conditions in Government (Soviet) establishments shall be regulated by tariff rules approved by the Central Soviet authorities through the People's Commissariat of Labor.

8. Labor conditions in all establishments (Soviet, nationalized, public and private) shall be regulated by tariff rules drafted by the trade unions, in agreement with the directors or owners of establishments and enterprises, and approved by the People's Commissariat of Labor.

Note. In cases where it is impossible to arrive at an understanding with the directors or owners of establishments or enterprises, the tariff rules shall be drawn up by the trade unions and submitted for approval to the People's Commissariat of Labor.

9. Labor in the form of individual personal service or in the form of individual special jobs shall be regulated by tariff rules drafted by the respective trade unions and approved by the People's Commissariat of Labor.

ARTICLE II

The Right to Work

10. All citizens able to work have the right to employment at their vocations and for remuneration fixed for such class of work.

Note. The District Exchange Bureaus of the Department of Labor Distribution may, by agreement with the respective unions, assign individual wage earners or groups of them to work at other trades if there is no demand for labor at the vocations of the persons in question.

11. The right to work belongs first of all to those who are subject to compulsory labor.

12. Of the classes exempt from compulsory labor, only those mentioned in subdivision "b" of section 2 have a right to work.

13. Those mentioned in subdivisions "a" and "c" of section 2 are absolutely deprived of the right to work, and those mentioned in section 3 temporarily deprived of the right to work.

14. All persons of the female sex, and those of the male sex under 18 years of age, shall have no right to work during night time or in those branches of industry where the conditions of labor are especially hard or dangerous.

Note. A list of especially hard and health-endangering occupations shall be prepared by the Department of Labor Protection of the People's Commissariat of Labor, and shall be published in the month of January of each year in the

Compilation of Laws and Regulations of the Workmen's and Peasants' Government.

ARTICLE III

Methods of Labor Distribution

15. The enforcement of the right to work shall be secured through the Departments of Labor Distribution, trade unions, and through all the institutions of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

16. The assignment of wage earners to work shall be carried out through the Departments of Labor Distribution.

17. A wage earner may be summoned to work, save by the Departments of Labor Distribution, only when chosen for a position by a Soviet institution or enterprise.

18. Vacancies may be filled by election when the work offered requires political reliability or unusual special knowledge, for which the person elected is noted.

19. Persons engaged for work by election must register in the Department of Labor Distribution before they are accepted, but they shall not be subject to the rules concerning probation set forth in Article IV of the present Code.

20. Unemployed persons shall be assigned to work through the Departments of Labor Distribution in the manner stated in sections 21-30.

21. A wage earner who is not engaged on work at his vocation shall register in the local Department of Labor Distribution as unemployed.

22. Establishments and individuals in need of workers should apply to the local Department of Labor Distribution or its division (Correspondence Bureau) stating the condition of the work offered as well as the requirements which the workmen must meet (trade, knowledge, experience).

23. The Department of Labor Distribution, on receipt of the application mentioned in section 22, shall assign the persons meeting the requirements thereof in the order determined by the same.

24. An unemployed person has no right to refuse an offer of work at his vocation, provided the working conditions conform with the standards fixed by the respective tariff regulations, or in the absence of the same by the trade unions.

25. A wage worker engaged for work for a period of not more than two weeks, shall be considered unemployed, and shall not lose his place on the list of the Department of Labor Distribution.

26. Should the local Department of Labor Distribution have no workers on its lists meeting the stated requirements, the application must be immediately sent to the District Exchange Bureau, and the establishment or individual offering the employment shall be simultaneously notified to this effect.

27. Whenever workers are required for work outside of their district, a roll-call of the unemployed registered in the Department of Labor Distribution shall take place, to ascertain who are willing to go; if a sufficient number of such should not be found, the Department of Labor Distribution shall assign the lacking number from among the unemployed in the order of their registration, provided that those who have dependents must not be given preference, before single persons.

28. If in the Departments of Labor Distribution, within the limits of the district, there be no workmen meeting the requirements, the District Exchange Bureau has the right, upon agreement with the respective trade union, to send unemployed of another class approaching as nearly as possible the trade required.

29. An unemployed person who is offered work outside his vocation shall be obliged to accept it, on the understanding, if he so wishes, that this be only temporary, until he receives work at his vocation.

30. A wage earner who is working outside his specialty, and who has stated his wish that this be only temporary, shall retain his place on the register on the Department of Labor Distribution until he gets work at his vocation.

31. Private individuals violating the rules of labor distribution set forth in this article shall be punished by the order of the local board of the Department of Labor Distribution by a fine of not less than 300 rubles or by arrest

for not less than one week. Soviet establishments and officials violating these rules on labor distribution shall be liable to criminal prosecution.

ARTICLE IV

Probation Periods

32. Final acceptance of workers for permanent employment shall be preceded by a period of probation of not more than six days; in Soviet institutions the probation period shall be two weeks for unskilled and less responsible work and one month for skilled and responsible work.

33. According to the results of the probation the wage earner shall either be given a permanent appointment, or rejected with payment for the period of probation in accordance with the tariff rates.

34. The results of the probation (acceptance or rejection) shall be communicated to the Department of Labor Distribution.

35. Up to the expiration of the probation period, the wage earner shall be considered as unemployed, and shall retain his place on the eligible list of the Department of Labor Distribution.

36. A person who, after probation, has been rejected, may appeal against this decision to the union of which he is a member.

37. Should the trade union consider the appeal mentioned in the preceding section justified, it shall enter into negotiations with the establishment or person who has rejected the wage earner, with the request to accept the complainant.

38. In case of failure of negotiations mentioned in section 37, the matter shall be submitted to the local Department of Labor, whose decision shall be final and subject to no further appeal.

39. The Department of Labor may demand that the person or establishment who have without sufficient reason rejected a wage earner provide the latter with work. Furthermore, it may demand that the said person or establishment compensate the wage earner according to the tariff rates for the time lost between his rejection and his acceptance pursuant to the decision of the Department of Labor.

ARTICLE V

Transfer and Discharge of Wage Earners

40. The number of wage earners in all enterprises, establishments, or institutions employing paid labor can take place only if it is required in the interest of the business and by the decision of the proper organ of management.

Note. This rule does not apply to work with private individuals employing paid labor, if the work is of the subdivisions mentioned in "b" and "c" of Section 6.

41. The transfer of a wage earner to other work within the enterprise, establishment or institution where he is employed may be ordered by the managing organs of said enterprise, establishment or institution.

42. The transfer of a wage earner to another enterprise, establishment or institution situated in the same or in a different locality, may be ordered by the corresponding organ of management with the consent of the Department of Labor Distribution.

43. The order of an organ of management to transfer a wage earner as mentioned in Section 40 may be appealed from to the respective Department of Labor (local or district) by the interested individuals or organizations.

44. The decision of the Department of Labor in the matter of the transfer of a wage earner may be appealed from by the interested parties to the District Department of Labor or to the People's Commissariat of Labor, whose decision in the matter in dispute is final and not subject to further appeal.

45. In case of urgent public work the District Department of Labor may, in agreement with the respective professional unions and with the approval of the People's Commissariat of Labor, order the transfer of a whole group of wage earners from the organization where they are employed to another situated in the same or in a different locality, provided a sufficient number of volunteers for such work cannot be found.

46. The discharge of wage earners from an enterprise, establishment or institution where they have been employed is permissible in the following cases:

(a) In case of complete or partial liquidation of the enterprise, establishment or institution, or of cancellation of certain orders or work;

(b) In case of suspension of work for more than a month;

(c) In case of expiration of term of employment or of completion of the job, if the work was of a temporary character;

(d) In case of evident unfitness for work, by special decision of the organs of management and subject to agreement with the respective professional unions.

(e) By request of the wage earner.

47. The organ of management of the enterprise, establishment or institution where a wage earner is employed, or the person for whom a wage earner is working must give the wage earner two weeks' notice of the proposed discharge, for the reasons mentioned in "a", "b" and "d" of Section 46, notifying simultaneously the local Department of Labor Distribution.

48. A wage earner discharged for the reasons mentioned in subdivisions "a", "b" and "d" of Section 46 shall be considered unemployed and entered as such on the lists of the Department of Labor Distribution and shall continue to perform his work until the expiration of the term of two weeks mentioned in the preceding section.

49. The order to discharge an employee for the reasons mentioned in subdivisions "a", "b" and "d" of Section 46 may be appealed from by the interested persons to the Local Department of Labor.

50. The decision of the Local Department of Labor on the question of discharge may be appealed from by either party to the District Department of Labor, whose decision on the question in dispute is final and not subject to further appeal.

51. Discharge by request of the wage earner from enterprise, establishment or institution must be preceded by an examination of the reasons for the resignation by the respective organ of workmen's self-government (works and other committees).

Note. This rule does not apply to the resignation of a wage earner employed by an individual, if the work is of the character mentioned in subdivisions "b" and "c" of Section 6.

52. If the organ of workers' self-government (works or other committee) after investigating the reasons for the resignation finds the resignation unjustified the wage earner must remain at work, but may appeal from the decision of the committee to the respective professional union.

53. A wage earner who quits work contrary to the decision of the Committee, pursuant to Section 52, shall forfeit for one week the right to register with the Department of Labor Distribution.

54. Institutions and persons employing paid labor shall inform in each case when a wage earner quits work the Local Department of Labor Distribution and the professional union of which the wage earner is a member, stating the date and the reason thereof.

ARTICLE VI

Remuneration of Labor

55. The remuneration of wage earners for work in enterprises, establishments and institutions employing paid labor, and the detailed conditions and order of payment shall be fixed by tariffs worked out for each kind of labor in the manner described in Sections 7-9 of the present Code.

56. All institutions working out the tariff rates must comply with the provisions of this article of the Code of Labor Laws.

57. In working out the tariff rates and determining the standard remuneration rates, all the wage earners of a trade shall be divided into groups and categories and a definite standard of remuneration shall be fixed for each of them.

58. The standard of remuneration fixed by the tariff rates must be at least sufficient to cover the minimum living expenses as determined by the People's Commissariat of Labor for each district of the Russian Socialist Federated

Soviet Republic and published in the *Compilation of Laws and Regulations of the Workmen's and Peasants' Government*.

59. In determining the standard of remuneration for each group and category attention shall be given to the kind of labor, the danger of the conditions, under which the work is performed, the complexity and accuracy of the work, the degree of independence and responsibility as well as the standard of education and experience required for the performance of the work.

60. The remuneration of each wage earner shall be determined by his classification in a definite group and category.

61. The classification of wage earners into groups and categories within each branch of labor shall be done by special valuation commissions, local and central, established by the respective professional organizations.

Note. The procedure of the valuation commissions shall be determined by the People's Commissariat of Labor.

62. The tariff regulations shall fix the standard of remuneration for a normal working day or for piecework, and particularly the remuneration for overtime work.

63. Remuneration for piecework shall be computed by dividing the daily tariff rate by the number of pieces constituting the production standard.

64. The standard of remuneration fixed for overtime work shall not exceed time and a half of the normal remuneration.

65. Excepting the remuneration paid for overtime work done in the same or in a different branch of labor, no additional remuneration in excess of the standard fixed for a given group and category shall be permitted, irrespective of the pretext and form under which it might be offered and whether it be paid in only one or in several places of employment.

66. Persons working in several places must state in which place of employment they wish to receive their pay.

67. Persons receiving excessive remuneration, in violation of Section 65, shall be liable to criminal prosecution for fraud, and the remuneration received in excess of the normal (standard) may be deducted from subsequent payments.

68. From the remuneration of the wage earner may be deducted the excess remuneration received in violation of Section 65, and the remuneration earned by the wage earner during his vacation; deduction may also be made for cessation of work.

69. No other deductions, except those mentioned in Section 68, shall be permitted, irrespective of the form or pretext under which they might be made.

70. Payment of remuneration must not be made in advance.

71. If the work is steady, payment for the same must be made periodically, at least once in every fortnight. Remuneration for temporary work and for special jobs provided the same continues at least for two weeks, shall be paid immediately upon completion of work.

72. Payments shall be made in money or in kind (lodgings, food supplies, etc.).

73. To make payments in kind special permission must be obtained from the Local Department of Labor which shall determine the rates jointly with the respective trade unions.

Note. The rates thus determined must be based on the standard prices fixed by the respective institutions of the Soviet authority (valuation commissions of the Commissariat of Victuals, Land and Housing Department, Price Committee, etc.).

74. Payments must take place during working hours.

75. Payments must be made at the place of work.

76. The wage earner shall be paid only for actual work done. If a cessation of work is caused during the working day by circumstances beyond the control of the wage earner (through accident or through the fault of the administration), he shall be paid for the time lost on the basis of the daily tariff rates, if he does time work, or on the basis of his average daily earning, if he does piece work.

77. A wage earner shall be paid his wage during leave of absence (Sections 106-107).

78. During illness of a wage earner the remuneration due him shall be paid as a subsidy from the hospital funds.

Note. The manner of payment of the subsidy is fixed by rules appended hereto.

79. Unemployed shall receive a subsidy out of the funds for unemployed.

Note. Rules concerning unemployed and the payment of subsidies to them are appended hereto.

80. Every wage earner must have a labor booklet in which all matters pertaining to the work done by him as well as the payments and subsidies received by him are entered.

Note. Rules regarding labor booklets for wage earners are appended hereto.

ARTICLE VII.

Working Hours

81. Working hours are regulated by the tariff rules made for each kind of labor, in the manner described in Sections 7-9 of the Present Code.

82. The rules for working hours must conform with the provisions of this article of the Code of Labor Laws.

83. A normal working day shall mean the time fixed by the tariff regulations for the production of a certain amount of work.

84. The duration of a normal working day must in no case exceed eight hours for day work and seven hours for night work.

85. The duration of a normal day must not exceed six hours: (a) for persons under 18 years of age, and (b) in especially hard or health-endangering branches of industry (note Section 14 of the present Code).

86. During the normal working day time must be allowed for meals and for rest.

87. During recess machines, beltings and lathes must be stopped, unless this be impossible owing to technical conditions or in cases where these machines, beltings, etc., serve for ventilation, drainage, lighting, etc.

88. The time of recess fixed by Section 86 is not included in the working hours.

89. The recess must take place not later than four hours after the beginning of the working day, and must continue not less than a half hour and not more than two hours.

Note. Additional intermissions every three hours, and for not less than a half hour, must be allowed for working women nursing children.

90. The wage earners may use their free time at their own discretion. They shall be allowed during recess to leave the place of work.

91. In case the nature of the work is such that it requires a working day in excess of the normal, two or more shifts shall be engaged.

92. Where there are several shifts, each shift shall work the normal working hours; the change of shifts must take place during the time fixed by the rules of the internal management without interfering with the normal course of work.

93. As a general rule, work in excess of the normal hours (overtime work) shall not be permitted.

94. Overtime work may be permitted in the following exceptional cases:

(a) Where the work is necessary for the prevention of a public calamity or in case the existence of the Soviet Government of the R. S. F. S. R. or human life is endangered;

(b) An emergency, public work in relation to water supply, lighting, sewerage or transportation, in case of accident or extraordinary interruption of their regular operation;

(c) When it is necessary to complete work which owing to unforeseen or accidental delay due to technical condition of production, could not be completed during the normal working hours. If leaving the work uncompleted would cause damage to materials or machinery;

(d) On repairs or renewal of machine parts or construction work, wherever necessary to prevent stoppage of work by a considerable number of wage earners.

95. In the case described in subdivision "c" of Section 94, overtime work is permissible only with the consent of the respective trade union.

96. For overtime work described in subdivision "d" of Section 94 permission must be obtained from the local labor inspection, in addition to the permit mentioned in the preceding section.

97. No females and no males under 18 years of age may do any overtime work.

98. The time spent on overtime work in the course of two consecutive days must not exceed 4 hours.

99. No overtime work shall be permitted to make up for a wage earner's tardiness in reporting at his place of work.

100. All overtime work done by a wage earner, as well as the remuneration received by him for the same, must be recorded in his labor booklet.

101. The total number of days on which overtime may be permitted in any enterprise, establishment or institution must not exceed 50 days per annum, including such days when even one wage earner worked overtime.

102. Every enterprise, establishment or institution must keep a special record book for overtime work.

103. All wage earners must be allowed a weekly uninterrupted rest of not less than 42 hours.

104. No work shall be done on specially designated holidays.

Note. Rules concerning holidays and days of weekly rest are appended hereto.

105. On the eve of rest days the normal working day shall be reduced by two hours.

Note. This section shall not apply to institutions and enterprises where the working day does not exceed six hours.

106. Every wage earner who has worked without interruption not less than six months shall be entitled to leave of absence for two weeks, irrespective of whether he worked in only one or in several enterprises, establishments or institutions.

107. Every wage earner who has worked without interruption not less than a year shall be entitled to leave of absence for one month, irrespective of whether he worked in only one or in several enterprises, establishments or institutions.

Note. Sections 106 and 107 shall take effect beginning January 1, 1919.

108. Leave of absence may be granted during the whole year, provided that the same does not interfere with the normal course of work in enterprise, establishment or institution.

109. The time and order in which leave of absence may be granted shall be determined by agreement between the management of enterprise, establishment or institution and proper self-government bodies of the wage earners (works and other committees).

110. A wage earner shall not be allowed to work for remuneration during his leave of absence.

111. The remuneration of a wage earner earned during his leave of absence shall be deducted from his regular wages.

112. The absence of a wage earner from work caused by special circumstances and permitted by the manager shall not be counted as leave of absence; the wage earner shall not be paid for the working hours lost in such cases.

ARTICLE VIII

Methods to Assure Efficiency of Labor

113. In order to assure efficiency of labor, every wage earner working in an enterprise, establishment or institution (governmental, public or private) employing labor in the form of organized collaboration, as well as the administration of the enterprise, establishment or institution, shall strictly observe the rules of this article of the Code relative to standards of efficiency, output and rules of internal management.

114. Every wage earner must during a normal working day and under normal working conditions perform the standard amount of work fixed for the category and group in which he is enrolled.

Note. Normal conditions referred to in this section, shall mean:

(a) Good condition of machines, lathes and accessories;

(b) Timely delivery of materials and tools necessary for the performance of the work;

(c) Good quality of materials and tools;

(d) Proper hygienic and sanitary equipment of the building where the work is performed (necessary lighting, heating, etc.).

115. The standard output for wage earners of each trade and of each group and category shall be fixed by valuation commissions of the respective trade unions (Section 62).

116. In determining the standard output the valuation commission shall take into consideration the quantity of products usually turned out in the course of a normal working day and under normal technical conditions by the wage earners of the particular trade group and category.

117. The production standards of output adopted by the valuation commission must be approved by the proper Department of Labor jointly with the Council of National Economy.

118. A wage earner systematically producing less than the fixed standard may be transferred by decision of the proper valuation commission to other work in the same group and category, or to a lower group or category, with a corresponding reduction of wages.

Note. The wage earner may appeal from the decision to transfer him to a lower group or category with a reduction of wages, to the local Department of Labor and from the decision of the latter to the District Department of Labor, whose decision shall be final and not subject to further appeal.

119. If a wage earner's failure to maintain the standard output be due to lack of good faith and to negligence on his part, he may be discharged in the manner set forth in subdivision "d" of Section 46 without the two weeks' notice prescribed by Section 47.

120. The Supreme Council of National Economy jointly with the People's Commissariat of Labor may direct a general increase or decrease of the standards of efficiency and output for all wage earners and for all enterprises, establishments and institutions of a given district.

121. In addition to the regulations of the present article relative to standards of efficiency and output in enterprises, establishments and institutions, efficiency of labor shall be secured by rules of internal management.

122. The rules of internal management in Soviet institutions shall be made by the organs of Soviet authority with the approval of the People's Commissariat of Labor or its local departments.

123. The rules of internal management in industrial enterprises and establishments (Soviet, nationalized, private and public) shall be made by the trade unions and certified by the proper Departments of Labor.

124. The rules of internal management must include clear, precise and, as far as possible, exhaustive directions in relation to—

(a) The general obligations of all wage earners (careful handling of all materials and tools, compliance with instructions of the managers regarding performance of work, observance of the fixed standard of working hours, etc.);

(b) The special duties of the wage earners of the particular branch of industry (careful handling of the fire in enterprises using inflammable materials, observance of special cleanliness in enterprises producing food products, etc.);

(c) The limits and manner of liability for breach of the above duties mentioned above in subdivisions "a" and "b".

125. The enforcement of the rules of internal management in Soviet institutions is entrusted to the responsible managers.

126. The enforcement of the rules of internal management in industrial enterprises and establishments (Soviet, nationalized, public or private) is entrusted to the self-government bodies of the wage earners (works or similar committees).

ARTICLE IX

Protection of Labor

127. The protection of life, health and labor of persons engaged in any economic activity is entrusted to the

labor inspection—the technical inspectors and the representatives of sanitary inspection.

128. The labor inspection is under the jurisdiction of the People's Commissariat of Labor and its local branches (Departments of Labor) and is composed of elected labor inspectors.

129. Labor inspectors shall be elected by the Councils of Professional Unions.

Note I. The manner of election of labor inspectors shall be determined by the People's Commissariat of Labor.

Note II. In districts where there is no Council of Trade Unions, the Local Department of Labor shall summon a conference of representatives of the trade unions which shall elect the labor inspectors.

130. In performing the duties imposed upon them concerning the protection of the lives and health of wage earners the officers of labor inspection shall enforce the regulations of the present Code, and decrees, instructions, orders and other acts of the Soviet power intended to safeguard the lives and health of the workers.

131. For the attainment of the purposes stated in Section 130 the officers of labor inspection are authorized—

(a) To visit at any time of the day or night all the industrial enterprises of their districts and all places where work is carried on, as well as the buildings provided for the workmen by the enterprise (rooming houses, hospitals, asylums, baths, etc.);

(b) To demand of the managers of enterprises or establishments, as well as of the elective organs of the wage earners (works and similar committees) of those enterprises or establishments in the management of which they are participating, to produce all necessary books, records and information;

(c) To draw to the work of inspection representatives of the elective organizations of employees, as well as officials of the administration (managers, superintendents, foremen, etc.);

(d) To bring before the criminal court all violators of the regulations of the present Code, or of the decrees, instructions, orders and other acts of the Soviet authority intended to safeguard the lives and health of the wage earners;

(e) To assist the trade unions and works committees in their efforts to ameliorate the labor condition in individual enterprises as well as in whole branches of industry.

132. The officers of labor inspection are authorized to adopt special measures, in addition to the measures mentioned in the preceding section for the removal of conditions endangering the lives and health of workmen, even if such measures have not been provided for by any particular law or regulation, instructions or order of the People's Commissariat of Labor or of the Local Department of Labor.

Note. Upon taking special measures to safeguard the lives and health of wage earners, as authorized by the present section, the officers of inspection shall immediately report to the Local Department of Labor, which may either approve these measures or reject them.

133. The scope and the forms of activity of the organs of labor inspection shall be determined by instructions and orders issued by the People's Commissariat of Labor.

134. The enforcement of the instructions, rules and regulations relating to safety is entrusted to the technical inspectors.

135. The technical inspectors shall be appointed by the Local Departments of Labor from among engineering specialists; these inspectors shall perform within the territory under their jurisdiction the duties prescribed by Section 31 of the present Code.

136. The technical inspectors shall be guided in their activity, besides the general regulations, by the instructions and orders of the People's Commissariat of Labor and by the instructions issued by the technical division of the Local Department of Labor.

137. The activity of the sanitary inspection shall be determined by instructions issued by the People's Commissariat of Health Protection in conference with the People's Commissariat of Labor.

APPENDIX TO SECTION 79

Rules Concerning Unemployed and Payment of Subsidies

1. An "unemployed" shall mean every citizen of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic subject to labor duty who is registered with the local Department of Labor Distribution as being out of work at his vocation or at the remuneration fixed by the proper tariff.

2. An "unemployed" shall likewise mean:

(a) Any person who has obtained employment for a term not exceeding two weeks (Section 25 of the present Code);

(b) Any person who is temporarily employed outside his vocation, until he shall obtain work at his vocation (Sections 29 and 30 of the present Code).

3. The rights of unemployed shall not be extended—
(a) To persons who in violation of Sections 2, 24 and 29 of the present Code, have evaded the labor duty, and refused work offered to them;

(b) To persons not registered as unemployed with the local Department of Labor Distribution (Section 21 of the present Code);

(c) To persons who have wilfully quit work, for the term specified in Section 54 of the present Code.

4. All persons described in Section 1 and subdivision "b" of Section 2 of these rules shall be entitled to permanent employment (for a term exceeding two weeks) at their vocations in the order of priority determined by the list of the Department of Labor Distribution for each vocation.

5. Persons described in Section 1 and subdivision "b" of article 2 of these rules shall be entitled to a subsidy from the local fund for unemployed.

6. The subsidy to unemployed provided in section 1 of the present rules shall be equal to the remuneration fixed by the tariff for the group and category on which the wage earner was assigned by the valuation commission (Section 61).

Note. In exceptional cases the People's Commissariat of Labor may reduce the unemployed subsidy to the minimum of living expenses as determined for the district in question.

7. A wage earner employed temporarily outside of his vocation (Subdivision "b" of Section 2) shall receive a subsidy equal to the differences between the remuneration fixed for the group and category in which he is enrolled and his actual remuneration, in case the latter be less than the former.

8. An unemployed who desires to avail himself of his right to a subsidy shall apply to the local funds for unemployed and shall present the following documents: (a) his registration card from the local Department of Labor Distribution; and (b) a certificate of the valuation commission showing his assignment to a definite group and category of wage earners.

9. Before paying the subsidy the local funds for unemployed shall ascertain, through the Department of Labor Distribution and the respective trade union, the extent of applicant's unemployment and the causes thereof, as well as the group and category to which he belongs.

10. The local funds for unemployed may for good reasons, deny the application for a subsidy.

11. If an application is denied, the local fund for unemployed shall, within three days from the filing of the application, inform the applicant thereof.

12. The decision of the local fund for unemployed may within two weeks, be appealed from by the interested parties to the local Department of Labor, and the decision of the latter may be appealed from to the District Department of Labor. The decision of the District Department of Labor is final and subject to no further appeal.

13. The payment of the subsidy to an unemployed shall commence only after he has actually been laid off and not later than after the fourth day.

14. The subsidies shall be paid from the fund of unemployed insurance.

15. The fund of unemployment insurance shall be made up,

(a) from obligatory payments by all enterprises, establishments and institutions employing paid labor;

(b) from fines imposed for default in such payments;

(c) from casual payments.

16. The amount and the manner of collection of the payments and fines mentioned in section 15 of these rules shall be determined every year by a special order of the People's Commissariat of Labor.

APPENDIX TO SECTION 80

Rules Concerning Labor Booklets.

1. Every citizen of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, upon assignment to a definite group and category (Section 62 of the present Code), shall receive, free of charge, a labor booklet.

Note. The form of the labor booklets shall be worked out by the People's Commissariat of Labor.

2. Each wage earner, on entering the employment of an enterprise, establishment or institution employing paid labor, shall present his labor booklet to the management thereof, and on entering the employment of a private individual—to the latter.

Note. A copy of the labor booklet shall be kept by the management of the enterprise, establishment, institution or private individual by whom the wage earner is employed.

3. All work performed by a wage earner during the normal working day as well as piece work or overtime work, and all payments received by him as a wage earner (remuneration in money or in kind, subsidies from the unemployment and hospital funds), must be entered in his labor booklet.

Note. In the labor booklet must also be entered the leaves of absence and sick leave of the wage earner, as well as the fines imposed on him during and on account of his work.

4. Each entry in the labor booklet must be dated and signed by the person making the entry, and also by the wage earner (if the latter is literate), who thereby certifies the correctness of the entry.

5. The labor booklet shall contain:

(a) The name, surname and date of birth of the wage earner;

(b) The name and address of the trade union of which the wage earner is a member;

(c) The group and category to which the wage earner has been assigned by the valuation commission.

6. Upon the discharge of a wage earner, his labor booklet shall under no circumstances be withheld from him. Whenever an old booklet is replaced by a new one, the former shall be left in possession of the wage earner.

7. In case a wage earner loses his labor booklet, he shall be provided with a new one into which shall be copied all the entries of the lost booklet; in such a case a fee determined by the rules of internal management may be charged to the wage earner for the new booklet.

8. A wage earner must present his labor booklet upon the request:

(a) Of the managers of the enterprise, establishment or institution where he is employed;

(b) Of the Department of Labor Distribution;

(c) Of the trade union;

(d) Of the officials of workmen's control and of labor protection;

(e) Of the insurance offices or institutions acting as such.

APPENDIX TO SECTION 5

Rules for the Determination of Disability for Work.

1. Disability for work shall be determined by an examination of the applicant by the Bureau of Medical Experts, in urban districts, or by the provincial insurance offices, accident insurance offices or institutions acting as such.

Note. In case it be impossible to organize a Bureau of Medical Experts at any insurance office, such a Bureau may be organized at the Medical Sanitary Department of the local Soviet, provided, however, that the said Bureau shall be guided in its actions by the general rules and instructions for insurance offices.

2. The staff of the Bureau of Experts shall include:

(a) Not less than three specialists in surgery;

(b) Representatives of the Board of Directors of the office;

(c) Sanitary mechanical engineers appointed by the Board of the office;

(d) Representatives of the trade unions.

Note. The specialists in surgery on the staff of the Bureau shall be recommended by the medical sanitary department, with the consent of the Board of Directors, preferably from among the surgeons connected with the hospital funds, and shall be confirmed by a delegates' meeting of the office.

3. During the examination of a person at the Bureau of the Medical Commission, all persons who have applied for the examination may be present.

4. An application for the determination of the loss of working ability may be made by any person or institution.

5. Applications for examination shall be made to the insurance office nearest to the residence of the person in question.

6. Examinations shall take place in a special room of the insurance office.

Note.—If the person to be examined cannot be brought to the insurance office, owing to his condition, the examination may take place at his residence.

7. Every person who is to be examined at the Bureau of Medical Experts shall be informed by the respective insurance office of the day and hour set for the examination and of the location of the section of the Bureau of Medical Experts where the same is to take place.

8. The Bureau of Medical Experts may use all methods approved by medical science for determining disability for work.

9. The Bureau of Medical Experts shall keep detailed minutes of the conference meetings, and the record embodying the results of the examinations shall be signed by all members of the Bureau.

10. A person who has undergone an examination and has been found unfit for work shall receive a certificate from the Bureau of Medical Experts.

Note. A copy of the certificate shall be kept in the files of the Bureau.

11. The records as well as the certificates shall show whether the disability is of a permanent or temporary character. If the disability for work be temporary, the record and certificate shall show the date set for examination.

12. After the disability for work has been certified the proper insurance office shall inform thereof the Department of Social Security of the local Soviet, stating the name, surname and address of the person disabled, as well as the character of the disability (whether temporary or permanent).

13. The decision of the Bureau of Medical Experts certifying or denying the disability of the applicant may be appealed from by the interested parties to the People's Commissariat of Health Protection.

14. The People's Commissariat of Health Protection may either dismiss the appeal or issue an order for the re-examination of appellant by a new staff of the Bureau of Experts.

15. The decision of the new staff of the Bureau of Experts shall be final and subject to no further appeal.

16. Re-examinations to establish the recovery of working ability shall be conducted in the same manner as the first examination, with the observance of the regulations of the present article of the Code.

17. The expenses incurred in connection with the examination of an insured person shall be charged to the respective insurance office. The expenses incurred in connection with the examination of a person not insured shall be charged to the respective enterprise, establishment or institution.

18. The People's Commissariat of Labor may, if necessary, modify or amend the present rules for the determination of disability for work.

Rules concerning payment of sick benefits (subsidies) to Wage Earners:

1. Every wage earner shall receive in case of sickness a subsidy and medical aid from the local hospital fund of which he is a member.

Note I. Each person may be a member of only one insurance fund at a time.

Note II. A person who has been ill outside the district of the local hospital fund of which he is a member shall receive the subsidy from the hospital fund of the district in which he has been taken ill. All expenses thus incurred shall be charged to the hospital fund of which the particular person is a member.

2. The sick benefits shall be paid to a member of a hospital fund from the first day of his sickness until the day of his recovery, with the exception of those days during which he has worked and accordingly received remuneration from the enterprise, establishment or institution where he is employed.

3. The sick benefit shall be equal to the remuneration fixed for a wage earner of the respective group and category.

Note I. The group and category in which the wage earner is enrolled shall be ascertained by the local hospital fund through the Department of Labor Distribution or through the trade unions.

Note II. The subsidy for pregnant women and those lying-in shall be fixed by special regulations of the People's Commissariat of Labor.

Note III. In exceptional cases the People's Commissariat of Labor may reduce the subsidy to the minimum of living expenses as determined for the respective district.

4. Besides the subsidies, the hospital funds shall also provide for their members free medical aid of every kind (first aid, ambulatory treatment, home treatment, treatment in sanatoria or resorts, etc.).

Note. To secure medical aid any hospital fund may, independently or in conjunction with other local funds, organize and maintain its own ambulatories, hospitals, etc., as well as enter into agreements with individual physicians and establishments.

5. The resources of the local hospital funds shall be derived:

(a) From obligatory payments by enterprises, establishments and institutions (Soviet, public and private) employing paid labor:

(b) From fines for delay of payments;

(c) From profits on the investments of the funds;

(d) From casual payments.

Note. The resources of the local hospital funds shall be consolidated into one common fund of insurance against sickness.

6. The amount of the payments to local hospital funds by enterprises, establishments and institutions employing paid labor shall be periodically fixed by the People's Commissariat of Labor.

Note I. In case these obligatory payments be not paid within the time fixed by the local hospital funds, they shall be collected by the local Department of Labor; moreover, in addition to the sum due, a fine of 10 per cent. thereof shall be imposed for the benefit of the hospital fund.

Note II. In case the delay be due to the fault of the responsible managers of the particular enterprise, establishment, or institution, the fine shall be collected from the personal means of the latter.

7. The decision of the hospital funds may be appealed from within two weeks to the Department of Labor. The decision of the Department of Labor shall be final and subject to no further appeal.

8. The People's Commissariat of Labor may, whenever necessary, change or amend the foregoing rules concerning sick benefits to wage earners.

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Russian Soviet Government Bureau Commercial Department

Statement by A. A. Heller, Director of the Commercial Department

New York, Feb. 16, 1920.

WHILE the board of directors of the American Manufacturers Export Association adopts resolutions against trade with Russia, British manufacturers are shipping large stocks of merchandise to the warehouses in the Baltic states, preparatory to the final lifting of the blockade. British bankers are completing negotiations for the financial domination of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and as a part of their plan intend to capture the supremacy in Russian markets formerly held by the now bankrupt Germany. While the State Department at Washington refuses export licenses for shipments to Russian ports, the British Government organizes through its Board of Trade insurances against inland risks on British goods in transit to Russia, as well as on goods bought in Russia by British firms; and King and Prime Minister are preparing the political way for an early resumption of trade. While American business men content themselves with information about Russian conditions imparted to them through the medium of foreign governments intent on capturing Russian markets from America or through officials at Washington intent on justifying the policy of blockade and starvation of the Russian people, British interests have formed a Central Russian Institute to collect and distribute exact information in regard to Russia and to stimulate in every way the development of British connections in the Russian field.

I am convinced that the American business man is the unfortunate victim of the most astonishing campaign of misinformation ever undertaken against any nation. I am convinced that the great mass of American manufacturers did they know the facts would utterly repudiate the view which the Governing Board of the Manufacturers Export Association has seen fit to make public.

The Russian Soviet Government has sought the good will of American manufacturers from the beginning. The Russian Government would welcome the presence of a commission of American manu-

facturers and business men sent to Russia to see for themselves the actual conditions in that country. Such a commission would find that an export and import business of between one and five billion dollars a year awaits the resumption of friendly relations between the United States and Russia. Such a commission would find some 432 million pounds of flax available for immediate export to the United States. It would also discover at least 216 million pounds of hemp also available for immediate export, large quantities of furs, bristles, hides and platinum, and almost unlimited supplies of timber. It would find that the preliminary purchases contemplated by the Representative of the Russian Government in the United States of \$150,000,000 worth of railroad material, \$30,000,000 worth of agricultural implements, \$30,000,000 of boots and shoes, \$30,000,000 worth of foodstuffs, \$30,000,000 worth of cotton, \$20,000,000 worth of textiles and drygoods, \$5,000,000 worth of hardware and metal and \$5,000,000 worth of paper and rubber goods, represent only the immediately pressing needs of the people of Russia. It would find that the financing of trade with Soviet Russia would be the least knotty problem in international trade at the present time. The large gold reserve and the amount of raw material available for immediate export can furnish the best basis for a satisfactory credit arrangement on both sides.

Judging from the number of inquiries at the office of the Russian Government Bureau in New York relative to export and import possibilities, the resolutions of the Board of American Manufacturers' Export Association do not represent the sentiment of a large and representative group of American traders. There is an increasing number of such who are not deceived by the campaign of misrepresentation about Russia and who are as ready and willing as we are to establish at once normal commercial intercourse between the two countries.

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Results and Prospects of Our Economic Policy

By V. MILYUTIN

Economic Life, November 7, 1917.

DURING the last two years our economic policy has been changing and developing as a result of the concrete conditions underlying the existence of Soviet Russia.

The first year was, in the main, a year of liquidation of the old capitalist relations. When the power passed into the hands of the proletariat, that class naturally had to take the economic administration into its own hands. During the first year the economic dictatorship of the proletariat transferred the means of production: the land, factories, mines, mills, and banks—into the hands of the organs of the Soviet Government. In the main the process of nationalization had been completed within the first year after the revolution. As many as 60 million desyatins of land have been taken over from the private landowners, 29 central banks have been nationalized, together with all their local branches; 16,000 merchant vessels have also been nationalized. In the course of the first year as many as a thousand of the largest industrial enterprises have been nationalized; the main branches of industry, such as coal mining, the electrotechnical industry, and a portion of the metallurgical and machine construction plants have been nationalized.

During the first year our economic policy has also been directed toward the building up of the machinery of economic management. We could not immediately assume the administrative functions. For this we had neither the personnel nor the means. It is true, however, that the enormous

development of independent action among the working classes had already facilitated matters for us even during the first year. When the owners would leave their establishments, thus causing the disorganization of industry, the mill and factory committees and the trade unions would, usually, handle the situation to a considerable extent. Towards the end of the first year the administrative machinery had been built on absolutely new foundations, from top to bottom, with the closest participation of the laboring masses.

Thus, the economic policy of the Soviet Government, directed essentially toward the realization of fundamental Socialist principles, has been carried out.

Another basic feature of our economic policy during the first year after the revolution was the liquidation of the war and the transformation of our industry to a peace basis. We proposed to concentrate all our attention on serving the peacetime needs of the population. Every factory, every mill was arranging its program of production in such a manner as to bring about the transition from war-time production to the peacetime service of meeting the needs of the large masses of the population.

Thus, our economic policy during the first year consisted in an attack on the old capitalist organs and organizations, in the creation of a new Soviet apparatus, in taking over enterprises from private owners and placing them in the hands of the state and under the regulation of economic activity.

The second year differs considerably from the first, both as regards the external conditions affecting Soviet Russia and as regards the internal problems which the Soviet Government faced—particularly those of the Supreme Council of National Economy. The second congress of the Council of National Economy, in its regulations and resolutions, had already determined the line which was to be followed in the domain of economic reconstruction. In the first place, Soviet Russia was compelled to come into collision with international capital.

The second year had therefore passed under the aegis of struggle against the aggressive international capital. We have been confronted with the live forces of capitalism, in the shape of the soldiers of the Entente powers—English, French, Italian—who have seized our most needed and most important positions, from an economic standpoint. The British took the Caucasus, and we were deprived of naphtha and petroleum. The aid of the Entente powers gave an impetus to the advance of the Russian counter-revolution from the south, from the north, from the west, and from the east. The counter-revolution, backed by cannon, shells, and money, has been advancing on Soviet Russia. At the same time the bourgeoisie has declared a blockade of Soviet Russia, in the hope of strangling her economically. All this has determined our economic policy.

We were immediately compelled to proclaim the transformation of the entire country into a single military camp. We had to place our entire economic activity on a war basis. Before everything else we had to place the defense of the achievements of the proletariat. It was in this direction that our economic policy was guided during the second year of the existence of the Soviet power.

But at the same time we had to make further internal reinforcements of our economic organization and our economic activity. From the regulation of our economic life we have passed over to direct management. During this second year we have completed the nationalization of industry. At the present moment, as is well known, there are in all some 4,000 nationalized enterprises which represent practically 90 per cent of the country's total production. We have created up to 90 industrial state monopolies, centralizing the entire industrial management. The working class itself has furnished a quite considerable group of its own organizers and administrators.

At the same time our economic policy has been directed towards raising industrial productivity to its maximum capacity. Of course, the concrete conditions under which we had to live and work, were highly complex. It will be enough to point out that we had to get along during these two years on 10 per cent to 15 per cent of the quantity of fuel needed. Nevertheless, owing to the centralization of the entire economic management, we succeeded in solving the problems of a fair

distribution of raw materials and fuel. Those fears which were entertained by many to the effect that the working class might disintegrate, proved to be groundless. The latest statistical data show that the number of workers, as compared with the pre-war period, has suffered the comparatively small reduction of approximately 20 per cent.

The reduction in the amount of productivity was mainly due to lack of fuel. The fuel crisis which we are now experiencing is caused mainly by the loss to Soviet Russia of such fuel resources as the Donetz basin, which usually yielded about a billion and a half (poods) of coal (anthracite), and the Caucasus, yielding a billion and a half (poods) of oil. The loss of these regions has dealt a colossal blow to our country.

Finally, outside of these basic problems of economic policy there was the most important one, during the second year, of keeping in touch with our villages. The creation of collective forms of rural economy, the organization of Soviet farms, of agricultural communes, of artels, and so on were the first considerations. As regards the middle class peasantry it was our aim to win over these many millions to the side of Socialism, aiding and supporting them with those economic resources and means which were needed by them. The question of connecting the city with the village, of connecting the industrial and rural economy has been continually very acute.

The question of spreading the influence of the proletariat also to rural Russia has stood out prominently. During that entire time a considerable number of both Soviet rural estates and agricultural communes have been created, but up till now they are merely submerged among the many millions of individual peasants estates. True, that the conditions of organization of supply have made it possible this year, as can be seen from experience, to arrange for a more systematic and better organized supply for the villages than that of the preceding year. This already yields definite practical results. The grain crops this year promise to be considerably better than they were last year. All this, of course, bears testimony to the fact that the organization which we have been putting into practice is effective.

But at the same time we must bear in mind that the questions of distribution and supply remain among the sorest and most difficult problems in our entire economic life. It is due to this that speculation still has a large opportunity for development.

The positive results which have been achieved in this domain are accounted for, chiefly, by the fact that the large laboring masses have been drawn into the work of the various bodies in charge of distribution, that these latter have been consolidated, and the entire Soviet apparatus for distribution amalgamated with the cooperative system.

Thus, if we were to summarize briefly the final results of the economic policy of the Soviet Govern-

ment during the second year of its rule, we might say that our economic policy during the second year consisted first in placing our economic activity on a war footing, second, in the transmission from mere regulation of our economic life to direct management, and inducing the laboring masses to direct participation in this work, and third, in raising production, taking into account all the concrete conditions under which we were compelled to work.

The third year which is only beginning to dawn in the life of the Soviet Government will in all probability bring with it great changes in our interrelations with the outside world.

When the management of the economic life is centralized, when the means of production are socialized, it will be impossible to crush by means of economic isolation, a country as rich in various natural resources, as is Russia.

The third year raises before us problems of further coordination between the city and the country, between manufacturing and farming, between the supply of the raw material and the finished product. Before us rise the problems of further

improving our organs of government with the object of raising their productivity, increasing the speed of their operation, bettering their composition, and improving their internal structure. We are further confronted by the problem of developing our productive forces, especially as regards procuring fuel, and in the domain of electro-technical work. We shall have to cope with the problems of increasing production and improving the system of distribution.

Our economic policy will have to be directed chiefly toward the solution of our practical economic problems. As soon as the changed conditions the world over permit it, our policy will be directed toward the solution of broader questions of Russia's economic development. At the present moment and in the immediate future all our energies must be used for the solution of the fundamental problem—the final annihilation of the aggressive counter-revolutionary forces, which, to a considerable extent, have already been shorn of their strength and defeated, but which are now making their last attempt to overthrow the Soviet Government.

Situation of the Russian Soldiers in France

By A. RUBAKIN

The author of this article is a physician, an "aide-major" attached to the camp of Champlieu (Oise), and was formerly director of Sanitary Service for the Russian troops in France. His contribution, which we take from La Republique Russe of September 18, 1919, is interesting particularly because of the fact that it is written by one who is not himself a Bolshevik or a sympathizer with the Soviet Government. In fact, the periodical in which it appeared is noted for its amusing effort to balance itself elegantly on the fence that separates monarchism and Sovietism in the sympathies of its editors.

IN my capacity as a former director of the Sanitary Service of the Russian troops in France, and in my present occupation, which has been connected for more than three months with a camp of "repatriated" Russians, I have been enabled to study their situation rather closely, and to make a number of general inferences. The absolute ignorance in which the French public is kept as to what concerns the situation of the Russians in France (the censorship mercilessly suppresses the slightest allusion to this situation in the Russian or French newspapers, and the authorities arrest everyone who speaks about it (the affair of Col. Kollontaiev is a good example), cannot be explained by military reasons, and is rather delicate from the political standpoint. The absence of legally recognized Russian authorities (for M. Maklakov limits himself to the task of occupying the Embassy Mansion), places our soldiers in a situation which is defenseless, and completely at the mercy of the French authorities.

A Review of Past Events

The 72,000 Russian soldiers at present in France are drawn from: (1) the Russian Expeditionary

force in France and Macedonia, which arrived here in 1916; and (2) the remnants of the Russian prisoners taken by the Germans.

(1) The first group (about 30,000) are scattered in labor detachments all over the French territory. Their desire to be repatriated, which they have been expressing for two years, has not been granted, allegedly through lack of shipping space. Only the ill and those reallocated to military units have been repatriated.

(2) The second group are working in the North, in the Ardennes, and in other invaded regions, and were liberated by the French on the occasion of the armistice. A number of them had fled to Holland and to Belgium, where they were gathered up by the Americans and forwarded to France with a view to "speedy" repatriation. They were tempted into France, in other words, by promises of immediate repatriation, and by the desire to be again with their Allies after four years of captivity.

The liberated prisoners of war were in a pitiable state, without clothes, without linen, dressed in fantastic costumes, half civilian, half military, given

to them on their arrival, or received from Americans, Belgians, etc. All these prisoners of war thought that after dressing and comforting them, their Allies would then repatriate them, thus fulfilling their most ardent hope and their most legitimate right. They were grouped and divided among the various camps (Mailly, Verdun, Champlieu, etc.), guarded by the French soldiers. Not knowing what to do with them, they were set to carry out the same tasks that were imposed upon the German prisoners, filling up ditches, removing barbed wire entanglements, etc.). They were lodged in barracks which were often very badly managed (in the environments of Verdun, the camp which the Russians call "Camp Muddy"). This reception very quickly disillusioned the Russians, and the work which they were set to do seemed to them, not without reason, to be humiliating. They were on the same footing as the German prisoners. This gave rise to a number of misunderstandings. The Russian soldiers considered that they were being again treated as prisoners. Their work, and the armed escort guarding their camps, were not calculated to dispel this conviction.

On the other hand, the work assigned to them was not sufficient to occupy all of them. Thus, in March and April, 1919, when two hundred Russian prisoners of war were engaged in loading wood at Mareuil-sur-Ourcq, only twenty-five of them were actually at work, for there was not enough work for all. This meant for each man one day of work out of eight days. Thus they were utilized rather poorly everywhere and this did not convince them that the work which they were set to do had any value. In addition, the Russian officers coming from the Russian Expeditionary force were attached to the camps. With what object? Allegedly as technical advisers of the French command. In reality, at least in the case of the camp of Champlieu, these officers are doing nothing at all, while they draw a salary higher than that of French officers. They never set foot into the camp of the soldiers, have no function there, and spend their time languishing in ennui and playing cards all day long. Their presence is not only useless, but obnoxious, and gives a bad example to the soldiers. They make no effort either to get in contact with the soldiers or to give them useful instruction. As for commands, they not only do not issue any, but are officially not entitled to do so. The fact that the majority of these officers have accepted commissions in the armies of Kolchak and Denikin, who are detested by the soldiers, causes the latter to consider them as foreign mercenaries and enemies of the people. The reason for assigning these officers to posts which are empty and useless is the desire to place them somewhere, without knowing exactly what to do with them. Their continual inactivity and idleness, as well as their habitual understanding that in a material sense their future is assured, have demoralized these men and rendered them incapable of performing any work,

and that is no way of regaining the prestige which they have lost in the eyes of the Russian soldiers.

Although the soldiers do not know any French, circulars are sent to the French commandant, recommending that they be isolated from the civil population, to prevent them from spreading the "Bolshevist virus." Thus there is instilled in the souls of these soldiers, who have been in captivity for more than four years, an "anti-French virus," and it is the French themselves who are taking care of the job. The French population, whose heads have been stuffed with ideas representing the Russians as "Bolsheviks," highwaymen, and brigands, at first hid themselves in fright when the Russians would pass through the towns near their camps.

But their heads were soon cleared by contact with reality, and now the most amicable relations exist between the Russians and civilians. On Sundays and holidays, the camp is invaded by the peasants of the neighborhood, who come in by the hundreds with their families to express their sympathies to their Russian friends. The two theatres in the camp are full of civilians; you behold there old women, children, and young girls from the vicinity.

A View of the Present Situation

Months passed after the armistice, and the promise of repatriation was not yet fulfilled. The acute homesickness which affected the liberated prisoners of war led them to make a naive decision. They refused to work. The work which was allotted to them, as I have already indicated, was very slight or even humiliating. But this was not a reason for their refusal to work. They did not want to work because they thought that if they were "idle mouths" they would be more quickly repatriated. And there was in addition this other naive conviction: That the French were not repatriating them because they wished to keep them as laborers. Thus arose the famous B diet, which was applied to the non-workers, constituting a majority of the prisoners. This diet consists of six hundred grams of bread, and five hundred grams of potatoes or two hundred grams of dried vegetables per day, and three hundred grams of meat twice a week. Coffee and sugar were at the discretion of the camp—they were suppressed at Mailly but handed out at Champlieu. No pay, no wine, no tobacco. A split was produced among the Russians. Some continued to work, the others, the majority, remained on their B diet. There was animosity between the two camps. A hatred—the harbinger of future civil war, separates them. Thus the power that represents "justice" is sowing civil war among the Russians.

The B diet was, from the standpoint of its nutritive value, about equivalent to the diet of the Russian prisoners of war in Germany. Thus they say with bitterness: We have been on this diet for five years—what do we care whether it is the Germans or the French who put us on this diet. Recent events in the camp at Mailly (Saint Quentin) have shown that the military authorities are dis-

posed to make use of force against these unarmed soldiers. There the soldiers had gone in a body to the camp of the commandant to demand of him an amelioration of their diet. On the refusal of the commandant to receive them, the soldiers wanted to go and file a complaint with the commandant of all the camps. Their path was barred by machine-guns and tanks. The result was: Six dead and a score wounded. Whatever else it may be, the use of tanks and machine-guns against unarmed men is not exactly heroic. The use of a little tact would have been sufficient to avoid this. For example: At the camp of Champlieu, the benevolent attitude of the commandant avoided such an incident; there the soldiers are disciplined and respectful, and the maintenance of the camp is excellent, thanks to the soldiers themselves, for no commands are imposed upon them.

Why are they not repatriated?

Are there not sufficient transports? Transports seem to be found when Kolchak and Denikin must be supplied with munitions in order to keep up the civil war in Russia and to rally all true Russians to the Moscow government. This foreign money is not making any friends for France. And it was Pitt's system which rallied the French to the Republican government in 1793. Thus history repeats itself. But that is not our present concern. The ship which transported engines of civil war to Russia might long ago have been carrying Russian soldiers to their homes.

There was no difficulty in finding means of transportation to Poland for Haller's divisions. The whole thing took only two months. If as much has not been done for the Russians, it was because no one really meant to do it. And why not?

Is it feared that these soldiers might reinforce the Red soldiers?

Such fears are ridiculous. It would take more than 72,000 men, tired of war, and most of them middle-aged, to reinforce the Red army.

As a matter of fact, no one even mentions that as a reason. At the Champlieu camp there are perhaps 70 per cent of men above thirty-five years of age and many above forty. They are hardly of military age any more, and the privations they suffered in Germany have discouraged them. They have no desire to fight anywhere, and want only one thing: to see their country again, and their families, from which they have been separated for more than five years without receiving any news from them. We may say that with a few rare exceptions, *these men will not fight any more*. They suffer acutely from homesickness.

Is it alleged that you do not know where to send them? How about Odessa, Sebastopol, Petrograd? These are ports nearest to the French ports. Let them not be sent to Denikin or Kolchak, who are much further away, and let the fate of the Russian legion be a terrible warning to those who would have the Russians massacred by the mercenary bands of foreign countries.

The repatriation of the soldiers is surrounded by profound mystery. I have received letters from my *infirmier* and my orderly at the camp of Mirabeau (near Marseilles). After a long stay at the Mailly camp, they are now at Marseilles, waiting from day to day for their embarkation—to where? They do not know wither they are to be sent—*they have not been told!* It is ridiculous and intolerable in times of "peace" thus to treat these men, who are actually civilians, for 75 per cent of them belong to the classes of 1904 and earlier years. Why should this be concealed to them? It causes the spread of the most extravagant rumors and provokes refusals to go aboard ship. It is a blot on the reputation of the French authorities. It is reported that they are being sent to Batum. That would be an outrage, for Batum is separated from Russia by the territory occupied by Denikin, whom the soldiers hate.

Is any one looking after their welfare?

Nothing is done either for their instruction or to inspire them with any sympathy for France. At the Champlieu camp (in other places it is still worse) there is no soldiers' hut for the Russians, no school, no amusements. And, worse of all, up to the time of my assignment (at my own request) to this camp, there was no Russian physician. They were taken care of as a veterinary takes care of horses, without any opportunity to question them. At the infirmary, there was the same B diet for the sick, who were often exhausted and needed more than regular nourishment. Thanks to the amiable and intelligent commandant of the camp, I was enabled to install a separate kitchen for the infirmary and to establish a special regime. Among the soldiers who had refused to work, I had no difficulty in finding a cook and some assistants, who worked beautifully.

However, a military physician of the Russian service, with the grade of colonel, and drawing a colonel's pay, was assigned to Verdun, and is now at Champlieu. Like all the other Russian officers, he has no function in the camp and *does nothing all day long*.

The soldiers *themselves*, aided a little in a material way by certain benefactors, have organized in the camp two theatres, where there are performances four times a week, and where works of Tolstoy, Gorkiy, etc., are given. They have *themselves* organized a school, in which the courses are led by instructors from among the soldiers. They have two orchestras and two choruses, and all the musical instruments, such as violins, balalaikas, etc., are made by themselves; for they have no money to buy any. No one looked after them, no one cared about them. Yet the whole civil population of the environs attends the performances given in their theatres, comes to ride on the carroussels which they have constructed, and listens to their choruses and instrumental music. There is no supervision over these three thousand men. Nevertheless, their barracks are clean and well-

kept; their feuillees are also very neat, and soldiers bathe themselves once a week in baths constructed by them, and on their own initiative. Alas! They lack soap. Those who have money may buy it. But there are not many such.

If no contagious malady arises in the camp, if the soldiers have no flees or lice, it is owing to their own cleanliness. They lack linen. But the one or two shifts of linen which they possess are always clean and well-washed.

What are the results of the policy that is pursued with regard to these men?

France might have played a generous role by treating well these soldiers who entered our country from Germany. France should have comforted them, restored them, and repatriated them immediately. Then the name of France would be blessed in those hearts that had been lacerated by the sufferings endured in captivity. This would have been real French propaganda among the Russians, but no such thing was done. Instead, distrust and antipathy has been spread.

On the curtain of the Russian theatre, in the Champlieu camp, there is an inscription in Russian: "Greetings to the French people!" In spite of all, the peoples like and understand each other. But you should see what role is played by the Governments of France and England when the Russians mention them in their songs. For they distinguish carefully between the people and the Government. For the latter, they will carry with them to Russia an implacable hatred, for it is to the Government that they attribute their misfortunes, and with good cause.

The Russians can work very well when they want to. Have the French even tried to make use of them as workers? No. They have been filled with distrust by being assigned to useless and humiliating tasks, from the very start.

Nothing has been done to attract their sympathies to France.

Nothing has been done for their instruction during their enforced stay in France. There has been

no attention to their intellectual needs; they are not given any Russian books or Russian physicians.

Are they being punished because Russia concluded a humiliating peace? Would it be worthy of a great people to take revenge on persons who are not guilty of what has been done, who have remained in captivity for five years, and who have paid with their blood for the safety of France endangered?

Concluding Remarks

Our conclusions are simple. We call attention to the necessity of an immediate, speedy and complete repatriation of all the Russian soldiers still in France, excepting those who may desire to remain there. The latter should not be repatriated by force, for France has need of good workers, labor power is lacking, and it would be senseless to send away such persons as might be willing to remain.

Their repatriation should be carried out without any *arrière-pensée*. They should not be sent to Kolchak or Denikin. Their departures should be scheduled and announced in advance, together with the port of disembarkment. As a matter of fact, at present, two thousand Russians who have been gathered for repatriation at the camp of Mirabeau (near Marseilles) do not know whether they are to be sent to Odessa or to Vladivostok. Why is this being concealed from them?

During their stay in France (which should be as short as possible) attention should be paid to their instruction, by sending them officers of the French service, who know Russian, and by encouraging and assisting all initiative on the part of all soldiers. Russian officers who are assigned to useless posts, and who are playing a part that is humiliating for them, should be discharged. They should either be sent back to Russia, if they desire, without being forced to take commissions under Kolchak, or they should be assisted in finding some employment in France, by guaranteeing to them the means of subsistence during the two or three months which they would need in looking for such employment.

What Is Being Read in Soviet Russia

(AN INTERVIEW WITH A BOOKSELLER)

Krasnaya Gazeta, July 30, 1919

I WAS exceedingly fortunate in finding in the bookstore a man who not only knew the demands of his customers, but who also possessed a keen psychological understanding of the various buyers of books, and during our interview he gave me his personal observations and his impressions.

On the shelves, tables and counters, works of Marx, Lenin and Romain Rolland, also novels by Verbitskaya, Danilovsky, etc., were arranged in orderly fashion.

"Well, the greatest demand is for books of literature, and for classics. For example, of Romain

Rolland's works—all the six editions were sold with great rapidity. Also 'Looking Backward,' by Bellamy; 'Government of the Sun,' by Campanelli; 'Utopia,' by Thomas More; and Gorki's short stories. All the publications of the Petrograd Soviet find a ready buyer. The classics in the edition published by the Commissariat of Education, especially those by Belinski, Tolstoy and Chekhov are good sellers. They are good and cheap."

"And who are the buyers?"

"Oh, they vary. There are the workers, mostly the younger element, and the intelligentsia, the

latter object to the new system of spelling. There is also a great demand for books on Political Economy, the History and Geography of Russia, the History of the Revolution and general works on history."

"Which ones?"

"Well, those of Marx, Lenin, Kautsky, Engels, Mehring, Louis Blanc, Arnon, Tuhn, Bax, Aulard and Turlan. Great interest is shown in the history of the Dekabrista. The memoirs of Pestel and Gorbachevski are good sellers, also the works of Dovnar-Zapolski and Merezchkovski on the Dekabrista are in demand. Then, again, the popular scientific books by Rubakin, but these are bought mostly by the very young boys and girls."

"And what about books on Art?"

"Those are very expensive and I have, as you will see by this almost empty shelf, only a few of them left. The few that are left are private publications, the prices on which are sky-high."

"How about fiction," I asked, "and all the books that flooded the book market in former times?"

"For these there is no demand at all—they do not move. Occasionally some old-fashioned housewife or a young girl of the bourgeoisie will call for them, but very, very rarely. And I can safely predict that in less than six months we will not keep any of them. They only take up space."

I then inquired about poetry.

"See this shelf. These few are what remain of a large stock that I had. Those by Arsky, Sadovieff and Gastev were the favorites. They were purchased by the workers—of course, only the younger element. They would come in groups and buy many at a time. They are exceptionally interesting books!"

"Is this what the readers say about them?"

"Oh, they say many things." (This ironically.)
"Well, shall I wrap them up for you?"

"No, thank you, I have read them all and I like them. I came to you for information only. Thank you very much. Good-bye!"

A CARTOON FROM A RECENT ISSUE OF A LONDON NEWSPAPER

THE STAR, SATURDAY, JANUARY 17, 1920.



The Truth About Russia.

A Uniform Consumers' League in Soviet Russia

Proposals recently discussed in American newspapers regarding trade with Soviet Russia emphasize the probability that such trade would pass through the hands of the cooperative organizations in Russia. We are herewith communicating to our readers an article on the present co-operative system, obtained, unfortunately by a roundabout method, owing to the impossibility of obtaining news directly from Russia;—this time our immediate source is "Die Rote Fahne," of Vienna, of January 25, 1920.

ONE of the most serious tasks presented to the Soviet power by the internal reconstruction was the rearrangement of distribution. For in no other field was there such anarchy as in this; and in addition, the practical solution of this question required that nothing new should be created, but that the existing apparatus be adapted to the altered purposes.

This existing apparatus was the "cooperative leagues," the consumers' organizations, whose growth had been much encouraged by the European war, which forced more and more layers of society to unite to protect themselves against big business. The task now was to obliterate entirely the distinction between shareholders and non-shareholders, to make the cooperative organizations an organ of the entire population, to place the whole function of distribution in the hands of the population themselves. The principle of self-activity which had at one time been the slogan of the privileged segregation of shareholders, had, in the Soviet state, to be endowed with an entirely new significance; the *whole* population, which participates in the creation of the products, should also distribute them.

While the state thus assigns to the population itself the task of distribution, it arranges that the system of distribution shall have a strictly organized character. For this purpose, the state unites all cooperative organizations that have thus far led a separate existence, into a unified organization, with a single possessing title, a single treasury, a single administration, and a single, though numerous membership—the entire population.

After the creation of this single distributing apparatus, the state abolishes the immediate participation of the former organs of administration in distribution, and assigns to them only the general task of supervision.

The decree to this effect was issued March 20, 1919. In the course of five months the immense labor of disseminating the decree had been carried out. The Cooperative Commission in the People's Commissariat for Provisions elaborated a set of instructions and regulations on such subjects as: organization of local bodies for the carrying out of the decree, the preparatory labors of delimitation of the districts and registration of the whole population, the supervising committees for effecting the unification of organizations, uniform by-laws, etc. Thereupon dates were set for the enforcement of the decree; those empowered to put the decree

into force received their instructions; and a number of other steps were taken to insure the effectiveness of the decree. Finally, a Congress of the Representatives of the Cooperative Sections in the various provincial Provisions Committees was convoked. As the work of preparation neared its conclusion, the process of welding together the cooperative organizations began. This process was carried out most easily and painlessly, and in the most disciplined manner, at Moscow, where there has already been in existence since July 31st the "Single Moscow Consumers' League," consisting of three organizations: the Provisions Section of the Moscow Workers' Council, the Moscow "Central Workers' Cooperative," and the consumers' league known as "Cooperative." In the period of the unification of these three organizations, in order to avoid friction in provisioning the population, a supervising commission was installed under the chairmanship of a member of the Moscow Soviet. The formal inauguration of the unification began on July 31, with the elections to a provisional administration of the single organization. As a matter of fact the process lasted about a month, ending about the middle of September, when all the sections of all three organizations were already welded together. From this moment on the provisioning of the population of Moscow has been carried out by this Sole Consumers' League, in whose hands there is also the central card catalogue, that is, the registration of the whole population of Moscow.

The old provisions organs have ceased their work.

What is the nature of this reorganized cooperative system? We shall attempt to indicate its essential content in general outline.

The entire population of a district represents the membership of a single consumers' league. All citizens who have the right of suffrage under the Soviet Constitution, have also the right to elect and be elected as delegates to all organs of administration and supervision of these Sole Consumers' Leagues.

The citizens above indicated control the activity of the league through their representatives and through the administrations elected by them. The small district organizations are united into provisional unions of the consumers' leagues, at the head of which are provisional administrations. These provincial organizations are the administrative and distributive organs of the little cells represented by the consumers' communes of the individ-

ual districts. To these provisional organizations there are attached, with the rights of autonomous sections, the so-called provincial sections, which are really the organizations of the consumers' communes of the factories and the cities, and which have charge of the immediate distribution of food stuffs and commodities to the workers. The workers' cooperative movement in this way appears to be maintained, while it is united into a single whole with the remaining forms of cooperatives of all citizens. We must explain this by assuming that the workers' organizations, which are free from parasitic elements, are more energetic and may therefore serve as a vanguard in the realization of the fundamental principles of the decree. All these provincial sections are united into a neutral section, which is attached, with autonomous rights, to the central organization, the union of all the provincial organizations. The administration of the central organization is accordingly the administration of the Sole Consumers' League of the entire republic. As an economic technical organization, the sole consumers' league has control of all stocks, transportation equipment, enterprises serving production, concerns, farms, truck gardens, supply offices, agencies, centers of distribution, stores, public dining rooms, sanatoria, hospitals, cultural and educational institutions, formerly attached to the private cooperatives, the workers' cooperatives, and the national organs of supply,—for the realization of its tasks of provisioning and

distributing. Thus, there are at present, owing to the unification, in the hands of the Moscow distributing apparatus, the following:

Thirteen hundred shops, 107 warehouses, 268 dining rooms, 23,000 employees.

The entire providing and distributing of food-stuffs and of the necessary commodities has been laid by the state on the shoulders of the consumers themselves and on their comprehensive and uniform consumers' organization. The state itself has retained only the task of providing such products as may be obtained in the course of requisition by the state (grain), the distribution of which is also assigned to the cooperative organization.

The decree of March 20th has blazed a new trail and opened up new possibilities in the domain of socialistic reconstruction. At any rate, those capitalistic institutions have been eliminated which were the essence of the old co-operative organizations. Those organizations were competing with each other, each taking the best for themselves, forming among themselves no organized whole, being in fact, in the full sense of the word—many headed capitalists. Through the simplification of these scattered societies into a single unified system, through the unification of *all* into a membership of this unified cooperative, a new organ of the new public life has been created, which is now permanently fused with the interests of the Socialistic state and in close union with this state itself.

Silhouettes—Impressions from Soviet Russia

WAITING room of the third class, filled with Red soldiers, workers, peasants, and merchants. Men lie about on the benches and on the floor, others stand in groups talking and arguing about all sorts of things. "Communism, Menshevism, Soviet system, capitalism, exploitation"—these are some of the terms one catches from the talk that is going on.

The merchants continually try to turn the conversation to the Jews and to find an outlet for their bitterness at the difficulties placed in their way by stirring up Jew-hatred. Invariably they are interrupted by Red soldiers and by peasants: "Oh, we've heard you fellows talk before! The Jewish bourgeoisie is no better than our own bloody bourgeois, and no worse, either. But the Jewish working class struggles and suffers with all the rest of us." One is surprised that the Soviet power, which is struggling so hard for its existence, should allow the bourgeois elements to express their opinion so freely, while in pseudo-Socialist Austria and in the "democratic" states blessed with European "civilization" the jails are filled with Communists.

One hears simple, unadorned speeches; even though now and then a strong word in vulgar Russian is dropped, one observes with surprise to what a high cultural level the Revolution has raised the uneducated mass of illiterates.

Suddenly all conversation stops, there is complete silence. An officer of the Cultural Division has entered the hall. A large phonograph is placed on the table. With eager attention all listen to the simple, calm, but penetrating words of Lenin. After him speaks Kalenin, the Chairman of the "Cec" (Central Executive Committee), a peasant to peasants. In fiery words Trotsky admonishes and rouses his hearers. Some approach the remarkable apparatus, which in their isolated districts they have never seen before. Here and there a man shakes his shaggy beard, when some speech in particular strikes home. Joy beams in sunburnt faces, furrowed by heavy labor. Constantly new discs are put on, and new speeches are reproduced.

Calm and steady are the features of the Red soldiers, who are being shifted from one front to the other where death awaits many a one. Whenever one of the speakers mentions the hardships and troubles of the Russian Commune, their eyes light up with the eagerness of combat. Many of them show their longing for peaceful, creative work in and for the Socialistic society. Many sigh deeply. Not a few of them try by a gloomy expression of the face to simulate indifference.

The speeches have ceased, and new records reproduce declamations by the best Russian actors. One hears the new productions of the "Proletkult,"

the great poet of the Proletarian Revolution, Gasteff. The crowd experiences the actions described in the poetry and grasps the poetic images in their depth. It has awakened out of its dark, gloomy-gray animal life and is approaching universally human culture. Slave of yesterday, Spartacus of today. In these men one sees how insignificant is the individual-intellectual "ego," how strong and creative the community. Here the soul melts with the mass of heroic fighters for the great Russian Commune.

The good-natured, deep blue eyes disclose the secret to me, and I think: "You are sanctified by your struggle, and even though tomorrow you may succumb to the pettiness of the commonplace, and some of you betray the Revolution, the history of your struggle will atone for your treachery and submerge all the great and small mistakes of the mighty Revolution in oblivion." As I listen, I hear the words from the poem of Gasteff, "Our Ranks":

" . . . one hour they fought for the Commune,
Defending it with blood and with their marrow . . .
In their great weariness they have betrayed it,
Returning to the bourgeois robber-bands . . .
Be comforted, O wearied brothers!
That single hour shall be your monument . . ."

Brothers, men of the Commune, you have deserved the monument, you are our banner.

Tcherezvichaika

That is the name of the Soviet agency that fights speculation, sabotage and counter-revolution.

In the year 1918, at the time when the Red Terror had reached its highest point, I had to undertake a revolutionary mission from the Soviet Republic to the German area of occupation. Since I had to wait at the border until morning, I stopped with the Commissary at the border-cherezvichaika. By chance he turned out to be an old friend of mine, who had been condemned by Czarist justice to life-long imprisonment at hard labor. Ten years he had languished in the Siberian jails waiting to be liberated by the Revolution.

Until late at night we sat and talked. Why he had selected the *cherezvichaika* of all places to work in I could not imagine, for here one continuously met with blood and tears. He declared that the millions of enslaved workers who were crying for bread and freedom were confronted on all sides with bayonets and lead. He outlined to me the desperate situation of the working class, the deeds of violence and murder of the bourgeoisie during the war and the disgraceful acts of the counter-revolution in the struggle with the Soviet Republic, pointed to the thousands and thousands of butchered proletarians in Finland, and described the horrible cruelties of the bands of Kolchak and Denikin. Whenever they entered a city they would seize the people on the streets, and callous hands, the mark of a worker, were sufficient evidence for the passing of a death sentence. After recounting the unspeakable sufferings of the young Commune, he concluded: "Why, in this moment that is so de-

cisive for the proletariat you can't be a "noble" pacifist, you must fight! Blood for blood, tears for tears, until the existence of the young Commune is assured and terror and violence disappear. While we are waiting for the beautifully glowing future of Socialism we must do the coarse work, to clear the road of dirt."

Then he spoke some more about the sorrowful struggle, about blood, and treason. It seemed to me as though I heard a man in a dark room, on the threshold of the new age, thinking about the sorrowful things in human life and weeping, weeping. . . .

After I had lived for a while in the area of occupation and became acquainted with the uses of the bloody counter-revolution, its murderous fight against the Communists, and its inhuman and degrading pogroms, I realized the Red Terror, the *Cherezvichaika*, is as nothing compared with the White Terror of the blood-thirsty civilized bourgeoisie. . . .

PRESUMABLY NO INTERFERENCE IN RUSSIAN CONFLICTS

THE Reuter Agency reports that according to a telegram dated January 7 and coming from an English source in Odessa, the presence of six Allied warships have quieted the population. No preparations have as yet been made for the defense of the city. It is very probable that the city will be defended.

But the next moment Lloyd George will again swear the most sacred oaths to the English workers to the effect that England would participate in no further action against Soviet Russia or interfere in the internal affairs of Russia. Really, governing is a changeable art: first you have to shoot at the Bolshevists and lie to your own people, and then you have to shoot at your own people and lie to the Bolshevists, and in the end you don't get anywhere except to—

—From a German Newspaper.

OFFICERS FREED

Soviet's Prompt Action

From GEORGE LANSBURY

COPENHAGEN, Sunday.—Captain Brenner and other wounded officers who are prisoners of war in the hands of the Soviet Government are to be released forthwith, although the negotiation for the exchange of prisoners has not yet been completed. M. Litvinoff concedes this as an act of grace. Litvinoff's difficulties regarding his domicile are not yet solved. He is able to stay at the Hotel Turist for five more days. The incident has had a very disturbing effect on negotiations, and the Soviet representative, not unnaturally, reiterates his desire that they should be removed from Denmark.—A Moscow wireless message states that the Soviet Government has addressed a note to Great Britain asking that the negotiations should be transferred to another country.—*London Daily Herald, January 26th.*

Poland and the Blockade

By H. N. BRAILSFORD

MOST of us in these days would doubt the authenticity of a State document unless it contained at least one palpable untruth. Judged by that test, the Notes of the Supreme Council on the Russian blockade is manifestly genuine. It is untrue that the Allies have taken their new step because they are moved by the "unhappy situation" of the Russian population: they have taken it because Denikin and Kolchak have suffered a final defeat. It is also untrue that the new move implies "no change in policy": it is a complete reversal of the policy of "barbed wire" which M. Clemenceau proclaimed no later than Christmas Eve.

The Note means, one guesses, that having failed to destroy the revolution by arms, the Allies now hope to undermine it by economic means. By ignoring the Soviets and favoring the co-operative societies they reckon on creating dissensions along a new line of cleavage. "Lenin shot the co-operative leaders: let us, therefore support the survivors." That seems to be the policy, but in this case Ministers are the victims of their own propaganda.

The Shooting Legend

The shooting of co-operative leaders seems to be a legend (it is Madame Polovtseff, the best authority on this matter, who denies it). It was, on the contrary, Kolchak's underlings (according to Mr. Paul Dukes) who shot them. The fact seems to be that the Soviets and the co-operatives are on good terms.

The policy, then, if it aims at driving a wedge into the Socialist State will probably fail in its purpose. It may, on the contrary, do much positive good by restoring something of the economic structure which the long blockade has broken down. If it is pursued on any large scale for any length of time it must be gradual steps to the recognition of the Soviet Republic as the de facto government of Russia. Our ships cannot begin again to frequent Russian ports without consuls to look after them.

In the meanwhile this partial removal of the blockade creates an international situation so offensive to common decency (one does not speak in these days of international law) that it could hardly endure for a month.

Questions

What is the position? Apparently the blockade is maintained, subject to the big exception that the Russian co-operative societies may trade in certain articles with "Allied and neutral countries." Suppose, however, that neutral merchants should prefer some other process of trade. If a Swede were to consign a shipload of goods to a Swedish

agent, or direct to the Soviet itself in Petrograd, would our navy arrest that ship?

Again, the phrase "Allied and neutral countries" seems to exclude our late enemies. Are we really going to maintain the Russian blockade against Germany, after the formal ratification of peace, while relaxing it in our own favor? Is our navy to be used to monopolize such profits as there may be in Russian trade for the benefit of our merchants?

This could, no doubt, be done, in the sense that we are strong enough to impose this or any other anomaly that suits us. So long as Austria and Germany are excluded from the League of Nations there is no tribunal to which they can appeal for redress from this or any other wrong. None the less, it is morally impossible to go on imposing a blockade on Russia (with which we are not at war) in order to prevent her trading with Germany (with which we are at peace), while (in spite of the blockade) we trade with her ourselves.

How should we defend ourselves to the world if, for example, we were to forbid starving Vienna to barter the locomotives which she might make (if she could get coal) in her excellent workshops against South Russian wheat?

The Credit Side

It is possible from these beginnings to hope for a rapid development. M. Clemenceau is eliminated, and with him by far the most formidable enemy of Soviet Russia. Mr. Churchill has suffered a decided and public rebuff; but so long as he remains a member of Mr. George's Cabinet, with his hand on the levers of the military machine, it would be a mistake to underestimate his power of mischief. The plan which he and his French and American confederates had devised may be foiled for the moment, but it would be easy to revive it.

The main idea was to cast Poland for the role of the innocent victim of Bolshevik aggression, and then to summon Europe to her aid.

Lord Robert Cecil accused Mr. Churchill the other day of indifference to the League of Nations. The charge was unjust. Mr. Churchill has discovered a use for the League. If Lenin attacks Poland (to quote the *Times*) as the Kaiser attacked Belgium we should be solemnly reminded (the *Times* has done it already) that Poland is a signatory of the Covenant of the League, and we should then be invited to fulfil our duties under Article X by going to her aid.

The conception is subtle. Would even Labor venture to repudiate its obligations? If Poland were once submerged under the Red flood it would be no easy matter to rescue her. Mr. Churchill might then have a chance of realizing one of his

two chief ambitions. To save Poland it might be necessary to revive conscription or else to use the German army against Russia.

There are, to be sure, some obstacles in the way of this scheme. It would not be easy to represent Poland as the innocent victim of aggression. A little State which contrived to embroil itself during its brief existence with every one of its neighbors, and waged war simultaneously on Czechs, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Germans, and Russians, is not exactly a figure of innocence.

The fact is, of course, that the Poles, in spite of direct and repeated overtures for peace from Moscow, have been steadily appropriating vast regions of Russian territory during the past year. The Red armies were busy elsewhere, but only the other day the Poles, to the delight of the *Times*, made two unprovoked advances, one against Dvinsk and the other in Ukraine. If, however, as the result of these continual aggressions, the Red armies were presently to concentrate against Poland, we might be confronted with a very grave emergency.

Antwerp, Gallipoli, Archangel, Warsaw

The Poles are gallant soldiers, but neither in numbers nor in resources are they capable of resisting a Red attack in force.

I saw their army last March on the Bolshevik front at Pinsk. The conscripts were undersized boys: none of them had greatcoats, though the weather was of an arctic cold: some of them even lacked shirts: their rations included no meat: in one company I counted three distinct kinds of rifle: the railway was in the last stages of decay.

Behind this army is a nation sunk in an abyss of bankruptcy, unemployment and disease. The Polish mark (nominally a shilling) is worth about a half-penny; the expenditure, as the Finance Minister himself confesses, is eight times the revenue.

Typhus preys on the half-clad and half-starved poor of the towns, and in some of them unemployment is the rule and work the exception.

All this suffering is aggravated by the discontent of millions of Jews, Germans, Ukrainians, and Lithuanians, annexed to the Polish State against their will.

Add to this picture of human misery the fact that Nature made Poland a flat plain, in which no strategist could find a defensible line, and the reader will realize that Mr. Churchill is sedulously preparing yet another of his military disasters.

This time he may foresee it. When Poland is over-run "like Belgium," he will summon us all to her defense.

A Standing Danger

The Poles are a patient race, which suffers under the maddest aristocracy in Europe. It would want very little prompting from Paris and London to drive it to its destruction. A good deal of prompting may go on through military channels behind the back of the Supreme Council.

This danger remains acute until Poland and all the borderland States have been firmly told that the Entente expects them to make peace without delay.

Poland has no eastern frontier, and it is hardly conceivable that the Entente should allow her to annex permanently the immense stretches of territory inhabited by non-Polish races, which she has occupied. A worse mistress for alien races could hardly be found in Europe.

This eastern question calls for a constructive policy and a firm hand. Until a frontier has been fixed and peace concluded, it will always be in the power of our military party to revive the Red war on the Polish front—and to involve us in it.

—The London *Herald*, January 22, 1920.

The Undoing of Kolchak in Siberia

A Soviet Proclamation Issued in August, 1919

TO THE WORKMEN, PEASANTS, NATIVES AND THE LABORING CLASSES OF SIBERIA

Workmen, Peasants and All Laborers of Siberia:

The temporary domination of the hireling of the Russian and foreign bourgeoisie, the Czarist general, Kolchak, over Siberia is falling beneath the strong and invincible attack of the Red Army and the authority of the Soviet is being reinstated. Notwithstanding the support given by foreign cannons and piles of gold, the Siberian reaction is defeated and fleeing to the East. The hour of liberation of the workmen and peasants of Siberia is at hand, and now, fulfilling the will of the Russian proletariat and the laboring peasantry before the Siberian population, the all-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Council of People's Commissars declare:

1. The late Czar's admiral, Kolchak, falsely posing as "supreme ruler," and his "council of ministers," to be outlawed.

All proteges and agents of Kolchak and the Allied command at present in Siberia are subject to immediate arrest.

2. All laws, orders, treaties, decrees and orders of Kolchak, his Council of Ministers and their agents, to be annulled.

3. Donative, purchaseable and all other concessions of land, whether given gratuitously, purchased, granted by Kolchak's government to foreign subjects, to be likewise annulled, as being directed towards the embezzlement of the national property of the Soviet Republic.

4. The organs of the Soviet self-government of workmen, on the basis of the constitution of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, to be reinstated all over the liberated territory of Siberia.

5. The rights of the workmen, decided upon

by the Soviet power, to be reinstated, and all debts and obligations of the workmen towards the capitalists to be annulled.

6. The circulation of State money orders or Soviet coupons to be established.

7. The declaration of the rights of the nationalities of Russia, whereby all nationalities are free to decide their fate, is to be applied to the natives of Siberia, as it has already been to the peoples of Ukraine, Lettland, Lithuania and White Russia, the Tartars, Bashkirs, Kalmuks and other nationalities of Russia.

Taking into consideration the fact that one of the most important conditions in the maintaining of revolutionary order in liberated Siberia is the complete reinstatement of the power of the laboring classes and the solution of the land question, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of the People's Commissars declare:

1. Struggling against the non-working element, and looking to the support largely of the proletarian elements of the country, the Soviet authority has set itself the task of protecting the interests of the laboring peasants of Siberia.

2. The farms belonging to the laboring peasants must not be subjected to curtailment. All the land settlements which were concluded in the period of the Kolchak government and which are detrimental to the interests of the laboring classes, must be adjusted and annulled.

3. The poorest peasantry (old and new inhabitants as well), and the workers of the Altai region, who have little land, are to be given additional land from crown property or from late "cabinet" lands.

4. Farms belonging to the laboring Cossacks are likewise not to be subjected to reduction or limitation. The very poor Cossacks must be given additional land from the military reserves and from the land owned by the Cossack officers and officials.

5. Lands actually cultivated by the natives are not to be subject to limitation or curtailment, and must be placed entirely at their disposal. In the event of the natives having insufficient land and when there is unoccupied land in close proximity, this is to be divided among the natives.

6. At the same time, energetic steps are to be taken towards increasing the productivity of agriculture. Agricultural machinery and equipment generally must be immediately supplied to the people and also improved; seeds, and organization of factories and works to prepare and repair all the necessary machinery. All these measures must be introduced with the help of the cooperative experience of the Siberian population itself.

With a view to organizing immediate help for the workers, peasants, and all the population of Siberia, the following steps must be taken at once:

1. The pay must be increased to the standard existing in the corresponding regions of the Soviet Republic.

2. All the laws of the Soviet Republic, regarding social insurance for workers in case of illness, convalescence, etc., to be introduced.

3. Pensions to the families of men who have fallen in the world war, and also to families of workmen and peasants who have died in the civil war against the White Guards, are to be reinstated.

Comrades, Workmen, Peasants and Workers All:

The Siberian reaction is defeated. The foundation upholding Kolchak is weakening, but the Siberian reaction is not destroyed at the root. The generals, merchants and capitalists at present in Siberia are fleeing to the far East, under the protection of Japanese baoynets. There they can still threaten the Siberian workers and peasants; our task is to destroy them at the root. For this supreme purpose it is necessary to establish a firm revolutionary order and working-class discipline, all over the liberated territory of Siberia, which would be capable of building up a strong fraternal alliance of workers, peasants and the whole laboring population. It is also necessary that Siberia fulfil her duty towards the workmen of Petrograd, Moscow and other towns, if the workmen are to be able to give the Siberian peasants all that is necessary for agriculture, manufactures, iron, etc. The Siberian workmen and peasants must remember that the furious bourgeoisie and their hirelings retreating at present under force of our attack, have not altogether given up the idea of resuming their struggle for the stifling of workmen's and peasants' power. The task of the Siberian workmen, peasants and all laborers is to set forth under the banner of the Red Army, fill up the ranks and with one mighty blow for the workmen's and peasants' cause finally crush the enemy.

Workmen, peasants and laborers of Siberia, the Russian proletariat entrusts you with the defense of the Revolution and the interests of labor in liberated Siberia. You must remember that defending Soviet Siberia you are defending Soviet Russia, the world revolution, your freedom and the interests of all laborers.

Long live Soviet Siberia, long live Soviet Russia!

M. KALININ,

President of All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

V. ULIANOV (LENIN),

President of the Council of People's Commissars.

PICTURES NEXT WEEK

Unfortunately, circumstances have prevented our printing this week the Soviet posters which we promised in our last issue.

We shall print them next week, however, and the issue of SOVIET RUSSIA containing them will appear on Saturday, as usual.

If you do not find SOVIET RUSSIA on your newsstand, order your dealer to get it for you.

THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS OF WAR IN RUSSIA

SOMETHING FOR THE DEFILERS OF THE
BOLSHEVIKI TO REMEMBER

FOR months the Soviet Republic has been calumniated by all the newspapers, from the *Arbeiterzeitung* to the *Reichspost* and the *Neue Freie Presse*, and proofs have been offered of the frightful consequences to the proletariat of the system of the Soviet Republic. The fact that all this is untrue has been demonstrated in countless communistic gatherings, and the Soviet Government has been proved fully to represent the interests of the international proletariat. In order to give a final proof to those gentlemen who find the task of their lives to be a campaign of lies against the Russian Soviet Republic, we shall here present the statements of a personage of high official position, one of the French main delegates to the "International" Committee of the Red Cross.

In the thirtieth session of the National Commission for Affairs of War Prisoners and Civilian Interned, held on December 18th, 1919, in Room 17 of the Parliament, the main delegate of the "International" Committee of the Red Cross, with its seat at Geneva, Switzerland, Edward Frick, made the following declaration in reply to a question by delegate Schneyder of the *Reichsverband ehemaliger Kriegsgefangener*:

"If I speak of Bolshevism, it is merely for the reason that it is being much discussed in various countries. As a representative of the "International" Committee of the Red Cross, I know no Bolsheviks, no monarchists, no republicans. I am just as ready to negotiate, on the basis of the principles of humanity, with the Bolsheviks, as with any republic or any empire or kingdom.

"But I must in candor say that the Bolsheviks, as far as the treatment of prisoners of war is concerned, have been in many respects much better, and probably are now still much better, than many other kingdoms and states which boast of their high culture. Yet, it is not the fault of us delegates that the Bolsheviks are not negotiating with us. We are anxious to speak with these people, and want to carry on our work insofar as it is necessary for the benefit of the prisoners of war."

The fact that the negotiations are not being carried on with the Russian Soviet Republic is exclusively the fault of the Austrian Christian Social-Democratic Coalition Government, which, at the demand of the bourgeoisie, banished the Russian Mission that was stationed there, and is throwing into prison citizens of the Russian Soviet Republic. But, on the other hand, the agents of the Russian counter-revolution are permitted to recruit soldiers for the armies of Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich and Bermond, and, under the eyes of the Austrian Government, counter-revolutionary Russian conspiracies may be carried on freely.

The fact is that it is being constantly evidenced in whose service the Christian Social-Democratic Government stands.

But the proletarians, all those who this year were again forced to spend their Christmas without their dear ones, in hunger and in cold—should understand that this Christmas of "peace" is the product of the same system that has already bestowed five "war Christmases" upon them.

Moscow, December 26th (Wireless).—The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Soviet Republic has given consent for the admission to the country of the Welfare Committee of the relatives of Austrian prisoners, which was sent to Moscow under the leadership of Mayerhoefer.—Die Rote Fahne, Vienna, Dec. 27, 1920.

ANTI-JEWISH POGROMS IN KIEF

ATTACKS BY DENIKIN'S TROOPS

Irish Girls' Story Denied

The London Jewish Correspondence Bureau issues a report by Mr. Charles Jaconhovitch, "a member of the consulate of an Allied nation in Kieff," describing a pogrom in that city on October 16, of which he claims to have been an eye-witness. It may be recalled that we published a statement on January 3 by two Irish girls denying the stories of pogroms. "There was none in Kieff," the statement said, "and although there were undoubtedly cases of private vengeance, Denikin's officers made almost superhuman efforts to prevent attacks." Mr. Jaconhovitch, in the course of his report, says:—

As there was no more water in the house I went out to get some, and it was then that I felt certain that a regular pogrom was being prepared against the Jewish community. I returned in haste, as in the street were groups of officers and soldiers of the Voluntary army, who had been joined by other bandits, and who had already started breaking the shop windows of Jews and pillaging everything inside.

Having reached home, however, I tried to calm the unfortunate people, who fell on me in their anxiety for news, but already the piercing cries of women and children rent the air, and reached us. Then I heard several shots and cries of "Help! Help!" Then a death-like silence ensued. My hand still shakes whilst writing these lines, and I have great difficulty in co-ordinating my ideas.

After some time shrieks from the unfortunates came to us from another direction, as though they were at the height of despair. But suddenly we heard furious blows aimed against the door of the adjoining house, No. 38, Rue Malaya-Vassilkovskaya, where we were living at No. 40. I went towards the window, and noticed in the street some specimens in officers' and soldiers' uniforms, who were trying to force an entrance with their rifles, but their efforts were unsuccessful; the door held firm and resisted the bandits. Feeling themselves impotent against the door, which held good, the bandits went off to perform their heroic exploits elsewhere.

STOLEN GOODS

Soon after I went quickly up to my room, from the window of which I could clearly discern officers with epaulettes coming out of the house opposite holding in their hands various articles they had stolen such as linen, clothes, shoes, etc., and followed by a procession of bandits, with women and street boys carrying pillows, linen, and many other stolen articles. I even noticed a well-dressed girl, who looked rather distinguished, amongst the procession. In the street in the front of the house I could see urchins, bandits, and children of about twelve to fourteen selling for a few roubles beautiful overcoats which they had stolen.

"And all this took place in the full light of day, and with the complicity of people who should have set a good example to their fellow citizens, but who, on the contrary, incited them to commit these crimes.

"The most terrible phase of the pogrom happened after darkness had fallen on the town. An organized band, composed mainly of officers and soldiers of the Voluntary Army, went about in motors, on horseback, or on foot with the fixed intention of pillaging defenseless Jewish dwellings. Mr. Blochko, a Russian engineer, secretly confided to me that the authorities had given the officers and soldiers permission to pillage Jewish shops and dwellings as a reward for the recapture of Kieff from the Bolsheviks. But, on the other hand, they had formally forbidden them to massacre. However, no one took any notice of this order.

MASSACRE UNDER BOTH FLAGS

"Under the rule of the Reds or Bolsheviks, the one hope of the civilian population had been that the voluntary army would restore peace and security and make life more bearable. But, alas! they had been very much mistaken. The Government and the flag had changed, certainly, but the massacres, robberies and violations to which the Jewish community was subjected did not cease. Every day witnessed a fresh contingent of victims by the dozen, and by the hundred, sometimes even by the thousand.

"Whilst writing these lines, at about nine o'clock in the evening, I can again hear furious blows aimed against the door of the adjoining house. In the house there was no sign of life. But suddenly I heard the sound of broken windows, whose fragments fell noisily. The brigands had forced an entrance through the windows. . . . For a few minutes a silence like death, and then we heard a scream. It was not a human cry; it was a sound that pierced our hearts and made us shudder.

"And there followed more cries, even more terrible. Our hair stood on end. I held my head in my hands and tore my hair feverishly. I thought I was going mad. I ran from one end of the courtyard to the other, stopping my ears so as not to hear the agonizing shrieks. My body was in convulsions. I wrung my hands and bit my lips until they bled. The horror of it! As long as I live I shall never forget the cries which responded continuously in my ears. No matter where, no matter when, I shall always hear some mournful cries of human distress. No! I will think of it no longer lest I go mad. I must forget. . . . The cries lasted for about an hour and then they stopped; only the voice of a woman, which sounded more like the barking of a dog, could then be heard. The unfortunate creature wailed—or rather raved—piteously; she had gone mad.

"Some idea of the noise can be gathered when I tell you that the brigands became frightened and left, after having pillaged four rooms, leaving the others intact.

"During the whole of the night the massacres in the town continued. The appeals of the unfortunate victims still reached us from various directions without the authorities troubling to intervene.

"At No. 55 in our street I saw an act of pure vandalism. The furniture in every room was damaged or broken by sword cuts or blows from an axe. In one of the rooms a whole family—father, mother, and little girl—were lying in a pool of blood, their bodies terribly mutilated, their hands torn and cut away from the bodies by sword cuts. The faces of those martyrs were covered with wounds. Is it necessary to add that the poor little girl had been violated before she was killed? The other residents in this house had fled—goodness knows where.

A BANDIT WHO BLUSHED

"A captain, with his adjutant and several soldiers, broke into my brother's house, No. 27 Rue Malaya Vassilkovskaya, on the pretext of making a requisition. They visited all the rooms and took possession of everything that pleased them. When they got into the room where my brother was the latter began to speak in French to them, saying that he was a Belgian and this made the officer blush, and he left at once without touching anything. Before going he said to my brother: 'we are not Bolsheviks: we are libera-

tors.' These same liberators, however, carried away a considerable amount of booty, consisting of linen, costumes, shoes, and other articles of value.

"There were many instances in which the Russians behaved admirably, and did all they could to rescue their Jewish neighbors. There was one house even where two officers were killed whilst trying to defend the inhabitants against armed brigands, which suggested to the latter that they should accuse the inhabitants of this house of having massacred the two officers in question; fortunately, however, without success."

—Manchester *Guardian*, Jan. 10, 1920.

LOGIC FROM "LLOYDS"

One would need to be very good at riddles to extract any meaning from the following announcement which appeared in last week's *Lloyds*! "Chiefly on the initiative of the British Prime Minister it was decided to raise the blockade on Russia on certain conditions. . . . This decision was taken by the Supreme Council in Paris and indicates that the Bolshevik element has lost its power, and that the great majority of Russia's millions have thrown off the yoke of the Red Terror and desire to pursue a path of peace and commerce." In other words the fact that the Supreme Council shows signs of granting what the Bolsheviks have desired more than anything else from the beginning is a clear indication that Russia is no longer Bolshevik. Apparently it only needs a few more victories by the Red Armies and a few more concessions by Lloyd George to bring about the complete discomfiture of Lenin and Trotsky.

—*The Call*, London, Jan. 22, 1920.

ITALIAN SOCIALISTS AND RECOGNITION OF THE SOVIET REPUBLIC IN RUSSIA

The Parliamentary Socialist group has tabled the following motion:—

"The Chamber, recognizing that the federal organization of the Sovereign Council of Workers, as constituted for more than two years in Russia, tends to guarantee to society a future of peace and solidarity in international affairs and of social equality in the internal life of the people; and, further recognizing that the principle of self-determination authorizes each people to select the form of government which is most suitable for its own condition, affirms the necessity of immediately recognizing the Government of the Federal Socialist Republic of the Soviets of Russia, and of establishing with it liberty of communication, of commerce, and of exchange."

This is signed by Lazzari and others in behalf of the Executive Committee of the Party.

Our contemporary (*Avanti*) goes on to discuss the above motion:—

"With this motion the representatives of the Italian proletariat fulfil their first pledge to the masses during the election campaign, of which the visible sign and symbol has been the crossing reaping-hook and hammer of the Soviet Republic.

"Italy was with the Socialist party in its affirmation of international proletarian solidarity. The country has the right to see its intentions turned immediately into acts by the deputies of the Chamber, which still pretends to be an expression of popular opinion.

"This motion will open, without doubt, a great political debate, all the foreign policy of our governing class will come up for discussion.

"Italy is tired of secret policies, and wishes to know what is the Government's position as regards the Entente action against Russia. The Government must say why, in opposition to the sentiments of the people and against the economic interests of the country, it has never opposed the policy of French capitalism, which continues a reactionary military offensive against a free people."

—*The Call*, London, Jan. 22, 1920.

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A Weekly Devoted to the Spread of Truth
About Russia

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POLAND continues to profess fears that the Bolsheviks may invade her territory, alternating her danger calls to this effect with professions of faith in her own army. Thus, we find in a recent number of the *Manchester Guardian* the following:

Messages now beginning to be issued from a Polish official source in Warsaw by wireless state that "the activity of our troops is very favourable at the Bolshevik front. The counter-attacks of the Bolsheviks remained without success. The easy victory over the demoralized army of Denikin led the Bolsheviks to believe that they would be successful against Poland, but they are beginning to convince themselves that the Polish army is a force of the first order."

We have every reason to believe that Poland will have a better army to depend on than did Denikin, for the Allies, who gave Denikin almost unlimited assistance in every possible form, and who have not yet ceased giving such assistance, although we do not know where Denikin now is, have learnt by this time that assistance given to counter-revolutionary leaders must be of exceptionally efficient and effective nature if it is to be of any utility at all. Fighting against a people determined to defend its accomplishments in the field of a self-acquired liberation from the yoke of domestic and foreign tyranny is a task that will require the most careful preparation and the most unstinting application of money, material and energy.

If, therefore, England or France should still desire to support counter-revolution in the buffer states, they will have to render such support on a far larger scale than has hitherto been the case.

Perhaps they do not mean to render such support at all. The Polish Government does not appear definitely to know whether it is to receive such assistance, and its diplomats at Warsaw and in the western European capitals are at present expressing themselves very cautiously, not knowing how much valor they can afford to simulate. Thus, Mr. Patek, Polish Foreign Minister, who arrived in London on January 26, was reported in the *Manchester Guardian* for January 28 as saying:

"As regards my discussion with the British Premier, I was greatly impressed by his frankness. It now remains for me to put before the Polish Parliament the question of peace or war, but before doing so I desired to ascertain exactly the opinion and the position of the British and French Governments towards the question of Bolshevism. I have no doubt as to how the position stands. And decision as to the future on our own front must be settled at Warsaw alone.

"Although we earnestly desire peace, we can only agree to a peace which is satisfactory alike to ourselves and to our allies. One great difficulty in the way of peace is that, speaking as a lawyer, I do not see the juridical person in Russia with whom that peace can be made. Secondly, for fourteen months the Polish and non-Polish population of the countries on the eastern border of historic Poland have sent innumerable deputations begging for protection from Bolshevik tyranny. We have begged the Allies to help us. We have occupied a great deal of territory inhabited by Polish majorities and minorities, and the inhabitants of these countries have by thousands begged the Polish Army and Government not to give them up. We are bound by every possible tie to protect these Polish nationals and the whole population of these regions from exposure to the chaos resulting from the unsettled conditions beyond our borders."

In conclusion, M. Patek said he regretted that owing to the changes in Paris he was not able to take home with him the official answer of the Supreme Council to the definite proposals he had placed before it.

Just how necessary it is for the Polish Government to secure Allied protection against "Bolshevik aggression" may be judged from the extent of the real Polish aggression against Soviet Russia. To give to the reader some idea of this Polish



invasion of Russia, we here reprint, again from the *Manchester Guardian*, a little map showing the position of the present front of the Polish army that is "defending" ethnically Russian territory against Soviet Russia.

And here is the comment the *Manchester Guardian* (January 26) makes on its map:

The shaded portion shows the limits of the area which is genuinely Polish in nationality. The black line shows the extent of the advance made eastwards into Russia by the Poles beyond the territory to which, on grounds of nationality, they are entitled.

WHAT does the Soviet Government really say as to its intentions toward Poland? The general attitude of Soviet Russia on the subject is, of course, clear to anyone who understands the principles on which that government is founded, but we are today enabled to present our readers with a definite specific statement on this particular phase of Soviet policy, in the form of a wireless message forwarded from Moscow toward the end of January of this year, as reported in English newspapers of January 30:

It is incumbent upon the Polish Government to decide whether or not to make war on Russia, a decision which for many years may involve most disastrous consequences. All appearances indicate that the extreme elements of the Entente, the partisans and agents of Churchill and Clemenceau, are endeavoring to incite Poland to an unjust, senseless and criminal war against Soviet Russia.

Seized with the profound desire to prevent the fresh sacrifices and devastations which menace the two peoples, the Council of the People's Commissaries declares that the policy of the Soviet Government towards Poland is based on the principle of the absolute right of self-determination for every nation. The Soviet Government recognized the independence and sovereignty of the Polish Republic from the first day of its existence. The Council of the People's Commissaries has charged the Commissary for Foreign Affairs to obtain from the Central Executive Committee, the supreme organ of the Soviet Republic, during its next session in February, a solemn confirmation of the principles underlying the policy of the Soviet in regard to Poland as indicated in this declaration.

The Council of the People's Commissaries declares that in so far as the real interests of Poland and Russia are concerned there is no territorial, economic, or other question which cannot be solved in a peaceful manner by means of negotiations, concessions, and mutual agreements such as are taking place at the moment on the occasion of the negotiations with Esthonia.

The declaration is signed by Lenin, Chicherin and Trotsky.—*Wireless Press*.

RUMANIA every now and then is also reported as fearing an invasion from Soviet Russia. It may be that the visit of Mr. Alexander Vaida-Voevod, Rumanian prime minister, to London, early in January, was with the object of securing English assistance for imperialistic campaigns projected by that country against Soviet Russia and other countries, although one might suppose that the recent exploits of Rumanian militarists and expansionists would have satisfied the most ambitious stomach for some time. Asked by an English newspaper reporter as to conditions in his country, Mr. Vaida-Voevod said a number of amiable things, after which came another question: "I take it that your chief object in visiting London is economic?"

"The object of the visit is simply to bring ourselves into closer touch with your country," he said, vaguely.

For the sake of peace between Soviet Russia and Rumania we hope that this polite commonplace does not cover any new conspiracy between the Entente and one of the small "self-determined" states of the *cordon sanitaire*.

OFFICIAL WIRELESS OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT, OCT. 9, 1919. 1278

To the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Helsingfors:

The Russian Soviet Government finds itself obliged to remark that the Finnish Government is persisting in its acts of hostility toward the Russian Soviet Government. Thus, the White Guards of the region of Olonetz, concentrated in the village of Konduchi, on Russian territory not far from the Finnish border, continue to be furnished with provisions and war materials by the Finnish Government. The White Guards have violated Russian territory by so doing, but their position with regard to the frontier is such that the Russian troops cannot defend themselves against them without incurring the risk of sending some projectiles across this frontier. Under these circumstances, the Russian Soviet Republic, again protesting against the actions of the Finnish Government, demands that the latter cease giving any support to the White Guards who are here indicated, and declares that it declines to assume any responsibility as long as these White Guards shall remain in the Russian frontier zone, as far as concerns the consequences of the fire that the Russian troops may be obliged to open in order to compel a respect for Soviet territory

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
CHICHERIN.

The above wireless message tells its own story. It is the small border states that have felt themselves obliged, owing to Allied pressure, to encroach on the territory and on the internal affairs of Soviet Russia. But gradually all the nations, great and small, will know how advantageous it is to be on peaceful terms with Soviet Russia.

The People's Commissariat of Finance

ITS FINANCIAL POLICY AND THE RESULTS OF ITS ACTIVITIES FOR 1917-1919.

Economic Life, November 7, 1919.

I

WHEN the Soviet Government was first organized a number of purely financial questions arose which necessitated the utilization of the services of the old financial-administrative apparatus in the form in which it existed prior to the October Revolution. It is quite natural that the first period of work in the domain of finance, that is, between the October Revolution and the Brest-Litovsk peace, had of necessity to be marked by efforts to conquer that financial apparatus, its central as well as its local bodies, to make a study of its functions and somehow or other adapt it to the requirements of the time.

While in the domain of the Soviet Government's economic and general policy, this period has been marked by two most far-reaching and important changes which, strictly speaking, had been prepared prior to the October Revolution—the nationalization of banks and the annulment of the government debt,—the financial policy, in the narrow sense of the word, did not disclose any new departures, not even the beginnings of the original constructive work.

Gradually taking over the semi-ruined pre-revolutionary financial apparatus, however, the Soviet Government was compelled to adopt measures for the systematization of the country's finances in their entirety.

This second period in the work of the People's Commissariat for Finances (approximately up to August, 1918) also fails to show any features of sharply marked revolutionary change. From the very beginning the authorities have been confronted with a chaotic condition of the country's financial affairs. All this, in connection with the large deficit which became apparent in the state budget, compelled the Commissariat of Finance to concentrate its immediate attention on straightening the general run of things and thus preparing the ground for further reforms.

In order to accomplish the systematization of the financial structure, the Government had to lean for support on the already existing unreformed institutions, i. e., the central departments of finance, the local administrative-financial organs—the fiscal boards, tax inspection, treasuries, excise boards,—and, more particularly, the financial organs of the former local institutions for self-government (*Zemstvos* and municipalities).

Such a plan of work seemed most feasible, since the apparatus appeared suitable for fulfilling slightly modified functions; but the local government was not yet sufficiently crystallized or firmly established, neither was any stable connection established between that local government and the central bodies.

Under such circumstances the old institutions, which by force of habit (inertia) continued to work exclusively at the dictate of and in accordance with the instructions from the central bodies seemed to be the most convenient and efficient means of carrying out measures which the central authorities had planned to straighten out the general disorder prevailing in financial affairs.

However, this idea soon had to be discarded. The local Soviets insofar as they organized themselves and put their executive organs into definite shape, could not and did not have the right to neglect the work of the old financial organs functioning in the various localities, since the Soviets represented the local organs of the central government as a whole and since it was upon them that the responsibility for all the work done in the localities rested.

Under such conditions friction was inevitable. In accordance with the principles of the old bureaucratic order the local financial institutions neither knew nor had any idea of subordination other than the slavish subordination to the central authorities which excluded all initiative on their part.

Under the new conditions these local financial institutions were to constitute only a small component part of the local Soviets. Acute misunderstanding of the local authorities among themselves, and between the local and central authorities on the subject of inter-relations among all of these institutions have demonstrated the imperative necessity for reorganization. With this work of reforming the local financial organs (September, 1918) a new period opened,—the third period in the activity of the Commissariat, which coincides with the gradual strengthening of the general course of our economic policy. The economic policy definitely and decisively occupies the first place which duly belongs to it, while the financial policy, insofar as it is closely bound up with the economic policy, is being regulated and directed in accordance with the general requirements of the latter.

II

The financial policy of Soviet Russia was, for the first time, definitely outlined by the Eighth (March, 1919) Convention of the Russian Communist Party.

The Eighth Party Convention clearly and concretely stated our financial problems for the transition period, and now our task consists in seeing to it that the work of the financial organs of the republic should be in accord with the principles accepted by the party.

These principles, briefly, are as follows: (1) Soviet Government State monopoly of the banking institutions; (2) radical reconstruction and simplification of the banking operations, by means

of transforming the banking apparatus into one of uniform accounting and general bookkeeping for the Soviet Republic; (3) the enactment of measures widening the sphere of accounting without the medium of money, with the final object of total elimination of money; (4) and, in view of the transformation of the government power into an organization fulfilling the functions of economic management for the entire country,—the transformation of the pre-revolutionary state budget into the budget of the economic life of the nation as a whole.

In regard to the necessity for covering the expenses of the functioning state apparatus during the period of transition, the program adopted outlines the following plan: "The Russian Communist Party will advocate the transition from the system of levying contributions from the capitalists, to a proportional income and property tax; and insofar as this tax outlives itself, due to the widely applied expropriation of the propertied classes, the government expenditures must be covered by the immediate conversion of part of the income derived from the various state monopolies into government revenue."

In short, we arrive at the conclusion that no purely-financial policy, in its pre-revolutionary sense of independence and priority, can or ought to exist in Soviet Russia. The financial policy plays a subsidiary part, for it depends directly upon the economic policy and upon the changes which occur in the various phases of Russia's political and economic order.

During the transitional period from Capitalism to Socialism the government concentrates all of its attention on the organization of industry and on the activities of the organs for exchange and distribution of commodities.

The financial apparatus is an apparatus subsidiary to the organs of production and distribution of merchandise. During all of the transitional period the financial administration is confronted with the following task: (1) supplying the productive and distributive organs with money (symbole), as a medium of exchange, not yet abolished by economic evolution, and (2) the formation of an accounting system, with the aid of which the government might materialize the exchange and distribution of products. Finally, since all the practical work in the domain of national and financial economy cannot and should not proceed otherwise than in accordance with a strictly-defined plan it is the function of the financial administration to create and compile the state budget in such a manner that it might approximate as closely as possible to the budget of the entire national economic life.

In addition to this, one of the largest problems of the Commissariat of Finance was the radical reform of the entire administration of the Department of Finance, from top to bottom, in such a manner that the fundamental need of the moment

would be realized most fully—the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the poorest peasantry in the financial sphere.

III

The work of the financial institutions for the solution of the first problem of our financial policy, i. e., the monopolization of the entire banking business in the hands of the Soviet Government, may be considered as having been completed during the past year.

The private commercial banks were nationalized on December 14, 1917, but even after this act there still remained a number of private credit institutions. Among these foremost was the "Moscow People's Bank" (Moscow Narodny Bank, a so-called co-operative institution). There were also societies for mutual credit, foreign banks (Crédit Lyonnais, Warsaw Bank, Caucasian Bank, etc.), and private land banks, city and government (provincial) credit associations.

Finally, together with the Moscow Narodny Bank there existed Government institutions—savings banks and sub-treasuries. A number of measures were required to do away with that lack of uniformity involved, and to prepare the ground for the formation of a uniform accounting system.

A number of decrees of the Soviet of People's Commissaries and regulations issued by the People's Commissariat of Finance, has completed all this work, from September, 1918, to May, 1919.

By a decree of October 10, 1918, the Societies for Mutual Credit were liquidated; three decrees of December 2, 1918, liquidated the foreign banks, regulated the nationalization of the Moscow Narodny (Co-operative) Bank and the liquidation of the municipal banks; and finally, on May 17, 1918, the city and state Mutual Credit Associations were liquidated. As regards the question of consolidating the treasuries with the offices of the People's Bank, this has been provided in a decree issued on October 31, 1918; the amalgamation of the savings banks with the People's Bank has been effected, on April 10, 1918.

Thus, with the issuance of all of the above mentioned decrees, all the private credit associations have been eliminated and all existing Government Credit Institutions have been consolidated into one People's Bank of the Russian Republic. The last step in the process of reform was the decree of the People's Commissariat of Finance which consolidated the State Treasury Department with the central administration of the People's Bank, this made possible by uniting the administration of these organs, the enforcement of the decree concerning the amalgamation of the treasuries with the People's Bank.

The decree of the People's Commissariat of Finance of October 29, 1918, issued pursuant to Section 902 of rules on state and county financial organs—practically ends the entire reform of uniting the treasuries with the institutions of the bank.

This reform constitutes the greatest revolutionary

departure, in strict accordance with the instructions contained in the party program. Prior to the completion of this reform, the old pre-revolutionary principle continued to prevail—that of opposition of the State Treasury to the State Bank, which was independent financially, having its own means, operating at the expense of its capital stock, and acting only as a depository for the funds of the State Treasury and as its creditor. Insofar as the new scheme of our financial life has been realized, this dualism has finally disappeared in the process of realization of the reform. The bank has now actually become the only budget-auditing-savings account machinery of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. At the present moment it is serving all the departments of state administration, in the sense that it meets all the government expenditures and receives all the state revenue. It takes care of all accounting between the governmental institutions, on the one hand, and the private establishments and individuals, on the other. Through the hands of the People's Bank pass all the budgets of all institutions and enterprises, even the state budget itself; in it is concentrated the central bookkeeping which is to unify all the operations and to give a general picture of the national-economic balance.

Thus, we may consider that the fundamental work, i. e., "the monopolization of the entire banking business in the hands of the Soviet Government, the radical alteration and simplification of banking operations by means of converting the banking apparatus into an apparatus for uniform accounting and general bookkeeping of the Soviet Republic"—has been accomplished by the Commissariat of Finance.

IV

As regards the carrying into practice of a number of measures intended to widen the sphere of accounting without the aid of money the Commissariat of Finance has, during the period above referred to, undertaken some steps insofar as this was possible under the circumstances.

As long as the state did not overcome the shortage of manufactured articles, produced by the general dislocation of industrial life, and so long as it could arrange for a moneyless direct exchange of commodities with the villages, nothing else remains for it than to take, insofar as possible, all possible steps to reduce the instances where money is used as a medium of exchange. Through an increase of moneyless operations between the departments, and between the government and individuals, economically dependent upon it, the ground is prepared for the abolition of money.

The first step in this direction was the decree of the Soviet of People's Commissaries of January 23rd, 1919, on accounting operations, containing regulations on the settling of merchandise accounts (products, raw material, manufactured articles, etc.) among Soviet institutions, and also among such industrial and commercial establishments as

have been nationalized, taken over by the municipalities, or are under the control of the Supreme Council of National Economy, the People's Commissariat for Food Supply, and provincial Councils of National Economy and their sub-divisions.

In accordance with this decree, the above mentioned accounts are to be settled without the medium of currency by means of a draft upon the state treasury for the amount chargeable to the consuming institution, and to be credited to the producing institution or enterprise. In the strict sense, the decree establishes a principle, in accordance with which any Soviet institution or governmental enterprise requiring merchandise, must not resort to the aid of private dealers, but is in duty bound to apply to the corresponding Soviet institutions, accounting, producing or distributing those articles. Thus, it was proposed, by means of the above mentioned decree, to reduce an enormous part of the state budget to the mere calculation of interdepartmental accounts, incomes on one side and expenditures on the other. In other words, it becomes possible to transact an enormous part of the operations without the use of money as a medium of exchange.

As regards the policy of the Commissariat of Finance in the domain of the circulation of money, one of the most important measures in this respect was the decree of the Soviet of People's Commissaries of May 15th, 1919, on the issue of new paper money of the 1918 type.

This decree states the following motive for the issue of new money: "this money is being issued with the object of gradually replacing the paper money now in circulation of the present model, the form of which in no way corresponds to the foundations of Russia's new political order, and also for the purpose of driving out of circulation various substitutes for money which have been issued due to the shortage of paper money."

The simultaneous issue of money of the old and new type made it impossible for the Commissariat of Finance to immediately commence the exchange of money, but this in no way did or does prevent it from preparing the ground for such exchange, in connection with the annulment of the major part of the old money in a somewhat different manner. Creating a considerable supply of money of the new model (1918) and increasing the productivity of the currency printing office, the Commissariat is to gradually pass over to, in fact has already begun, the issue of money exclusively of the new type. A little while after the old paper money has ceased to be printed, the laboring population, both rural and urban as well as the Red Guards, all of whom are not in a position to accumulate large sums, will soon have none of the old money. Then will be the time to annul the money of the old type, since this annulment will not carry with it any serious encroachment on the interests of the large laboring masses.

Thus, the issue of new money is one of the most needed first steps on the road to the preparation

of the fundamental problem, that is the annihilation of a considerable quantity of money of the old type, reducing in this way the general volume of the mass of paper money in circulation.

We thus see that here, too, the Commissariat of Finance followed a definite policy. It goes without saying that from the point of view of Socialist policy all measures in the domain of money circulation are mere palliative measures. The Commissariat of Finance entertains no doubts as to the fact that a radical solution of the question is possible only by eliminating money as a medium of exchange.

The most immediate problem before the Commissariat of Finance is undoubtedly the accomplishment of the process which has already begun, namely, the selection of the most convenient moment for the annulment of the old money. As regards the part which currency generally (at this moment of transition) plays, there can be no doubt that now it is the only and therefore inevitable system of financing the entire governmental machinery and that the choice of other ways in this direction entirely depends upon purely economic conditions, i. e.: mainly upon the process of organization and restoration of the entire national economy as a whole.

V.

The explanatory note, attached to the budget for July to December, 1918, thus depicts our future budget: "when the Socialist reconstruction of Russia has been completed, when all the factories, mills and other establishments have passed into the hands of the government, and the products of these will go to the government free directly and when the agricultural and farming products will also freely flow into the government stores either in exchange for manufactured articles or as a duty in kind . . . then will the state budget reflect not the condition of the monetary transactions of the state treasury . . . but the condition of the operations involving material values, belonging to the State, and the operations will be transacted without the aid of money, at any rate without money in its present form."

It is clear that at present the conditions are not yet fully prepared for the transition to the above stated new form of state budget. But, in spite of this, the Commissariat of Finance has taken a big step forward in the direction of reforming our budget.

The budget of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, adopted by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on May 20, 1919, represents the first experiment in effecting a survey not so much of the financial activity of the state, as of its economic activity, even though it is as yet in the form of money.

In the work of reforming the budget, the Commissariat of Finance has come across two obstacles which bare a heritage of the pre-revolutionary time; the division of revenue and expenditures into cen-

eral, state and local, and the hesitation on the part of some to include in the budget all the productive and distributive operations of the Supreme Council of National Economy and of the Commissariat for Food Supply. Both the first and second obstacles have been somehow surmounted, and the above mentioned (third) revolutionary budget is already different from the two preceding budgets in many peculiarities which are very typical. These consist in a complete account of all production and distribution which the state has taken upon itself. This experiment is by no means complete, but the achievement would nevertheless be judged as considerable; the concrete conditions for making out the budget, as is stated in the explanatory note, have already made it possible to enter upon the road of accounting for the entire production and distribution of the nation and that thereby the foundation has been laid down for the development of the budget in the only direction which is proper under the present conditions.

The budget of the first half of 1919 has followed the same fundamental principles for the construction of the state budget, by including the expenditures of the entire state production and distribution as well as of the sum total of the revenues in the form of income from the productive and distributive operations of the state. In other words, this budget for the first time takes into account all the transactions of the Supreme Council of National Economy and of the Commissariat for Food Supply.

The further development of the budget will be directed toward working out the details of this general plan and will in particular differentiate the two groups of revenue and expenditure: (1) direct, actual money received or paid and (2) transactions involved in the accounting of material and labor, but not involving any actual receipts of money, or requiring any actual disbursements in money.

VI

In the field of taxation one must bear in mind first that the entire question of taxation has been radically changed with the beginning of Communist reconstruction.

Under the influence of the combined measures of economic and financial legislation of the Republic, the bases for the levying of land, real estate, industrial taxes, taxes on coupons, on bank notes, on stock, stock exchange, etc., completely disappeared, since the very objects of taxation themselves have become government property. The old statutes regulating the income tax (1916), which has not as yet been abolished, was in no way suitable to the changed economic conditions. All this compelled the Commissariat of Finance to seek new departures in the field of taxation.

However, it was impossible to give up the idea of direct taxation prior to the complete reformation of the tax system as a whole. Our work of Communist reconstruction has not been completed; it would be absurd to exempt from taxation the

former capitalists as well as the newly forming group of people who are striving to individual accumulation. This is why the system of direct taxation, which has until recently been in operation, was composed of fragments of the old tax on property and of the partly reformed income tax law. However, beginning with November, 1918, to this old system there were added on two taxes of a purely revolutionary character which stand out apart within the partly outgrown system—"taxes in kind" (decree of October 30th, 1918), and "extraordinary taxes" (November 2, 1918).

Both decrees have been described as follows by Comrade Krestinsky, Commissary of the Finance, at the May session of the financial sub-divisions:

"These are decrees of a different order, the only thing they have in common is that they both bear a class character and that each provides for the tax to increase in direct proportion with the amount of property which the taxpayer possesses, that the poor are completely free from both taxes, and the lower middle class pays them in a smaller proportion."

The extraordinary tax aims at the savings which remained in the hands of the urban and larger rural bourgeoisie, from former times. Insofar as it is directed at non-labor savings it cannot be levied more than once. As regards the taxes in kind, borrowing Comrade Krestinsky's expression, "it will remain in force during the period of transition to the Communist order until the village will from practical experience realize the advantage of rural economy on a large scale compared with the small farming estate, and will of its own accord, without compulsion, *en masse* adopt the communist method of land cultivation."

Thus, the tax in kind is a link binding politically the Communist socialized urban economy and the independent individual petty agricultural producers.

Such are the two "direct" revolutionary taxes of the latest period. In regards to the system of pre-revolutionary taxes, the work of the Commissariat of Finance during all of the latest period followed the path of gradual change and abolition of the already outgrown types of direct taxation and partial modification and adaptation to the new conditions of the moment, of the old taxes still suitable for practical purposes.

At the present moment the Commissariat of Finance has entered, in the domain of direct taxation reforms, upon the road toward a complete revolution in the old system. The central tax board is now, for the transitional period, working on a project of income and property taxation, the introduction of which will liquidate all the existing direct taxes, without exception. The resulting sole tax will be of such nature as to cover not only income, but also accumulations, so that every citizen will have to yield all his hoardings above a fixed sum.

* * *

In closing this review of the activity of the

Commissariat of Finance during the two years of its existence, one must note briefly the great purely organizational work, conducted by it on national as well as a local scale.

The reform has been definitely directed towards simplifying the apparatus and reducing its personnel as far as possible.

Finally, with this reform, the Commissariat of Finance has been organized in the following manner: The central office, the central budget-accounting board (former People's Bank and Department of State Treasury) and, finally, the central tax board (former Department of Assessed Taxes, and of Un-Assessed Taxes). Upon the same pattern are also being modeled the local financial bodies.

THE POGROM AT FASTOV

Moscow, November 16.—In the White Guard newspaper, *Kievskaya Zhizn*, appear the horrible details of the pogrom began on the 9th of September about ten o'clock in the morning. The first day the pogrom did not claim any human victims. The looters only pillaged and burned shops and stores owned by Jews. But in the middle of the night the bloody Bacchanals began. The *pogromshchiks* proposed to the peasants that they give up the Jews and place a light in their own houses. The streets of the town resounded all night with the shrieks of violated women and dying children and old men. They did not even permit the peasants to take care of the injured. Everywhere the noise and shouting of the bandits were heard, together with the shrieking and the sound of breaking glass. Their victims were made to undress completely, they were then placed against a wall, and in this fashion shot in whole groups, ten at a time. The number of killed was estimated at more than 600, and that of the wounded and ill still higher. More than 100 houses and about 60 stores were burned down, while the Jews were not permitted to leave them. The bodies of the dead were not removed, but lay around the streets and in cellars for several days. The wounded lay without any medical aid. The limbs of many of the wounded gnawed by dogs and hogs. The pogrom continued for six days and six nights. Only on the fifth day did it begin to subside and there was a possibility of giving assistance to the wounded. When the pogrom was over the rioters found they had such an enormous quantity of money that they did not know what to do with it. Articles plundered from the Jews were sold on the streets for a song, and not infrequently were given away to the peasants, most often to servants. At the end of six days of the pogrom the military authorities arrived at Fastov and began to restore order. As a result of the pogrom the meeting of the joint boards of the union for the revival of a national center and the association for central unification issued a resolution of protestation, in which, among other things, is declared: 'Anxiety and agitation are felt in the ranks of the White Guard Volunteer Army owing to the events at Fastov.'

Official Communications of the Soviet Government

SOVIET WIRELESS OF OCTOBER 13, 1919. 1613

Military Bulletin of the Russian Soviet Republic for October 13th

NORTHERN FRONT. *Sector of Archangel.* The Red troops have repulsed several hostile attacks and have taken prisoners. *Sector of Pudozh.* We took possession of several localities in the region of Lake Kupatskoye. *Sector of Murman.* A combat is in progress twenty versts to the northwest of the station of Lázhma. **WESTERN FRONT.** *Sector of Yamburg.* Combat continues in progress. Twenty-five versts to the northwest of the station of Pliussa Red troops are continuing to advance successfully. *Sectors of Gdov and Pechery.* The combat continues. *Sector of Olevsk.* The Red troops repulsed the enemy's attack and took possession of artillery. *Sector of Kiev.* The Red troops have taken a number of positions ten versts to the northwest of Fastov, and twenty-five versts to the west of Kiev, capturing a number of cannons and some other materials. The Red flotilla, reaching the confluence of the Desna and the Dnieper, bombarded the railway station and the port of Kiev. **SOUTHERN FRONT.** *Sectors of Glukhov and Lgov.* The Red troops, continuing to advance, are fighting successfully five versts to the north of Mikhailovski-Khutor, and are debouching over the railroad tracks twenty-five versts to the southwest of Dmitrovsk. In the direction of Dmitrovsk our troops are rolling back the enemy toward the city. Around Kromy, our cavalry has defeated the enemy detachments, taking possession of numerous prisoners, machine-guns, and other materials. *Sector of Kastornaya, Voronezh, Pavlovsk, and Boguchar.* Local combats. Around Ust-Kho-per, the enemy attempted to attack, but was repulsed with great loss. About Tsaritsin the Red troops attacking in the direction of Karpovka took possession of numerous positions. Further to the east our troops, overcoming a violent resistance on the part of the enemy, are reaching the line of the stations of Kotluban and Pichuga. **TURKES-TAN FRONT.** *Sector of Uralsk.* Red troops have repulsed several enemy attacks. Fifty versts to the east of Uralsk we captured Vchinski. Our cavalry on October 6th effected a successful raid on Turgai. **EASTERN FRONT.** Enemy attempts to cross the Tobol were repulsed by our fire. To the south of the Ishim railroad we have taken numerous prisoners. To the north of the railroad the enemy attack was repulsed. *Sector of Tobolsk.* Our advance along the Tobol is developing.

Turkestan Opened Up

The railroad between Orenburg and Tashkent has been completely repaired and opened to traffic along the whole length of the line. There is a sufficient quantity of locomotives and rolling stocks.

Mobilization Notes

At Penza, the Communist Party is sending to the Southern Front thirty-two of its chief workers and

is mobilizing in addition ten per cent of the members of the party and opening a subscription list. At Rybinsk the mobilization has created great enthusiasm in workers' circles. Several hundreds of Communists, fifty of them from among the principal Soviet workers, are leaving for the front. The Party Committee is besieged with volunteers. Vologda is sending to the front thirty-eight of its most noted personages. The Communists of Perm have made up a whole detachment, which is leaving for the front.

The Communist Week

The Communist Week held at Novgorod and in the environment is meeting with great successes. In the city alone more than five hundred new members have been enrolled. The new recruits came chiefly from the workers, the fishermen and the peasants.

Political Organizations Among the Cossacks

The work of education and political organization among the Cossacks is yielding the best results. The Cossacks who are prisoners or deserters attend the meetings diligently, snatching the printed matter that is offered, and entering the Red Army with ardor. In the Cossack localities the general assemblies pass resolutions of adherence without reservation to the Soviet power. The revolutionary committees are usually composed of the Red Cossacks themselves.

The Food Campaign

The Government of Orenburg holds considerable reserves of grain, which are about to be transported to the capitals, thanks to the measures which have been taken by the Commissariat of Provisions. The Government has been divided into eleven districts, in each of which the exchange of merchandise and of manufactured products is regularly carried on.

In the Government of Yekaterinburg excess supplies of grain amount to several million poods, which the population is giving up without causing any trouble. The political sympathies of the peasants are making the carrying out of the harvest very easy. They voluntarily accept in exchange for their products not only manufactured products but also the Soviet banknotes. The provision plan is developing rapidly and methodically.

In the Government of Samara the food policy of the Soviet power is also a very great success. The Government has furnished since the beginning of September about two million poods, a thing that was unheard of under the old regime. The daily deliveries in October are still increasing, attaining the figure of one hundred thousand poods per day.

In the Government of Saratov the peasants are deciding *en masse* to hand their excess harvests to the Provisions Service.

On the Polish Front

In the region of Lepel the Red troops have taken the offensive, seized several localities as well as the group of lakes, and are continuing to advance to the West. The Polish bands are obliged to retire in haste to the west of Polotsk.

Situation of Kolchak

The most recent newspapers received from Siberia, unanimously confirm the complete disintegration of Kolchak's army. *Nasha Zarya* writes: "Kolchak is between two fires; on the one hand the front, on the other hand the partisan Red bands who are marching to reinforce each other. Tomsk is in the hands of insurrectionists. The bourgeoisie is fleeing in disorder. The Amur country has been liberated from Khabarovsk up to Kuenga.

Revolts in Denikin's Country

At Nizhne Cherskaya, Khoper district, a revolt of the Cossacks and peasants has occurred; they categorically refuse to submit to requisitions for the voluntary army. The frightful reprisals by Denikin's gendarmerie, with mass shootings, arrests, and floggings, have had no other result than to multiply the discontent among the Cossacks. In the Tsaritsin district the peasants are only awaiting the proper moment in order to rebel against the White hordes. "Give us arms and we will fight to the last against the brigands who wish again to oppress us." Such is the spirit expressed by the peasants in their cantonal and village meetings.

In the Northern Caucasus the struggle between the mountaineers and the Denikin bands is assuming a fierce character. Because of the numerical superiority of the Whites, the mountaineers have had to sacrifice hundreds of men, in spite of the savage defense which they have made by the side of the Communists. Out of twelve thousand mountaineers about two thousand have been executed by shooting. Over great distances the country presents only a mass of ruins that have been produced by Denikin's troops. The mountaineers are eager for the approaching day on which their wrath may be appeased.

Denikin and the Monarchists

The newspaper *Kievlianin* publishes the following demand: "The members of the League of the Russian People, who have worked as agents under the Soviet power, are invited to present themselves." The League of the Russian People which is thus serving as a support to Denikin is the unfortunately too well-known monarchist organization. *Official Wireless of August 18th*, pp. 15-16.

The Kuban Rada and Denikin

In spite of its apparent successes, Denikin's army is afflicted with an internal complaint which will cause its speedy destruction. Deserters and escaped prisoners declare that the internal dissensions in this army are assuming dimensions which are becoming more and more extensive. Particularly those existing between the volunteer army and

the Kuban Cossacks frequently terminate in hand to hand conflicts in the course of which artillery is introduced on both sides. The Kuban Rada has categorically refused to support the dictatorship of Denikin and this decision is entirely approved by the Kuban military units.

Atrocities of the Whites

According to the stories told by escaped prisoners, the shooting of Red prisoners has become a regular affair in Denikin's territory in the last few weeks. Formerly these prisoners were set to digging trenches, now they are all shot at the railroad station of Tikhorietskaya. A hundred Red soldiers and railroad workers remained hanging for a whole week after having been executed by hanging.

An Appeal by Zinovieff to the Peasants

Zinovieff addresses a proclamation to the peasants of the Government of Petrograd, Novgorod, Pskov, Tcherepovetz and Olonetz, on the subject of the celebration of the second anniversary of the November revolution.

"Thanks to this triumphant day of the 25th of October (November 7), thanks to the struggle waged by the proletariat, thanks to the countless sacrifices that have been made, the dreams cherished by your fathers and grandfathers have been realized. The soil has become yours. From now on the infuriated proletarians are making an effort to regain possession of this soil. The workers and the best of the peasants have created the Red army and for two years have supported this great war. The Russian bourgeoisie and landed proprietors have allied themselves with the French, English and American capitalists. From them they receive money, provisions, officers, and cannons. They massacre and pillage all Russia. This war is not yet finished, and it must inevitably end with our victory. On the day of our Red Easter all the workers, the peasants, poor and medium, must gather in one great family and swear to struggle to the end. We invite you to Petrograd to be a part of the five thousand delegates of peasants in the festival of the revolution. For a week you will be present at all the solemnities and we shall take pains to organize for you a series of lectures, to distribute pamphlets to you, and to facilitate in every way the continuation of your labor in the villages. We want to receive visits from peasants who come to rest the plows of the most distant villages and communities. We want the plainest peasant workers to look with their own eyes on what is going on at Petrograd and to convince themselves of the manner in which the workers of the Red capital are struggling, are suffering, and are determined to win. In the fraternal and indissoluble union of the workers and peasants of Russia is the pledge of our victory over all our enemies."

The Communist Week at Moscow

Saturday in the various quarters has been de-

voted to a series of moving picture performances and public meetings in which the program of the Communist Party was discussed in the factories. Everywhere the meetings were numerously attended, sometimes having more than two or three thousand spectators each, and the enrolments rise into hundreds. In the Khamovniki quarter thirty-five meetings were held in two days. The meeting at the Giraud factory yielded an impressive percentage of enrolments. The Presnia quarter has already organized seventy-three big meetings, not counting smaller meetings, and counts a thousand enrolments. Everywhere the most enthusiastic resolutions have been passed in favor of the Soviet power and the final victory over the bourgeoisie.

Children's Colonies

The various Soviets of the quarters of Moscow have sent to the colonies about 10,300 children of pre-scholar age. Three of the Moscow quarters, which are very favorably situated from the standpoint of giving the children fresh air (having the parks of Sokolniki and Petrovski), are not included in this number.

Collective Labor

The workers' inspection of the Preznia quarter of Moscow, after having undertaken a comparative study of the kitchen-gardens of private individuals and those of workers' associations, has determined that collective labor has resulted in harvests that were appreciably superior to the others. The entire product is divided equally among those who take part.

Professional Organization

At Orenburg the reorganization of the professional movement is taking place. Twelve syndicates are completely organized. The work of culture and education is developing, and on November 7, schools for adults were opened.

SOVIET WIRELESS OF OCTOBER 14, 1919

NORTHERN FRONT. *Sector of Archangel.* There are violent conflicts along the railroad. *Sector of Murman.* The advance of our debarkation detachment on the west shore of Provienski Bay is being prosecuted successfully. Conflicts are still in progress in the region of the railroad, sixty-six versts north of Petrozavodsk. **WESTERN FRONT.** *In the region of Yamburg.* The enemy is continuing his attacks with considerable forces. Engagements have begun fifteen versts west of Pakov and thirty versts west of Ostrov. *In the Sector of Lepel,* the advances of the Red Army are continuing. *Sector of Kiev.* The advance of the Red troops is being prosecuted successfully. **SOUTHERN FRONT.** *Sector of Glukhov.* The Red troops are continuing to advance energetically; the enemy is suffering heavy losses and is in retreat toward Krolevets and Glukhov. To the northwest the Red troops attacking from the north have entered Mikhailovski-Khutor. *Sector of Kursk.* We have taken possession of the City of Dmitrovsk and

The Allies and Denikin

All the deserters report that in the Tsaritsin region Denikin's army has recently received a considerable quantity of armored cars from England as well as long range guns and American rifles.

The Soviet Provinces

In the village of Sutski, Government of Vitebsk, trade courses have been opened for the peasants, including four sections: metal work, building, farming, and commerce. The courses extend over four years.

Perfecting the Soviet Apparatus

Courses destined to produce politically and professionally competent workers for the service of the food department have just ended at Novgorod. One hundred and twenty of the most advanced pupils are at present at the disposition of the Government Food Commission.

In Siberia

In the district of Yalutorovsk, the peasants are furnishing numerous volunteers to the Red Army. According to the statements of deserters, two districts of the Government of Omsk do not recognize Kolchak and have wiped out the Cossacks who were sent against them. The district of Gorsk possesses a detachment of Bolsheviks who are disorganizing Kolchak's communications. The price of bread in Omsk is already fifty rubles a pound.

The Workers at Tula

The Assembly of the delegates of the working-women of Tula has decided to take an active part in the struggle of the proletariat against capital. It invites all working-women to replace the men who are working in the institutions. The women swear in case of danger to take arms themselves.

are continuing our advance. Engagements are in progress for the possession of the City of Orel. *Sector of Pavlovsk.* Violent enemy attacks were repulsed. On other sectors, there are local combats. **TURKESTAN FRONT.** *Sector of Uralsk.* Enemy attack 100 versts to the east of the city was repulsed by our fire. **EASTERN FRONT.** *Region of Tobolsk.* Skirmishes between scout detachments are taking place. On both sides of the Ishim railroad, local conflicts have taken place, in the progress of which we took numerous prisoners.

The Reaction at Kiev

The Kiev newspapers relate that the Whites, after having arrested all Communists, are now proceeding against all suspects. More than five hundred persons have already been imprisoned on this ground. All other liberties having been suppressed, the right of association has now also been abolished by order of the commandant of the garrison, and all persons violating this order are liable to trial by court-martial.

The Volunteers of the Ural

In the Ural and in the neighboring regions, the volunteers are flowing in from the entire peasant population. The district of Shadrinsk alone has provided more than four thousand. The same tendency is noticeable with equal force in the entire Kamyshlov district. The morale of the volunteers is good, and that of the mobilized is of the highest. The Cantonal Assemblies, when they send men into the Red Army, strongly admonish them to defeat Kolchak and Denikin at any price. One Canton decided to carry out within its borders the mobilization of all men between eighteen and forty years of age. In the last ten days, volunteers have been arriving at Yekaterinburg from sixty-six Cantons, all asking to be dispatched to the front as rapidly as possible.

The Mussulmans and the Soviet Power

At Samara, the Mussulman Communists have decided to militarize their groups and to devote all the energies of the Volga Tartars to the struggle against counter-revolution and to the liberation of the oppressed nations of the East. The Mussulman Communists are mobilized, and the organizations of Samara, Ufa and Orenburg have entered into relations with them for the organization of Mussulman units.

The Volunteers

At Syzran, the mass enrollment of volunteers for the Southern front has begun. Hundreds, not only of Communists and of sympathizers, but even of so-called "indifferents," are applying to the enlistment offices.

Discontent Among the Czechs

According to the White newspaper, *The New Dawn*, great restlessness prevails among the Czechs under Kolchak. The units are demanding their immediate repatriation, threatening that they will otherwise turn their bayonets against Kolchak. It has already been reported that a Czech regiment, having rebelled, attacked the Czech General Staff, which was established at Novo-Nikolayevsk, and that only the solemn promises of the Allied representatives could prevent a general uprising.

White Terror

The Rostov newspaper, *The Free Kuban*, announces that at Rostov the priest Mitropolski was put to death for having delivered in his church a sermon in which he demanded the cessation of the civil war and peace with the Soviet power, and proclaimed the equality and fraternity of all workers.

At Sakharnovskaya

Here the Red troops found the smoking ruins of a great building. Among the debris were found skulls, hands and legs. The charred bodies still presented traces of sabre cuts. An interrogation of the population showed that on their retreat the Cossacks had set on fire the house in which they had imprisoned their Red captives.

Forgeries

In the Government of Stavropol, the Whites are circulating great quantities of a distorted text of the Soviet Constitution.

The Morale of the Cossacks

On the Southeastern front, on their withdrawal, the Cossacks left the following note in one of the sectors: "Comrades! Comrades, we do not want to march to attack you. We refused to continue the war long ago, but we are mobilized, and those who will not march are shot."

In the Caucasus

In our victorious defence of Mikhailovskaya, we discovered in the trenches of the Whites a letter evidently intended for the Red soldiers:

"Dear comrades! Red soldiers and Communists! The Northern Caucasus is waiting for you. Novorossiysk has already been taken by the Green Army. The English, who had arrived in the Government of Stavropol, and seized our grain, were received with musket-shots. At Maikop, and around Sviaty Krest, the conflict is in progress. At Kizliar, the Green Army of 20,000 men is waiting for the combat. Hurry to come to our aid, and defeat Denikin, who is already surrounded by a ring of rebellions. The workers and peasants of the Caucasus are waiting for you, Comrades, as for the defenders of the oppressed peoples."

Life at Kazan

Free dining rooms for children have been organized in all the factories of Kazan.

A Protest by the Intellectuals

At Kazan, the Congress of Librarians of all the Governments, being informed of the execution of the celebrated writer Veresayev, by Denikin, expresses its complete solidarity with the ideal for which this most loyal of writers died, and calls upon all the intellectuals to give evidence of the same solidarity by entering the ranks of the proletariat and struggling in its defence. There has been enough silence and passive observation of the struggle on our part. Veresayev, by his death, calls upon us for active combat.

The Bolsheviks at Riga

According to the newspaper *Zaslavskaya Rech*, detachments of Bolsheviks have appeared in the Riga district. Supplies of arms, of grenades, and of cartridges, as well as machine-gun nests, have been discovered in the environs, and a great number of suspects have been arrested.

Public Instruction

At Kazan, there has been opened the Congress for Extramural Instruction. To carry out obligatory, elementary instruction it is intended to use the buildings of the schools of the second class. A system of model schools is to be created, to initiate inexperienced instructors in the methods of teaching. Within three months, all Kazan is to be able to read and write.

Population of Moscow

According to the latest statistics, the population of Moscow amounts to 1,700,000 persons, of which number 485,000 are workers.

The Baltic Madedonia

In *Izevestia*, Kerzhentsev depicts the extraordinary mess that has been created in the Baltic countries, as follows: "We find gathering in those parts all possible kinds of adventurers and counter-revolutionists, all working together in their own interest, as well as for the masters who have sent them. You will find down there Von der Goltz, formerly a pasha in the service of the German Imperialism in Turkey, and now, under the name of Goltsev, a faithful servant of the Russian autocracy. You will find down there also Col. Bermont, today posing as Averlov, tomorrow as Avalov, and later as Prince Uruslov. Also down there are the Rodziankos and Lievens, the Bischoffs and the Pahlens, all the cream of the Russian and German counter-revolution. But these figures are only puppets in the hands of the Great European Powers. The Northwest Government of Rodzianko and Lianozov is supported by the English. The Russian monarchist government of Mitau is maintained by German money and supported by the bayonets of Von der Goltz. The latter is carrying out a complicated task, inspired both from Berlin and Paris. France has discerned in the army of Von der Goltz a powerful weapon, capable of undertaking active operations against Bolshevik Russia. We are therefore treated to the sight of an amusing Franco-German alliance against Soviet Russia. If Von der Goltz acts so audaciously in spite of the official protests of the Allies and of the German Government, it is because he feels that he is supported by the latter as well as by the French Government. The French counter-revolutionists are hand in glove with the German Social-Monarchists and the Russian black bands, to re-establish in Russia the monarchic régime, and to enrich themselves out of our hide. The Baltic countries have been transformed into a new Balkan peninsula, a theatre for the most unbridled bacchanals of imperialism."

An Appeal to the Indifferent

The newspapers publish the following letter of Zinoviev to those who are without party affiliations: "There are among the workingmen and working-women of Russia hardly any adherents of the political parties opposed to us. Among the workers of Petrograd and Moscow you would have great difficulty in finding a Menshevik, and you will have just as much trouble to come upon a Socialist-Revolutionary of the Right or the Left. These parties may consider themselves to be dead for good." Yet, Zinoviev adds that it is not the majority of the working class as yet, which takes an active part in the political life of the country, a great number to this day continuing to consider themselves to be without party affiliation. "But, fortunately for our people and for our revolution, the mass of the workingmen and workingwomen is

not without a party, except perhaps in words. As a matter of fact, the enormous majority—we must say this to their honor—in these decisive days stand by the only workers' party, namely, the Communist Party. Nor could it be otherwise; for the lessons of reality have been too threatening." Zinoviev then quotes a hand-bill, printed at Reval by a non-partisan citizen named Serebrennikov, in which the abominable regime is described which was imposed on the City of Pskov by Bulak Balakhovich. "I shall never forget that day. The great mass of passers-by held their heads high, threw back their shoulders, and some, gnashing their teeth, pointed at something in the bazaar with their fingers. Behind the crowd of people you saw that it was a man in his night-shirt, hanging from a street-lantern, with a crowd before him, in which there were many children. The wind was blowing, the rain was coming down, and the corpse was swaying at the end of its rope. A passer-by told me why this had been done. 'Why didn't the Bolsheviks ever do anything like this? It is a fine spectacle to show the children!' And the thing went on more and more. Literally there were hangings every day in the middle of the city from all the lamp-posts. After a while the people became accustomed to the spectacle and the crowd would gather in front of Balakhovich's General Staff Building, waiting for hours for its daily spectacle. Finally, the victims were obliged even to prepare their own nooses and sometimes the victim was beaten while he was preparing his noose before the eyes of women and children. Often several were hanged together from the same lamp-post. When any of them would kick too violently, the soldiers would take him by the legs, and force him to die quietly. I have myself witnessed these sadistic scenes. I have seen men and women quietly weeping, as they led away their children, to prevent them from looking on. Then the dead would remain hanging for days in succession, and sensitive persons would try to avoid the streets in which the executed were hanging. Once I was obliged to get off the sidewalk, for a man who had escaped the noose had been fired at with revolvers, and the whole distance that he had run before dying was traced with a wide band of dried-up blood." Such is the example Pskov has to offer. At Yamburg, Yudenich's band shot and hanged 650 workers and peasants. At Kiev, at Odessa, at Kharkov, the same thing was done. In certain districts of the Urals, bands of officers shot down eighty-one men in one week. In the Urals also there are dozens of districts in which the peasants and workers were flogged to death. Zinoviev finally calls upon all those without party affiliations, and declares: "Tens and hundreds of thousands of workers should enter their own Party, the Party which is struggling for the welfare of the workers of the whole world."

The Communist Week

In all the quarters of Moscow, the Communist week shows to what an extent the ideals of the

Communist Party are influencing the workers and soldiers. In fifteen meetings held in the City Quarters, the soldiers listened eagerly to the speakers who expounded the Communist program. In certain units, they declare that although they were without party affiliations, they were always devoted with all their hearts to Communism. A thousand soldiers asked to be enrolled in the party. Forty meetings were organized in fifty small workshops, where there were mostly women working. Hundreds of enrollments were the result. In the quarter of Zamoskvoryeche, the week has demonstrated that the workers are followers of the Communist Party as a mass, and have decided to struggle by its side against all enemies. A resolution declares: "Down with all political indifferentents." In the quarter of Presnia, there were meetings in which forty-five per cent of those present were enrolled in the party. In the quarter of Zimonovski, refugees from Konotop spoke, who depicted the régime established by Denikin. One of them declared: "You know me; I was not a Communist; but the Governments which I have seen succeeding one after the other at Konotop, the Rada, Skoropadski, Petlura, the Soviet Government, and finally Denikin, have convinced me that only the Soviet power and the Communist power have any intention to create the régime that is desirable for us workers. I do not wish to remain without a party; I enroll today in the Communist Party, and I exhort

you to do the same." There are several thousands of enrollments that can be traced to the recent meetings in Moscow. Workers without party affiliations have themselves been seen taking the floor to exhort their comrades to enter the Communist Party. There are shops which voted to enter the party as a body.

Among the Intellectuals

A resolution passed by the students of the Military Pedagogical Courses calls upon all the intellectuals that have no party affiliations inviting them definitely to break with the bourgeoisie, actively to support the Soviet power, to work for Communism, and, by their efforts, to push back Denikin, who is threatening not only all the conquests of the November revolution, but also those of the March revolution.

Esthetic Education

The Commissariat for Public Instruction is opening courses in esthetic pedagogy. Lectures will be delivered by the most illustrious persons in literature and the arts, such as Briussov, Volkonski, Vicheslav, Ivanov, etc.

The Federation of Invalids

The general meeting of the Moscow Association of Invalids of the War and of Industry appointed a new bureau, in which those without party affiliation have been replaced by five Communists.

SOVIET WIRELESS OF OCTOBER 15, 1919

Military Bulletin of the Russian Soviet Republic, October 15, 1919

NORTHERN FRONT. *Regions of Onega and Poudozh.* Engagements of patrols. In the vicinity of Murmansk one of our scout detachments blew up a railroad bridge behind the enemy lines. **WESTERN FRONT.** In the Gulf of Finland twelve torpedo-boats of the enemy squadron bombarded Krasnaya Gorka. Bombs were dropped at the same time by enemy aviators. The enemy vessels were pursued by the fire of our coast batteries. Fighting continues in the vicinity of Narva. *Region of Pskov.* Red troops continue successful advance in the vicinity of Petchery. *Region of Kiev.* We have reached the line of the river Irpen, fifteen versts west of Kiev, by fighting. Enemy have suffered considerable losses in men and material. **SOUTHERN FRONT.** Red troops continue to advance twenty versts northeast of Glukhov. *Region of Kromy.* We have made a new advance. *Regions of Orel, Livny, Voronezh and the Don.* Local fighting. **TURKESTAN FRONT.** Enemy attack south of the Uralsk railway repulsed. *Region of Orenbourg.* Enemy were driven from several positions forty versts south of Iletski Gorodok. **EASTERN FRONT.** Red troops have taken a series of positions on the bank east of Tobol and have captured prisoners and material. In the vicinity of Petropavlovsk fighting continues in our favor. Enemy bombard

our units with mitrailleuses from airplanes. *Region of Tobolsk.* Enemy attack supported by five armored vessels and hydroplanes successfully repulsed.

On the Petrograd Front

Pravda, of Petrograd, writes, "The White army directed by the Tsarist Generals, Rodzianko and Yudenitch, have again engaged in an attack. In the beginning of October, General Rodzianko published an order to his army, in which, alluding to the armaments sent by the Entente, he promised to lead it shortly in an attack. The French radio of the 9th of October announces the beginning of a new general offensive against the Bolsheviki. The Whites know that Petrograd is preparing to send the most of its best soldiers to the Southern front to crush Denikin decisively. The counter-revolution makes this the occasion to undertake a new offensive against Petrograd, but once more the counter-revolution will be disappointed, for the Red capital is still rich in forces. It will avert the danger, it will cut to pieces the bands of Yudenitch and Rodzianko, it will settle once for all the Northwest front in order then to devote all its forces to a decisive victory in the South."

Life in Petrograd

On the 14th Zinoviev made an address that was received with immense acclaim, on the subject, "Without Party or Communist."

At Smolensk

The council of professional unions and a series of meetings and workingmen's organizations have voted resolutions of protestation on the occasion of the Moscow outrage. The influence of Communist ideas is spreading even to the Polish circles, which now publish a Communist journal. The party is mobilizing most of its forces for the Southern front. A series of meetings has been organized in the environs, attesting the sympathy of the populations of all the cantons for the Soviet power. A series of resolutions promises to aid the Red army with every means, particularly by sending provisions.

The Teaching Personnel

At Mosalsk has been held the first regional Congress of Instructors, counting two hundred and twelve delegates of whom more than one hundred and twenty enrolled in the Communist section. There is noticeable among teachers a considerable change in favor of the Soviet power. The proletarian elements clearly separate themselves henceforth from all those who seek a union with the old world. The adopted resolution expresses complete confidence in the final victory of the proletariat, and invites all those who still hesitate to sacrifice all on the altar of the revolution, that the counter-revolution may be crushed.

Soviet Russia

Under this title *Pravda* publishes the following editorial: "Soviet Russia is exposed to the general offensive of the counter-revolution. This is the cry that should sound today throughout the land: Russia of the poor, the hungry; working Russia. The country of workingmen's syndicates and committees, the country of the Soviets, the country of the proletarian schools. The country which has caused the proprietors and the bourgeois to flee. The country where the workers have made themselves respected, and fight, and hold the power in their hands. The country upon which have fallen all the capitalist dogs. The country which is defended by the rifles in the hands of the best of the proletariat, and which is attacked by the Tsarist generals, the bandits of the Entente, and the intriguers of the counter-revolution. The great heroic proletarian republic, which, despite its own suffering, causes to shine for the world its red torch of liberation. This country, upon which the eyes of the universal proletariat are centered, they would destroy. An obese Tsarist general, with his heavy gold epaulettes, with his face of an executioner, holding in his hand his sword red with the blood of the workers, leads his barbarian hordes against Russia. Tens of thousands of whips crack in the air, the pikes of the Cossacks are seen against the Autumn sky, and in the rear one sees the shining coat of the English and French officers. Farther on, where the aristocracy, with wide-open jaws of greed, has seen its ancient domain, it is preparing to whip its peasants. At its side is the fat

banker, with heavy gold rings on his fingers, the large manufacturer, grown fat on war munitions, the speculator who has sucked the blood of his fellow-countrymen. All this repulsive band of parasites marches behind the troops of General Denikin, the new Tsar. And on the standards crowned with eagles one can read plainly the inscriptions, "God save the Tsar," and "The rights of the proprietors must be re-established." Such is the intention with which the Tsarist army precipitates itself upon our laboring country. And it is they, those capitalist scoundrels, who speak of Russia. Impudent lie. They are thinking only of the seigneurial whip, of the banker's strong-box. They who accused us formerly of being the spies of the German bourgeoisie. Observe Yudenitch, the companion of Denikin, he has already joined Wilhelm's general, Von der Goltz. Are they not also the spies of the Entente? See how they buy tanks with Russia's wheat. In return for portions of Russia, for Odessa, for Crimea, for Baku, they obtain powder and lead to deal a mortal blow to Russia, Russia of the workers, Russia whose banner floats over all. Russia of the workers is the mortal enemy of parasites. And the parasites wish death to Russia of the workers, they are ready to listen night and day to the charming music made by the cracking of the bones of this country which they want to throttle. What a man-hunt they would then begin with the workers, what persecutions of the peasants who have divided among themselves the lands of the excellencies and the princes. With what joy they would crumble to dust all our workingmen's organizations. They wish death to Soviet Russia. The Russo-German White Guards are thirty-five versts from Gatchina and Krasnaya Gorka, Denikin has taken Orel. The Allies and the German bourgeoisie together with the Tsarist generals are undertaking their last offensive against us. Now or never. The workers and peasants of Russia will for the last time use all their treasures of energy. We have forces sufficient to repulse the hordes both about Petrograd and on the Tula route. And always we have mastery over ourselves, and the spirit of heroism which has given us victory over all our enemies for two years. We shall never hide the danger which menaces us. But we have firm confidence in our victory. Comrades in the cities and the villages, in the capitals and in the provinces, gather under the banners. All to arms for the final battle, forward to victory."

The Communist Week

Meetings are multiplying in all the quarters, in all the factories and garrisons of Moscow. Speakers address the smallest workingmen's groups, and sometimes visit even apartments, receiving everywhere enthusiastic applause and hundreds and thousands of members for the Communist Party. As the students in the aviation school declare in their resolutions, all the proletariat have understood that the time has come to choose. Every honest worker must decide with whom he marches,

Denikin or Communism. In the quarter of Basmanny there are houses which have enrolled fifty per cent. In a single day there were gained fourteen hundred members.

In the Terek

Poverty reigns in the Terek owing to the disorganization of the public service. The atrocities of the volunteer army are multiplying the partisans of the Soviet power, and the spirit in numerous localities is clearly Bolshevik.

Provisions

In the government of Kazan the deposits of wheat are constantly augmented, reaching more than seventy thousand poods in a single day. The government of Kazan declares officially that it wishes to consecrate all its forces to the centers and the Red fronts.

Mobilizations

At Penza an extraordinary assembly of all the political, soviet, and workingmen's organizations decided to send all disposable forces to the Southern front. At Ivanovo-Voznesensk the mobilization of the Communists and the executive committees of the whole government was proclaimed. There are at their disposal a sufficient number of workers and peasants without party affiliations, but devoted to the Soviet program, to perform the functions of those mobilized.

Social Provision

At Moscow the section for social provision owns fifty-six homes for mothers and children, with 36,000 children, for the most part of workingmen's families. First are received the children of those who are mobilized, then the orphans, and lastly the children of numerous families. There are 156 houses for minors from three to fifteen years, accommodating 12,000 children, of whom 38 per cent are children of mobilized men. For the aged there are sixty-two homes with more than 7,000 occupants. Sixteen to eighteen thousand invalids have been given aid. Last month more than a million roubles were distributed either in money or in kind. The executive committee of the Moscow Soviet has decided to establish on the occasion of celebrating the second anniversary a special home in each quarter of Moscow for the children of mobilized soldiers who are from three to seventeen years old.

The Center and the Provinces

Today there opens at Moscow the Congress of the Presidents of the Committees of Provisions, from all the governments. One of the principal questions discussed will be the effects of the decree upon the exchange of manufactured and agricultural products.

Social Provision in a Quarter of Petrograd

In the single quarter called the Petrograd quarter there are actually seventy-one establishments for social assistance as against forty last January. Of

these thirty-one are asylums for children, five for abnormal children, two for the blind, eight for the aged, three are milk stations. Seven thousand persons, of whom six thousand five hundred are children, are supported in these establishments.

Sanitary Condition of Soviet Russia

Semashko reports in *Izvestia* the exceedingly unfavorable conditions, from a sanitary point of view, in which Russia is placed by the counter-revolutionaries. Poverty predisposes to disease. The wars have left an unpleasant heritage of epidemics, as is proven by the Spanish influenza, which cruelly harassed all Europe last year. The lack of medicaments resulting from the blockade, the mobilization of the medical personnel, the lack of the most necessary articles, such as linen, soap, etc., resulting from the economic crisis created by the blockade and the war, all that places us in an infinitely more unfavorable condition than our neighbors. And yet, as by an extraordinary paradox, the territories occupied by Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenitch are prey to epidemics unknown in Soviet Russia. We have had several hundred cases of cholera, Denikin has suffered a frightful epidemic with 60 per cent mortality. The prisoners bear witness to this, and it was to be feared that the cholera would be spread by them among our troops. Communications from Kolchak state that the journals of the Don and Kuban districts are full of reports of all kinds of epidemics raging in Southern Russia. Typhoid, exanthematic cholera, even the plague, assume menacing proportions. No medicine is sent to fight the disease and the mortality, according to official figures, reaches 50 per cent. At present a still greater danger threatens us from the armies of Dutov, for 70 per cent of the prisoners at this front are bearers of typhoid. The refugees coming from the other parts of the front are almost all infected. The localities liberated by our army are in such an unsanitary condition that our last typhoid epidemic is in comparison a pleasantry. And yet Denikin and Kolchak have all the necessary medical resources. In the Ural and in Siberia Kolchak has forcibly taken with him the very last infirmity nurse, and the last package of medicaments. These satraps are gorged with provisions, the Allies furnish them all the sanitary material in abundance. And yet it is they who are likely to infect us with their epidemics. The explanation is that the disease and the epidemics are social phenomena. They attack the workers above all. The Soviet Republic, in bettering the condition of these latter, betters their state of health. In the need which we are suffering, the poor would perish en masse if the Soviet power did not see to the equitable redistribution of the products. Among the Whites the workers continue to live in the caves of the social pyramid and that is why they perish of disease. The medical aid itself is organized in the old way. For the poor anything is good. In Soviet Russia the interests of the workers come before everything and

are protected without regard for the interests of capital or of private property. It is interesting, again, to remark that there the epidemics continue as formerly to develop chiefly in the army, which then infects the population. The soldiers of the Whites, treated as vile cattle, live as such, and are nourished above all on whip lashing. Among us, at the time of the last epidemic, the typhoid raged infinitely less in the Red army than among the civil population. The Soviet power is as solicitous of its Red army, as Denikin is negligent of his slaves. "When one considers all this care, all the measures

which the Soviet authorities undertake with so much hardship, the same thought presents itself always to the spirit: what success we shall obtain again when we shall no longer be hindered by our enemies, when we shall be able to work with both hands in the construction of the Socialist State."

An Insurrection Against Denikin

According to the *Free Kuban*, the Tsaritsyn Tikhorietskaia sector is in the hands of insurgents, who have recently attacked a provision train destined for the volunteer army.

The Labor Laws Published Last Week

IN our last issue we published the full text of the Russian Code of Labor Laws enacted by the Soviet Government. A brief summary of these laws had appeared in the *New York World* of February 1st. An unbiased perusal of that summary must show to the fair minded reader that the Soviet Government has assured every worker of a livelihood irrespective of the fluctuations of the demands for labor in the particular trade or establishment where he happens to be employed at any particular time. Quite naturally the Soviet Government requires the worker to perform labor for the wage he receives. If there happens to be no demand for his services in the factory where he is employed he may be assigned to some other factory, preferably at his own trade. Should there be an oversupply of labor in that particular trade he may be assigned to some other work. Even then men with dependents are not to be assigned to any employment outside of their regular place of residence. But watch how the penny-a-liner distorts the sense of these provisions in his headlines, relying upon the well-known fact that nine out of ten readers will not take the trouble to read the text, but will be content with the headlines and the summary.

RUSSIAN WORKERS MUST "TOE THE MARK" UNDER THE NEW SOVIET LAW

Unemployed Persons Compelled to Register and to Accept Any Sort of Job Assigned to Them at Home or Elsewhere, Whether the Labor to Be Done Is in Line With Their Trades or Not.—Desertion of Work Is to Be Investigated by Committees and, if Considered Unjustified, Must End.—Each Wage-Earner Is Obligated to Perform a Standard Amount of Labor in Each Working Day Under Penalty of Discharge or Fine.—No Unemployment Benefits for the Disobedient.

Workers in Russia must toe the mark and by no means will be as free as American workers if the code of laws for labor, devised and printed by the Soviet institutions are enforced. The code is supposed to actuate the industrial administration of the Bolshevik authorities, and it is stringent enough not only to impose labor upon every one capable of it, but also to keep him at it even if it may not be the kind he would perform if he had free choice.

Just think of it: Workers in Russia will by no

means be as free as American workers. Unemployed persons will be compelled to register and to accept any sort of job assigned to them! One might think that an American worker in times of unemployment is assured a livelihood without working, whereas the unfortunate Russian workingman will be forced to accept a job when he is out of work instead of taking a vacation at Palm Beach, while drawing his check weekly from his benevolent employer.

The despotic Soviet Government would not pay any wages to a worker who deserts his job. Isn't it awful? It is a well known fact that when the workers in the steel mills of the United States took a vacation recently, Judge Gary ordered their wages to be paid regularly every week without requiring them to report for work.

In Soviet Russia each wage earner is obliged to perform a standard amount of labor in each working day under penalty of discharge. Compare this with the free-and-easy-going way in American factories and mines, where any worker may work or loaf at pleasure and is kept on the pay roll none the less.

The Bolshevik authorities would impose labor upon everyone capable of it and would keep him at it even if it may not be the kind he would perform if he had free choice. In the United States on the contrary every man is free to choose the kind of work which he likes best. If he cannot find any work to suit him, there is no hurry about it, he may just wait until he strikes something congenial. Meanwhile he draws upon his bank account and supports his family in comfort, if not in luxury.

It would be interesting to take a census in order to ascertain how many persons in the United States or anywhere else in the world are in a position to do only such kind of work as they would perform if they had free choice. How many persons would of their own free choice go down a few hundred feet under the ground to work in the coal mines or strip themselves half naked to work in the steel mills?

Or how many newspaper men would degrade themselves to the menial task of writing headlines like those quoted above if they had free choice?

A Soviet Protest against Proposed Finnish Invasion

The invasion which the Entente had been attempting to induce Finland to undertake, at the moment when Yudenich was making for Petrograd, fortunately did not materialize. The following Soviet wireless is dated October 26, 1919.

Paris, Carnarvon, Lyons, and To All:

It is curious to note that at the moment when the attack of the bands hurled by Yudenich against Petrograd broke down under the resistance of the workers of Petrograd, there suddenly appeared in the Entente wireless reports the suggestion of the possibility of a simultaneous attack by Finland. While the international bandits of the city were putting their hopes in Yudenich and his daring escapade, the question of the participation of Finland remained dormant. But it was taken up again on the very day that Yudenich was hurled back from the outskirts of the great Red capital. The Czarist generals, full of their traditional insolence, drunk with the idea of a re-constituted Russian empire of oppression and domination, arrogant and narrow-minded like all the rest of their class, desired to conquer Petrograd themselves, and did not wish to be the debtors of little Finland, which was to be reserved for their brutalities in case they should be victorious. But the heroism of the workers of Petrograd opposed an insurmountable wall to their barbarous attackers, and their bloody bands, and we therefore behold Finland again appearing on the horizon of the invasionists thirsting for the blood of the Russian workers. The diplomatic machinery of the masters of the world strikes a snag; over the green cloth of the government offices of the Quai-d'Orsay, which considers itself omnipotent, the question is discussed whether Finland is to be sent to the aid of the unskilled highwayman, and at the same moment the tyrannical and timorous

office-holders of Helsingfors flash out to the whole world the great news that Finland is negotiating for its entrance into the lists. The Finnish papers emphasize the fact that Mannerheim is on the point of hastening his return to Finland. The miniature politicians of Helsingfors, on their bellies before their great prototypes already speak of hurling the unhappy people of Finland against the Russian people, with the honorable aim of restoring to power in Russia the oppressors, the bloody tyrants, the worst enemies of the Finnish people and of its liberties. To arms, people of Finland! Go and be killed in the service of your most malignant enemies, of your executioners, so that you may have again around your necks the most horrible of yokes. Your masters in Helsingfors want to save their cash boxes, for which they will fear and tremble as long as the Russian Revolution has not yet been drowned in blood. Your masters, wearing the epaulettes of Czarist generals, want you to have yourselves massacred for them and for your supreme rulers in London and Paris who order you to sacrifice yourself on the altar of their profits. But the people of Finland will not long retain their patience. The earth is already muttering under the foot of the tyrants who rule Finland. It trembles, it murmurs, it recalls the proletarian revolution, and woe, tyrants of Finland;—your workers will answer in the proper spirit if you dare attempt to hurl them against the cause of the people, of their brothers in Russia. *(Vestnik)*

"Soviet Russia"

Next Week Will Print More Wireless Statements, Some as Late as November, 1919, in Addition to the Following Other Features:

1. *An Appeal to the Metal Workers to Save Russia! (French Metal Workers resolve on drastic action to prevent further intervention against Soviet Russia.)*
2. *Why They Cannot Understand the Soviet Victories. (A Recent Letter from Our Paris Correspondent.)*
3. *More About Education in Soviet Russia. (New material received indirectly—this time through German newspapers.)*
4. *Book Reviews. We shall print reviews of Antonelli's "Bolshevist Russia," as well as of a few other recent publications dealing with Soviet Russia.*

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"Saturdayings": A Remarkable Movement

A Spreading System of Voluntary Labor

A Special Correspondent in Soviet Russia of the Manchester Guardian sends the following article to his paper, which was printed in its regular daily issue of February 5, 1920.

REVAL, January 20.—It was Friday night in Moscow. There was a knock at the door, and a thin, pale-faced woman came in with a sheet of paper in her hand. "Are there any Communists here?" she asked. There were two or three. "Please put your names down for tomorrow's Saturdaying. At the Metropole at five o'clock." "What are we going to do?" asked one of the Communists. "Help in moving valuables." "Valuables! That probably means wood," said one, as he wrote down his name. "There's nothing more valuable than that." He shivered. One Communist said he could not come, and was asked for his excuse. Several other people in the room, not party folk, said they would like to help, too. "No," said the thin woman, "this particular Saturdaying is for Communists only."

I sat there, much puzzled, wondering what it was all about, and what "Saturdaying" might mean. Somehow, by the time the woman went out with her list, the conversation had taken an interesting turn, and I forgot to ask questions. But, later in the evening, in some rooms occupied by non-Communists, I noticed a merry young lass very busy mending a pair of thick stockings. I said something or other, and she said I was not to interrupt her because she could not think of anything until she had finished these stockings, which she would need for tomorrow's "Saturdaying." "What's Saturdaying?" I asked. "We are going to unload wood at such-and-such a factory and do some general cleaning up there, and my other stockings have

got holes in them, and I shall want to keep my feet dry." "But what have you to do with that factory?" said I. "Nothing," she replied; "but they are short-handed, and the Communists where I work are going to help them by a Saturdaying, and I am going, too. Last week-end we were cleaning tramlines, and the week before that we had a go at a hospital."

That was on the Friday. On the Saturday, in the evening, I was walking in the streets with a friend when a crowded tramcar passed us. There was nothing odd about the tramcar except that everybody inside was singing the "Internationale" at the top of their voices. They seemed to be mostly working women. "What does that mean?" I asked. "They are going home after a Saturdaying. They have gone somewhere to work after working hours, and now they are going home." "They seem very happy about it," I said, and asked whether it was compulsory work or voluntary. "There's nothing compulsory about it," said my friend. "It is overtime work for which no one gets paid, and the funny part of it is that they work better during these Saturdayings than at any other time. There goes another lot." Another boisterously singing tramcar passed us in the dusk.

Leisure Hours Sacrificed

I set about getting further knowledge of this new manifestation of the revolution, which was as much of a surprise to me as it would be to any other Englishman who had known the Russian laborer's

attitude towards work in general in the past. I collected the following information about what are generally known as the "Communist Saturdayings."

It seems that early this year the Central Committee of the Communist party (the Bolsheviks) put out a circular letter, calling upon the Communists "to work revolutionally," to emulate in the rear the heroism of their brothers on the front, pointing out that nothing but the most determined efforts and an increase in the productivity of labor could enable Russia to win through her difficulties of transport, &c. Kolchak, to quote from English newspapers, was "sweeping on to Moscow," and the situation was pretty threatening. As a direct result of this letter, on May 7, a meeting of Communists in the sub-district of the Moscow-Kazan railway passed a resolution that, in view of the imminent danger to the Republic, Communists and their sympathizers should give up an hour a day of their leisure, and lumping these hours together do every Saturday six hours of manual labor; and, further, that these "Communist Saturdayings" should be continued "until complete victory over Kolchak should be assured." That decision of a local committee was the actual beginning of a movement which has since spread all over Russia, and since the complete victory over Kolchak has been assured is likely to continue as an institution so long as Soviet Russia is threatened by anyone else.

The decision was put into effect on May 10, when the first "Communist Saturdaying" in Russia took place on the Moscow-Kazan railway. The Commissar of the railway, Communist clerks from the office, and everyone else who wished to help marched to work, 182 in all, and put in 1,012 hours of manual labor, in which they finished the repairs of four locomotives and sixteen wagons, and loaded and unloaded 9,300 poods of engine and wagon parts and material. It was found that the productivity of labor in loading and unloading shown on this occasion was about 270 per cent of the normal, and a similar superiority of effort was shown in the other kinds of work. This example was immediately copied on other railways. The Alexandrovsk railway had its first "Saturdaying" on May 17. Ninety-eight persons worked for five hours, and here also did two or three times as much as the usual amount of work done in the same number of working hours under ordinary circumstances. One of the workmen in giving an account of the performance wrote: "The Comrades explain this by saying that in ordinary times the work was dull and they were sick of it, whereas on this occasion they were working willingly and with excitement. But now it will be shameful in ordinary hours to do less than in the Communist Saturdayings."

Lenin's Hopes

In *Pravda* of June 7 there is an article describing one of these early "Saturdayings," which gives a clear picture of the infectious character of the proceedings, telling how people who came out of

curiosity to look on found themselves joining in the work, and how a soldier with an accordion, after staring for a long time open-mouthed at these lunatics working on a Saturday afternoon, put up a tune for them on his instrument, and, delighted by their delight, played on while the workers all sang together.

The idea of the "Saturdayings" spread quickly from railways to factories, and by the middle of the summer reports of similar efforts were coming from all over Russia. Then Lenin became interested, seeing in these "Saturdayings" not only a special effort in the face of common danger, but an actual beginning of Communism and a sign that Socialism could bring about a greater productivity of labor than could be obtained under capitalism. He wrote: "This is a work of great difficulty and requiring much time, but it has begun, and that is the main thing. If in hungry Moscow in the summer of 1919 hungry workmen, who have lived through the difficult four years of the imperialistic war and then the year and half of the still more difficult civil war, have been able to begin this great work, what will not be its further development when we conquer in the civil war and win peace?" He sees in it a promise of work being done not for the sake of individual gain, but because of a recognition that such work is necessary for the general good, and in all he wrote and spoke about it he emphasized the fact that people worked better and harder when working thus than under any of the conditions (imitated from capitalist countries) imposed by the revolution in its desperate attempts to raise the productivity of labor. For this reason alone, he wrote, the first "Saturdaying" on the Moscow-Kazan railway was an event of historical significance, and not for Russia alone.

Communist Privileges

Whether Lenin is right or wrong in so thinking, "Saturdayings" have now become a regular institution, like Dorcas meetings in Victorian England, like the thousands of collective working parties instituted in England during the war with Germany. It remains to be seen how long they will continue, and if they will survive peace, when that comes. At present the most interesting point about them is the large proportion of non-Communists who take an enthusiastic part in them. In many cases not more than 10 per cent of Communists are concerned, though they take the initiative in organizing the parties and in finding the work to be done. The movement has spread like fire in dry grass, like the craze for roller-skating which swept over England some years ago, and efforts are being made to control it, so that the fullest use may be made of it.

In Moscow it has been found worth while to set up a special bureau for "Saturdayings." Hospitals, railways, factories, or any other concerns working for the public good notify this bureau that they need the sort of work a "Saturdaying" provides. The bureau informs the local Communists

where their services are required, and thus there is a minimum of wasted energy. The local Communists arrange the "Saturdaying," and anyone else joins in who wants. These "Saturdayings" are a hardship to none, because they are entirely voluntary, except for members of the Communist party, who are considered to have broken the party discipline if they refrain. But they can avoid the "Saturdayings" if they wish to by leaving the party. Indeed, Lenin points out that the "Saturdayings" are likely to assist in clearing out of the party those elements which join it with the hope of personal gain. He points out that the privileges of a Communist now consist in doing more work than other people in the rear, and on the front in having the certainty of being killed when other folk are merely taken prisoners.

Some Examples

The following are a few examples of the sort of work done in the "Saturdayings." Briansk hospitals were improperly heated because of lack of the local transport necessary to bring them wood. The Communists organized a "Saturdaying" in which 900 persons took part, including military specialists (officers of the old army serving in the new), soldiers, a chief of staff, workmen, and women. Having no horses, they harnessed them-

selves to sledges in groups of ten and brought in the wood required. At Nizhniy 880 persons spent their Saturday afternoon in unloading barges. In the Basman district of Moscow there was a gigantic "Saturdaying" and "Sundaying" in which 2,000 persons (in this case all but a little over 500 being Communists) worked in the heavy artillery shops, shifting materials, cleaning tramlines for bringing in fuel, etc. Then there was a "Saturdaying" the main object of which was a general autumn cleaning of the hospitals for the wounded. One form of "Saturdaying" for women is going to the hospitals, talking with the wounded and writing letters for them, mending their clothes, washing sheets, etc. The majority of "Saturdayings" at present are concerned with transport work and with getting and shifting wood, because, at the moment, these are the chief difficulties. I talked to many of the "Saturdayers," Communist and non-Communist, and all alike spoke of these Saturday afternoons as of a kind of picnics. On the Sunday I met the young woman who had mended her stocking in order to spend her half-holiday in shifting wood in a factory yard. I asked her how she had liked it. She said she was very stiff, but had liked it very much, and that if I were not a lazy Englishman I should come myself and help next week.

The War in Russia

Strategical and Political Reflections

By LT. COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

Washington, Feb. 20, 1920.

WHILE the Allies, and especially England, are discussing the possibility of peace with Soviet Russia, the war in Russia proceeds with the usual vigor.

"The situation in Southern Russia is so uncertain," says a dispatch from Constantinople, of February 16th (Associated Press), that the Allied officials are fearful of a general Bolshevik triumph, more however from internal dissension than from the entrance of Red forces from the outside." But this internal dissension is the result of the successes of the Soviet troops and the conviction of the population that the reactionaries and the Allies are unable to resist their advance. The Russian people, in the regions occupied by the foreign invaders, after the capture of Odessa in spite of the support which the reactionary General Shilling received from the British Navy, lost all confidence in the Allied strength. General Shilling, with the part of his forces which escaped capture or annihilation found a refuge in Sebastopol. The position of General Shilling's forces must be very critical. First of all, the surrounding lagoons, which in the summer time present a serious obstacle to an army advancing on Sebastopol from land, are now frozen and the Soviet forces may approach the town on the ice without any diffi-

culty. There is also a report that the evacuation of the reactionaries by means of Allied transports may meet great difficulties because Sebastopol harbor is cluttered with useless shipping. "Ten thousand persons in the city," says a dispatch, "are registered as wanting to get away, while 11,000 more are on ships that have already left Odessa; without adequate food or medicine. Typhus is raging among the refugees." In spite of the presence in Sebastopol of the American destroyer "Tattall," and the British battleship "Marlborough" as well as French and Greek destroyers, it is "impossible to evacuate the population." Naturally, in view of these conditions, not the slightest possibility for defense can be expected. The bombardment of the town from the sea by the Allied navy will be more harmful to the population than to the Red Army, and the result will be the same: Sebastopol will be occupied by the Soviet troops. Being dispersed in several groups, the remnants of the former Denikin army still resist their pursuers. For instance, according to the Moscow wireless of February 18th, the Reds were forced to evacuate Stanitza Pogayevskaya, twenty versts from Novocherkassk, the Don Cossack capital, under the enemy pressure. A local success of this kind, by reactionary Cossacks, over the small vanguard forces of the Soviet cavalry is quite comprehensi-

ble. Stanitzia Pogayevskaya, being situated very close to the reactionary capital, certainly must have been supported, otherwise its fall would have signified the fall of Novocherkassk, where the defeated Cossack leaders mostly have their homes and families. There is no doubt that with the arrival of fresh reinforcements the Soviet troops will be able to put an end also to this nest of reaction in the Don region, which at present has no strategic importance whatsoever, beyond a merely local significance. The expedition against Novocherkassk at present is of a punitive character rather than a military operation of tactical importance.

London as usual is very weak in geography in general and in Russian geography in particular. Even the *New York Times* has observed that there is no "Chetchenia" in Turkestan where a local uprising is said to have occurred and the White forces were defeated by the Bolsheviki. Chetchenia is situated in the neighborhood of Daghestan in the Caucasus, and is populated by Tartar Mussulmen, who live in the mountains and are a warlike tribe. They have anxiously watched the development of the Bolshevik movement amongst the Russian Mussulman population and are certain to join their brethren of Russia.

On the other hand, in the *New York Times* of February 18, a dispatch from London, purporting to quote the Moscow wireless, says:

"In the direction of Krasnovodsk we have captured the island of Cheleken. The oil wells were found undamaged: Much booty was captured."

Well, the island of Cheleken, as well as the island of Sviatoi, are situated close to Baku, western bank on the Caspian Sea, while Krasnovodsk lies on the eastern bank of the Caspian Sea. How then could the Reds operate in the direction of Krasnovodsk when they have captured Cheleken island. The capture of Cheleken certainly is of great importance. There are situated the very rich oil wells, newly developed and financed by several British companies. As this island belongs to the famous Baku oil region it appears certain that the Soviets are also in control of Baku, because otherwise it would be rather difficult to understand how they succeeded in capturing Cheleken while Baku remained under British control. If so, the Soviet Government is now in control of the greatest oil fields in the world.

The great Caucasian fields are practically wholly in the hands of the Tartars and less than 5 per cent of them are in the hands of Armenians, who are mostly financed by English who protect the Armenian capitalists as well as the rich Tartar oil owners. There are comparatively few Tartar capitalists in this region though the greatest part of the oil fields belong to them. The poor Tartars, the original owners of small oil fields, being unable to develop their wells without capital were gradually obliged to sell their property to the capitalists and to become middlemen in the oil industry. Several of these succeeded in making

millions. There is no doubt therefore that nationalization of these oil fields has proceeded smoothly and that it was not the Tartar population but the English who resisted the establishment of the Soviet regime in Azerbaijan. The rich classes were hated by the population of that part of the Caucasus and paid a certain tribute to the local population in order to live unmolested. Even the police of the old regime were powerless to protect them and they existed only thanks to the private arrangements with the natives. The Tartars are honest and industrious and would take naturally to communism. The exploitation of vast resources of the Tartars was the ultimate aim of England and millions and millions of pounds of sterling were invested in the oil industry of Baku and Transcaspia. We must not forget that the most important part of Moslem population in Russia is Turkish. Of the total of 27 million of Turkish speaking Moslems, only 8 million live in Turkey. Sixteen million live in the Russian Caucasus and Turkestan, etc. They have rich copper mines and other important mineral resources. The Baku oil fields have been largely staked out, but their wealth still remains unknown. In several parts of the Baku region, there is land from which oil is taken from the surface. At Binagadi, for instance, 300,000 tons of oil a year have been taken in this primitive way. The same amount of oil has been taken annually from Cheleken Island, now captured by the Soviets, and Svttoi, its neighbor island. The operations on these islands for a long time were kept in the greatest secrecy, but the British succeeded in penetrating also in Cheleken. Grozny in a very short time supplied the Russian market with 120,000 tons of oil. Surakhani, close to Baku, is amongst the newest fields; the borings were started in 1907 and there the famous white naphtha was discovered. This will be one of the world's richest fields. The Emba fields (Ural Caspian) which were captured by the Red Army in the middle of 1919, were also developed by British capital. The center of this industry is in the town of Gurieff, now in the hands of the Soviets. Besides the Caucasus and Caspian regions, there are oil fields in Turkestan and in Transcaspia. Naphtha-Day and Naphtha-Hill, north of Krasnovodsk and east of the Caspian, and the fields in Feryana in Turkestan are also now controlled by the Soviets.

Thus one can imagine the economic result of the victory of the Soviet Army in these regions, and its effect upon the further military operations of the Russian army. The problem of fuel, especially for railway communication as well as for the river flotillas and motor transport, is solved. The Russians did not export oil; they used it extensively for domestic purposes and the economic life as well as military organization of the Soviets was seriously damaged while these regions were in the hands of the invaders. This difficulty is now removed.

The fall of Archangel, which was announced February 20th, was an event which we expected

at any moment. Though the Soviet Army did not need to hurry in that direction, it was certain that the fall of Archangel was imminent after the Allies had started the evacuation of that part of Russia. The occupation of Archangel during the winter means only that the Soviet General Staff naturally plans to bring the shore defense into such a state of readiness that with the coming spring the shore batteries will have been fully equipped to salute possible visitors in becoming manner.

So from the White Sea to the Black Sea and in the East as far as the Chinese border and Afghanistan the Federal Soviet Republic is complete. There remains only to settle Polish affairs on the Western frontier. Let us hope that the Polish leaders will be reasonable enough to avoid useless and criminal bloodshed. Russian policy is fair and open, and Russian strategy supports it in full readiness to act, and its activity is already known to the world.

Why They Can't Understand the Soviet Victories

(From our Paris Correspondent)

Paris, January 5.—The reactionary circles of the Allies never understood the Russian Revolution, either when it began or when it was pursuing its task against overwhelming odds. Still less do they understand the Revolution in this, the hour of its military victory over the counter-revolution. They are now ready to recognize the strength of the Soviet regime, for strength and force are weapons to which they are quite accustomed, weapons which they have always employed to strangle nations and oppress peoples. They quite naturally suppose that the victorious Red Army which Trotsky's genius has organized will be used as a means of aggression against the border states. Any other supposition would be foreign to their intelligence.

L'Action Francaise asks if under the cover of Bolshevism there is not developing a renaissance of Russian patriotism which may be as much of a menace to the world as the old Pan-Slavism of the Czar. Such a question is ridiculous on the face of it, but it seems to be repeated on every hand among the directing circles of France. *Le Temps* echoes the same thought in a long and weighty editorial entitled, "Whither Goes Russia?"

"No matter what were its principles and what were its leaders," says the *Temps*, "every Russian regime installed at Moscow has had two aims: to gather together its lands and to move toward the sea. Unless the Bolsheviks fight among themselves, how can they escape this double obsession. The 'dictatorship of the proletariat' and the success of the Red Army constitute an ensemble which is not very distant from a military dictatorship. The defeat of Admiral Kolchak and General Denikin makes the Bolshevik government appear as the sole personification of Russian force victorious against the border states and their protectors. The Bolshevik Revolution cannot realize its program, for the latter cannot live, but it has now the means to replace it with a program of territorial expansion."

The only "obsession" seems to be that of the imperialistic statesmen whom the *Temps* represents. They believe fervently that there have always been, that there are and there will always remain but two kinds of states: weak states and

strong states. When a state is weak it is the duty of the neighboring strong states to come in and "restore order," incidentally gobbling up the state between them. And when a state is strong it must be feared, for, if given a chance it will steal as much as it can from its neighbor. It is with this ideology that the Allies have studied the Revolution in Russia. When the Czar was overthrown, Russia became a weak state and broke up the partnership in the war against Germany,—although the New Russia insisted that, tired as she was, she would keep on fighting, if the Allies would only tell her what they were fighting for. As soon as the Allies got over the momentary confusion over the disarrangement of their war plans, they remembered that Russia was weak, and weakness meant intervention.

It has become clear at this date that the principal reason for Allied intervention was not to restore order, nor to protect the world against the spectre of Bolshevism, which they conjured up in the venial press, but merely to take advantage of Russia's travail to divide up its riches between them. They were never afraid of Bolshevism undermining the political system of bourgeois imperialism, for they did not believe in Bolshevism, they remained always incredulous as to the possibility of the application of its theories. They saw only that here was a rich booty exposed, with nobody to protect it, another China, another India. They wanted to seize it, to seize it with the aid of Russian puppets and traitors. The Soviets have stopped them, and the Soviets have stopped them not for any emphasis on nationalism, but because their revolutionary principles were opposed not only to the enslavement of the proletariat but to the enslavement of nations for foreign imperialists.

Judging from the tone of the *Temps*, the Allies might now be willing to admit the Soviet Government into the society of strong nations, and, in the future, wage only civilized warfare upon it, if the latter would only become frankly expansionist. In that case the Soviet Government could take up again the position of the regime of the Czar—a strong state with whom one should sometimes be friendly and to whom one should sometimes manifest enmity. Such is the involuntary homage of

the imperialistic brigands, occasioned by the military victories of the Soviet Government over its counter-revolutionary foes.

But the genius of the Russian Revolution, the genius of Socialism, does not lie in the direction of territorial expansion or the attainment of Constantinople. It was against their will that the Soviets created the military organization of the Red Army, and even in doing that they took great care not to repeat the mistakes of the French Revolution. Let him who doubts read an article by Trotsky on the military organization of the Soviets, published last February in the *Izvestya*. Replying to the Menshevik critics who feared the creation of a military dictatorship and Bonapartism, Trotsky showed how groundless was the fear of this menace. The best equipped troops were formed from the city proletariat, from the military Communists, who were thoroughly imbued with the Revolutionary doctrine; the others from among the poorer peasants, who also had an interest in maintaining Communism, and, as far as possible, the peasant proprietors—the people who are always the backbone of Bonapartism and Junkerism—were excluded from the Red Army. The original plans had called for the organization of a truly Socialist army and militia, but there was not time to carry through that extensive program.

The fear of Russia's becoming a strong military state could worry only bourgeois minds. It is curious to notice in this connection that the Allies have recently begun to publish the Soviet military radios, but have entirely ignored and suppressed the wireless dispatches telling of the progress in education and social organization in Soviet Russia.* This suppression cannot be attributed entirely to fear of the propaganda value of such news, but must be ascribed to their complete inability to understand it. For a government to tell by wireless to the world how many new schools have been added in the last few months, or how many new cooperatives have been organized, is simply incomprehensible to a bourgeois diplomat. It is a language to which he has not the key and which he cannot possibly understand.

And so the bourgeois diplomats and journalists continue to predict military dictatorships and the impossibility of carrying out Socialism in Russia, when a large part of this socialism has already been realized in practice. It was the nationalization of industry in Russia which made possible the organization and the victory of the Red Army . . . but they still tell us the triumph of the Red Army proves the impracticability of Socialism.

* We have considered it our duty to make up for this omission by printing in full whatever wireless reports we could obtain, in order to provide our readers with the cultural matter omitted in other versions of these messages. See page 245 of this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

THE NEW MINISTRY AND THE RUSSIAN POLICY

By MARCEL CACHIN

M. CLEMENCEAU has resigned. He is no longer President of the Council. He is no longer President of the Peace Commission. It was in his absence that Messieurs Lloyd George and Nitti have decided to reopen commercial relations with the Russian Cooperatives. It was in his absence that the policy of the blockade and the barbed wire fence was renounced, the policy that he defended against us less than a month ago in the Chamber (session of December 23). What will be tomorrow the guiding lines of the new powers that be?

M. Clemenceau was said to have the intention of summoning M. Millerand in order to confer upon him the construction of a cabinet. Today, all the reactionary newspapers are exerting pressure on the new choice of the Elysée in order that he may not relinquish this reactionary intention. We are watching for M. Deschanel's first choice. It will render more definite the at present uncertain public opinion.

As for us, whatever may be the names of those holding portfolios tomorrow, it will be our duty to ask them to explain the unexpected turn which the foreign policy of our country seems about to take. Already for two years we have been demanding from the Pichons and the Clemenceaus the recognition of the de facto government of revolutionary Russia. For two years we have been asking that that government be treated with. For months and months we have been demanding that peace negotiations be opened with that government.

It is well known what cynicisms and what outrages have characterized the reply that was given us. Now, today, the Red armies are everywhere victorious. It is no longer possible to regulate the problems of eastern Europe by any other means than by adopting a policy of honorable peace such as has been always defended by the Socialists.

We must hasten to ask the new government whether it will publicly renounce, as have done the English, Americans, and all the Allies, the blockade of hunger, the *cordon sanitaire*, the entire impotent and criminal apparatus which the Clemenceau reaction has in vain erected, to the dishonor of the republic, against a people in the throes of revolution.

—*L'Humanité*, January 19, 1920.

CENTRALIZATION OF ARCHEOLOGICAL WORKS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The institutions and scientific societies in Russia that are concerned with Archeology, are all grouped under a single central Archeological Committee. All Archeological works in Russia are under the direction of an academy of culture, which is subdivided into the three divisions of Ethnology, Archeology, and History of Art.

Problems of Vocational and Technical Education in Russia

(By the Commissariat of Public Education)

ASIDE from being teachers, upholders of this or that ideal of education, we are first of all revolutionists, placed by the workers and peasants at the head of the liberated Russia.

The will of the working masses is clear. The people have taken the power into their hands. The sources of wealth have been seized from the clutches of grasping Capitalism in order to build up as rapidly and solidly as possible, a new national economy, uniform, regulated, and based upon scientific principles. This must be developed from the technical point of view, to form a background for the vast international policy of the proletariat, and to serve as a basis for the ultimate enjoyment of life, in the interests of Humanity.

Above everything, we are all builders of Socialism. The creation of the Socialist order is an economic problem. Politics clears the way for this construction; it unites popular will within, and protects it from outside attacks; but the real heart of the revolution is the economic transformation.

The most gigantic economic transformation that the world has ever known, can be carried out only by informed and competent people.

Inheriting our most needed resources from a somewhat feeble capitalist equipment, we must now, in spite of difficult conditions, and present disorder, turn our energies to protecting this heritage from ultimate destruction, and to increasing its productivity, bringing together all branches of this economy, which has hitherto been unorganized.

Who shall undertake this task? There is an enormous demand for able and enlightened minds, for minds equipped with the finest economic and technical knowledge that Humanity possesses. Such minds must be set to work on this great problem.

Russia is now unable to fill this demand. The number of our engineers is altogether insufficient, and moreover, they cannot all be depended upon. The number of people with a fair technical education is discouragingly small. There is an equal lack of specialized workers. The general level of technical knowledge in Russia is low. In this direction, as in many others, we are deplorably behind the rest of Europe, owing to the miserable regime which we endured for so long. Nevertheless, we have conquered, and we are ahead of all Europe on the road leading to Socialism, and also in the sense that we are actually facing the problem of Socialist construction.

What conclusion is to be drawn from this state of things? It is simply that we must study, and turn all our energies to studying. We know that a general conception of the world gives a man, not only self-assurance, but peace of mind. We know that without a broad and general culture, a man cannot discover himself. He cannot exist as a citizen, as a revolutionist, as a Socialist, without definite ideas on the world, on the history of Hu-

manity, on the place he occupies in time and space, and on the obligations which this place in the world imposes upon him. And, needless to say, we shall never neglect this general education.

We cannot afford to have any science ignored in Russia, for all sciences are, after all, peculiarly connected, and constitute not only a superior intellectual enjoyment, but also the solid foundation on which Man builds his domination over the elements.

But not a moment must be lost in carrying out the duty which is plainly most urgent.

Is it possible that for a Socialist the study of art of systematically killing men, can have the slightest sense? And yet, forced to defend ourselves against the old world, we must accord to military instruction one of the first places. This fact is evidently the curse of our epoch. Full of respectful admiration for the revolutionary sword, which brilliantly performed its duty at the right hour, by cutting away the diseased parts from the healthy body of working Humanity, at the same time we ardently hope for the time when swords shall really be replaced by sickles.

But it is different with economic and technical education. Circumstances demand that we use at the present time all means that can be devoted to the cause of education, in order to supply the country with the greatest possible number of competent technicians in all lines.

Now remarkable attention, and love of work and of constructive action, are not a passing phenomenon; they remain eternally as the principal duty of Humanity.

The Commissariat of Public Education has succeeded in uniting all educational institutions in Russia under its direction, in order that the broadening of instruction can be carried out everywhere on the same principles. Certain technicians and economists have expressed the fear that we teachers would neglect the study of vocational and special subjects, in other words, that we would sacrifice the vocational side for the human and general side of instruction.

At the Congress of the representatives of the technical high schools, the Commissariat of Public Education was able to show how little foundation there was for such apprehensions.

It declared that the Communist party, which is now in power, understood clearly the predominant position that economic problems occupied in life, and that the Commissariat of Public Education had not the slightest intention of destroying the technical schools, and of replacing them by institutions of the "humanitarian" type, but on the contrary, they planned to transform all schools, primary and secondary, into technical schools; thus actually increasing the number of technical schools. But the problem of the technical education of all the chil-

dren and young people of Russia, that is to say, training them for work, we have treated in terms of their *political* instruction.

According to the declaration of the official commission relative to the purely technical school, scientific instruction in general, as well as instruction in preparation for work, which is closely connected with it, cannot be exclusive and specialized.

To specialize to such an extent would be to alter all the principles of Socialism, which preserves individuality and aims to create a highly developed type of man. It would be to condemn children in the interests of the State to bear upon their young foreheads the scar of "specilization" without taking into consideration their natural tendencies, which would inevitably show themselves later. The effect would never wear off, and would ultimately become the curse of their lives. When the bourgeois class treated the mass of workers and peasants like cattle, it could mark out their children, determining in advance whether they were to be shoe-makers, locksmiths, or hairdressers, according to its needs. But it is up to us to give to the child and to the growing boy or girl, the sort of an education that will open all doors for him later on.

This does not mean that we are hostile to specialists. On the contrary, we, too, are guided by the high ideal of a people divided according to their special callings. We believe in a state constructed like an organism, in which each cell functions independently, quite apart from other cells in the same body. But we reject most decidedly the idea of a dilettante nation, where everyone would know a little of everything, knowing nothing thoroughly, and incapable of doing anything in a talented way.

Specialization ought to begin when the child reaches seventeen years of age, which, in our opinion, is soon enough. After a prolonged period of general and polytechnical instruction, his specialization in a particular branch will not isolate him from other specialists and corporations, and nothing human will ever be unfamiliar to him.

While we are postponing technical education until the age of seventeen, we are planning to greatly enlarge instruction in this direction. There is an immediate need for a well constructed program for such instruction, a program which ought to be closely allied to some of the older secondary and high schools devoted to vocational and technical work.

There is no time to be lost. We must place our hopes in a relatively short course, carried out along military lines, to raise the general level of the technical knowledge and competence of the people. This is why we must provide an ever-increasing reserve of non-academic courses, in addition to utilizing many of the high schools, and transforming many of the secondary schools into specialized schools.

Hence, we cannot admit that the schools and narrowly specialized courses organized by isolated

departments can prove sufficient. In the first place, desire for technical knowledge and for the development of natural tendencies is very strong even among the moderately class-conscious workers. And our extra-academic equipment ought to take advantage of this fact from the practical view-point, in order to connect scientific and political education with technical education, and thus bring our program in touch with the masses themselves.

In the second place, narrowly specialized schools for young and old, which are unquestionably important, will gain greatly by being organized more broadly and scientifically, and will gradually give way to the type of school that is constructed on a firmer basis of extra-academic instruction.

But let us go back to children before the age of seventeen. We have already said that we aim to establish for them a special type of school, in which polytechnical instruction is to be the chief feature in the whole curriculum. We need not go into details concerning the nature of polytechnical education, for everything of importance on this subject has already been discussed in the "Declaration concerning the School of Applied Work."

We allow a certain departure during the last two years, when the tendencies of the children begin to show themselves, and they can choose careers to their liking.

But we do not fail to realize for an instant that the task of transforming all the primary and secondary schools of Russia into schools of applied work, is tremendous and difficult, and that it would be impossible to carry out such a complicated plan in the immediate future, because of Russia's impoverished condition, for it would call for new equipment in all the schools, bringing them in touch with the work-shops and factories—in fact, transforming them into school farms.

We shall work untiringly for this change, encouraging all schools which realize this ideal, or even partly realize it. But we can never say that the polytechnical school exists today, for its ideal is clearly understood by everyone. Nor can we say that we are already training people on a polytechnic basis to become specialists later on.

In consideration of this fact, which ought not to discourage us, but which we must bear constantly in mind, we can treat the vocational and technical schools of the past only as worn out, which ought to be replaced by schools of applied work. This is especially true of all schools known as primary trade schools.

The infernal atmosphere which they create for poor children ought to be abolished once and for all. With us, it is needless to mention it. But other questions arise that are connected with this. In many districts the peasants and workers want to send their children to professional and technical schools, so that they may study a trade or a branch of industry useful in a particular district. It is evident that where there are such schools, we are obliged to support them, and that it is our duty to build them where they do not exist.

At the same time, we must be sure that the methods used in these schools conform as nearly as possible with the plan for the school of applied work, and see that the specialized scholars there are treated from the standpoint of general education, and brought in contact with the broadest possible supervision and ideas. To ignore this transition period by imagining that this school can be created at one fell swoop, as Minerva sprung from the head of Jupiter, would do much to prejudice the people, whose demands must be listened to with full respect for their wisdom.

This is why we must be willing to have the teaching of trades made obligatory in these schools, where existing conditions demand special consideration.

We Marxists are not among those who dream of writing beautiful ideas upon the white page of life. Facing reality in the actual process of life, we bring to it gradually the ideal which develops of itself.

Among the technical schools, especially among the intermediate schools, there are several which are excellently equipped. It must be stated, however, that owing to a false conception of the school of applied work, some of the schools so valuable to us have been closed on the pretext of replacing them by trade schools.

This is a great blunder. We must make it clear that every school with a technical equipment is of value to us. That is exactly what is needed for the realization of the school of applied work. Such schools should be placed in the category of high schools, that is to say, schools opened as special schools for young people over seventeen years of age, which will be the beginnings of schools of applied work.

One must be blind not to see that to transform a classical or ordinary primary school into a school of applied work, is infinitely more difficult than to start with the most specialized type of technical school, which possesses an equipment and personnel for technical training.

Polytechnical schools will develop from such technical schools long before the radical transformation of the old schools will take place.

Such schools, then, must be carefully kept up. But too strict specialization there must be guarded against, and general instruction must be introduced, with attention to the scientific explanation of processes of work, as discussed in the Declaration of the School of Applied Work.

The branch of the Commissariat of Public Education which deals with the reform of professional and technical instruction, will have its powers enlarged, and will be aided by specialists.

Professional and technical schools of all kinds will be placed under the supervision of the Branch of Professional and Technical Instruction. This includes the secondary and high schools of agriculture, which are of the very greatest importance to us, as well as primary schools for adults and those over fourteen years of age.

This branch must keep all these schools running, and also see that they do not get into any ruts through their specialization, but develop and broaden in their contact with reality, as they approach the ideal of the school of applied work. At the same time, technicians, as well as professors in the higher schools, and practising engineers, must take an active part in working out this plan.

(a) Gradual reform of the professional instruction in the special schools for children between 14 and 17 years of age, to be carried out in the direction of the school of applied work;

(b) Establishment of a reserve of special schools for those over 17 years, as well as a complete reorganization of extra-academic technical instruction, for the purpose of combining it with general and political instruction;

(c) Organization of talent in all technical and high schools, which have been practically deserted, at Petrograd, for example;

(d) Instruction aided by actual work (as much as is possible under a polytechnical system) in all educational institutions in Russia.

We also give most special attention to all kinds of agricultural schools.

Besides the declaration concerning these new schools, the Commissariat of Public Education has undertaken to use them to spread among the peasant class a new idea of the rights and duties of a citizen, as well as agricultural knowledge and general education, beginning with reading and writing. At the same time, its attention must be fixed on all kinds of agricultural courses which communicate a more or less complete knowledge, and also on the agricultural institutions for young people and adults. Care must be taken never to separate agricultural instruction from civic and general scientific instruction. Needless to say, the Commissariat of Education will be powerless to accomplish these tasks unaided, even if it were assured of the co-operation of many first-class specialists.

It is above all on the working class that the Commissariat of Public Education depends for support. The closest relations ought immediately to be established between the Branch of Technical and Professional Instruction of the Commissariat and the trade unions.

In the same way, everything relating to the city industrial school must be brought closely and permanently in touch with the Council of National Economy, just as everything relating to the communal and agricultural school must be brought in touch with the Commissariat of Agriculture.

In creating the Branch of Professional and Technical Instruction, the Commissariat of Public Education is uniting such instruction closely with professional associations, with the Council of National Economy, and with the Commissariat of Agriculture, and also, for certain special questions, with the Commissariats which are specially related with the subjects taken up by certain institutions. In

this way, an incessant struggle is being carried on for the maintenance and development of professional instruction in Russia.

People's Commissar of Public Education,
A. LUNACHARSKY.

DECREE ON TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Inasmuch as an indispensable condition of the final victory of the workers' and peasants' revolution is the increase of the productive work of the people, and inasmuch as the most rapid and sure way of attaining such increase is by spreading among the masses vocational education, the Council of People's Commissars decrees:

(1) In order to extend and consolidate the work of the Branch of Vocational and Technical Instruction created by the Commissariat of Public Education, the representatives of the organizations and departments most interested in the development of vocational and technical instruction are hereby asked to join the Branch in accordance with the following regulations:

(2) All vocational and technical schools and institutions hitherto associated with Commissariats other than that of Public Education, are immediately associated with this last in accordance with Decree No. 507, of June 5, 1919.

(3) The Commissariat of Public Education is restoring the equipment and buildings of technical and vocational schools which have been temporarily taken over for the needs of the Red Army, quarantine, etc.

(4) The committees of study, and other agencies for directing vocational and technical instruction in other Commissariats and organizations are combined under the Commissariat of Public Education, and, in cases where such measures are justified, shall be allowed provisional rights connected with other Commissariats, after an understanding with the latter.

(5) All institutions and enterprises of the State are bound to lend the Commissariat of Public Education all necessary support, supplying it promptly, and free of charge, with equipment and material, as well as placing at its disposal fabrics, factories, lots of land, experiment stations, etc.

(6) The Commissariat of Public Education is responsible for the strict execution of this decree.

President of the People's Council of Commissars,

V. ULIANOFF (LENIN).
Chief Clerk,

V. BONCH-BRUYEVICH.

IN PREPARATION

We are at present having prepared for early publication a series of articles by our contributor, Mr. O. Preedin, on economic questions connected with the probable opening of trade relations with Soviet Russia.

The Jewish Workers' Movement in Soviet Russia

(An Official Declaration of the "Bund")

By M. FINKELSTEIN

AS is familiar to most people, the Jewish Workers' League (Arbeiterbund) was during the whole period of the Revolution Menshevistic in the ranks of Russian Socialism. But during the latter months there has been a parting of the ways. While the Mensheviks in Great Russia are opposed on principle to the Soviet system and only on opportunistic grounds struck from their program the demand of the Constituent Assembly, the Bund has as a matter of principle adopted the position of advocating the Soviet system.

True, there is in the Menshevik element a current which recognizes the Soviet Constitution as the only proper weapon of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. To this effect a Menshevik Party Conference in the Ukraine recently expressed itself. Nevertheless this view has not become predominant among the Mensheviks. The current opinion in the Russian Social-Democracy favors the maintenance of formal democracy, although rejecting all intervention and any participation in the efforts of the Kolchaks, Denikins, etc., against the Bolsheviks. Still even in this respect the Mensheviks are not entirely agreed. Some of them consider it essential to actively oppose the Communists (hence called "activists"); others even aid in one way or another in the fight of the Denikins and Kolchaks against Soviet Russia. These Menshevik elements, however, are excluded from the official party, which quite on the contrary encourages the support of the Soviet Power against the Denikins, the Kolchaks and however else they may be named.

The Jewish Workers' League has gone beyond this, declaring itself in the last conference in Minsk in favor of the Soviets as the only form of proletarian dictatorship in Russia and in pursuance of this policy voluntarily mobilized all its members, thus taking an active part in the defense of Soviet Russia.

This attitude of the Bund is due to the peculiar conditions under which the Jewish proletariat must fight in the region in which it is concentrated. Two circumstances were decisive: the German occupation and the complete failure of any form of bourgeois democracy. The bourgeoisie in the area of settlement is extremely reactionary, nationalistic and anti-semitic in spirit. Under the pressure of the occupation it became fully demoralized and, supported upon the German bayonets, openly exhibited its hostility to labor. After the outbreak of the Revolution in Germany and the withdrawal of the army of occupation, the latter was replaced in White Russia and Lithuania by the armies of the Polish Legion, frankly a tool of the Polish nationalistic reaction and Entente imperialism which stood opposing the Red Army of Soviet Russia. It is understood that the Red Army was received everywhere as a liberator. And that not only in Lithuania and White Russia, but also in Latvia and the Ukraine. Under these circumstances, in view of the express ultra reactionary sentiment of the bourgeois elements, a constituent assembly was simply out of the question. It became evident that only the actively fighting section of the population, the proletariat could and must take the fate of the land into its hands, and that it would gradually win over also the poorer classes of the rural population. On the other hand, democratic elections would only contribute to drawing the elements passively hostile to labor into the political arena and helping them to form an organization. Thus the principle of the Soviet power became very popular among the Jewish workers. To this is added the impression which the German and the Austro-Hungarian Revolutions made upon the Jewish workers. Even those comrades that had doubted the possibility of a social upheaval in the near future had to admit after the events in Germany and Austria-Hungary that we are experiencing the beginning of the social revolution. It seemed certain that the war would

end with the substitution of the socialistic for the capitalistic form of production, and that now the last decisive struggle had actually started.

But if there is any sense in disputing with the bourgeois parties economic and social questions that do not touch upon the present economic principle, the right of ownership, it seems mere waste of time and weakening of the struggle to discuss these questions in bourgeois parliaments. These are questions of might, which can be decided only through might.

True, the elections to the parliaments have an educational and organizational effect upon the masses, but the same result may be obtained in the elections to the Soviets, which are not debating clubs but fighting organizations. If in peaceful times the parliaments afforded opportunity for valuable disputes between the socialist and the bourgeois representatives which served to educate the masses, just now the thing is direct action. The Revolution must act or it will perish.

In this its activity the Jewish proletariat cannot count upon any bourgeois element, since all of them regard the right of private property as inalienable. Thus a situation arises in which we can no longer say: Through Democracy to Socialism, but Democracy or Socialism. Democracy, in so far as there is any left, opposes the immediate carrying out of Socialism. Hence the Jewish proletariat, following the example of the vast majority of the Russian proletariat, is turning away from bourgeois democracy and favoring the Soviet system.

This idea dominated the majority in the second conference of the Bund in Minsk, and to a far greater extent the rank and file of the Jewish workers. A part of the Bund organizations had already declared themselves as Jewish Communist organizations. This happened in such cases where the leaders had not at the proper moment recognized the change in the sentiments of the workers who formed the bulk of the organization and had not yet left off their Menshevistic complaints against the Bolsheviks. Nevertheless the point of view that the Bund has adopted very essentially differed from that of the Communists.

The Bund has always been a party of the masses, never of leaders. That the working class can liberate itself by its own efforts has been for us not only a slogan but a means of regulating all our activity as well as a principle of organization. In the time of the violent collision of the social forces we are able to dispense with bourgeois democracy but by no means with democracy among the masses themselves. This means that the self-activity of the masses must be the thread of life of the social revolution. The Soviet power must not become a cloak for the Communist dictatorship in which the Central Committee of the Communist party alone and their local party groups shall hold the reins. The Soviet Constitution must not become a dead letter but must be actually realized. That to this end freedom of the press, of speech and of assemblage is necessary for the masses of the workers and peasants, which is entirely contradictory to the system of terror, goes without saying and such terror was severely condemned in the same resolution of the Minsk Conference.

Not to deal with the bourgeois classes, not to compromise, but democracy within the working classes, construction of the revolutionary class organizations on the principles of democracy, making the Soviet power a real organization of the exploited elements. That is the point of view held today by the vast majority of the Jewish proletariat. On this principle it has placed its younger fighting members in the service of the Revolution.

A little less clear was the attitude of the Bund to the questions of the reconstruction of the International. To us it was clear in advance that the future International could not be a mere repetition of the former one, that it is confronted by entirely different questions and must therefore have a different program and a different form of organization. The majority also are of the opinion that the future International must no longer admit to membership parties which conclude compromises with the bourgeois parties,

or go even to the extent of combatting the other Socialistic parties with force of arms.

Certainly in this regard the Bolsheviks have been guilty of a number of encroachments against other parties. But these regrettable happenings, if they may not be condoned, at least they may be explained from the extremely difficult position of Russia. At any rate it was a case of a fight in the interest of the social revolution, even though this interest was badly understood. So, if we are not in agreement with all the acts of the Bolsheviks, we still find the fundamental direction of their policy correct, and therefore we believe that the Moscow International, which represents an effort to unite the deciding revolutionary elements, must comprise one of the foundations of the future International. But its basis of organization is too limited. For it will accept only Communist parties, thus excluding itself from several other parties which, although they do not bear the name Communist, nevertheless carry on a revolutionary working class policy. Moreover there are among the centrist parties such as would be prepared to adopt, in conjunction with other parties, revolutionary tactics, while if rejected they would be forced to the side of the opportunistic and social-patriotic elements. Hence the Bund in Soviet Russia has not joined the Moscow International (which, to be sure, the Bund organizations in Lithuania have done), but aims rather to establish closer relations with the other social-democratic revolutionary parties, in order to found in common with them and the Moscow International a new and active International.

Now we shall see to what extent our hopes of bringing all these elements together for the common fight were justified.

At the present moment the Jewish labor movement is going through a new crisis. By far the greater part of the territory inhabited by Jews is occupied by the Whites, who are—in the real sense of the word—conducting a war of extermination against the Jews, staging monstrously cruel pogroms and particularly, of course, persecuting the Jewish workers. Under these circumstances the fight is unspeakably hard. Notwithstanding, the Central Committee has decided that the Comrades in the districts occupied by the Whites should fight for the restoration of the Soviet power, being forbidden to participate in any administrative bodies or in elections for the same, but rather adopting and maintaining as the guiding motive of their activity the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The unusually difficult position in which the Soviet power is placed has, of course, not frightened us from holding high the banner of the social revolution, trusting that the foreign comrades, particularly those of the western European countries, on whom depends the further progress of the revolution, will not desert us but will help through their struggle to bring the proletarian revolution to a victorious close. It cannot be denied that there is danger of Russia, bound by the reaction, becoming in turn the gendarme of Europe, and the Russian White armies being sent to the other lands to suppress the movement. Hence today more than ever the slogan should be: *Your cause is at stake.* The victory of the reaction in Russia would sound the death knell of the whole proletarian movement of Europe. It would mean the complete triumph of Entente imperialism which would soon establish a permanent reign of terror. Out of these considerations we deem it necessary to favor and to fight with all our might for the triumph of Soviet Russia everywhere against its enemies.

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.

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AS civilization progresses, it is amusing to note the amelioration suffered by the professions men make of humanity and disinterested solicitude for the welfare of others. Thus, the *New York Post* for February 25 prints an editorial containing among other things, these words:

"Suppose that, with the coming of peace and the removal of the fear of foreign invasion, a powerful Socialist opposition develops in Russia. Suppose the civil strife breaks out again, not between Soviet and 'counter-revolutionaries,' but between Bolsheviks and Menshevists-Social Revolutionists. Suppose that new horrors arise. Under such circumstances the decision of the Supreme Council to wait and see is not altogether an empty phrase."

There can hardly be much doubt, in view of the experiences of the recent past, that the Allies would welcome any excuse to continue or recommence military intervention in Russia. Some of the excuses formerly offered have been forgotten by a public which is so accustomed to swallowing something new each day, that it accepts its varying diet with a philosophy born of the conviction that while the method may differ, the intention to deceive it ever prevails. May we recall, however, that invasions of Soviet Russian territory were justified with such reasons as: guarding the supplies at Murmansk, lest they fall into the hands of the Germans; preserving order along the line of the Trans-Siberian railroad, so that traffic might be maintained; enabling the Chekho-Slovaks to "cut their way" through Russia (in directions varying with the needs of the moment: sometimes to the West across the Urals, sometimes to the East via Vladivostok); protecting lives and property of British subjects in Russia; etc., etc., *ad nauseam*?

But here would be something really new: an Allied intervention in Russia to defend one brand of "Socialists" against another! A new Allied device to cripple or interfere with Russian trade on the basis of humanity! To what nation should be assigned the leadership in this effort to secure free speech for Socialists? In the field of diplomatic humor, the Allies would seem to be capable of improving even on their work in connection with "the right of self-determination for small nations."

WHILE the *Post*, however, suggests that the Allies, who have recently been projecting such benevolent alterations outside of their own countries, are already looking so far into the future as to feel the need of preparing against the sad necessity of a new philanthropic enterprise in Russia, the present Allied policy toward that country seems to suffer less from any serious discomfiture at the thought of possible troubles for the Soviet Government and its citizens. Thus, Harald Scavenius, former Danish Minister at Petrograd, is quoted in the *New York Times* of February 25th as having said things that indicate a more businesslike attitude toward Soviet Russia than were uttered in the above passage by the kindly *Post*. Mr. Scavenius, who was a strong spokesman for the counter-revolution in Russia when the Allies were beginning the laborious process of reconstructing, at Paris, the peace of the world, seems to be seriously concerned over the danger that Russia, with its present strongly centralized organizations, may be able to draw greater profits from its trade with foreign countries than those countries themselves.

"Here then are the two parties—Russia, strong through a centralized organization, and the rest of the world split up into thousands of individual interests, who too late will realize that they have merely been tools."

Mr. Scavenius goes on to say that "no single country can undertake the reconstruction of Russia," but that there must be an "international centralization of the rest of the world—the centralization of international capital," before the trade with Russia may be pursued with advantage to the "rest of the world," or, again, to quote Mr. Scavenius, "for mankind to solve the Russian problem in a satisfactory manner."

Does this mean that trade with Russia is not to be pursued by the Allies on the usual theory, which is that the materials passing between countries should be such as are really useful to the purchasers, and that the more prosperous your customer is, the better for both sides? Does it mean that the trade will be simply a continuation of the war and the intervention in another form? That once more a device is being tried out, not for the purpose of carrying on commercial exchanges in good faith with the representatives of the Russian people, but in order to influence the internal structure of Soviet Russia, the social system on which the new state is founded? If so, the experiment will fail as all its predecessors have failed, and

those who have maintained that the Allies would never trade honestly with Soviet Russia will be strengthened in their contention.

* * *

ANOTHER newspaper article, this time the work of an American correspondent, speaks of the approaching trade with Russia as involving serious difficulties for the Allies, in view of the following considerations: There can be little trade with Soviet Russia, this writer says, unless all the railroads are reconstructed to a point of such efficiency as to enable the Russian raw materials to be transported freely to the ports from which they are to be sent abroad. But reconstructing these railroads, or building new ones, will confer benefits upon Soviet Russia that are not within the plans of the Allies. In other words, to enable Russia really to trade on equal terms would not seem to be this writer's view of a reasonable *modus vivendi*. Of course, he camouflages his real point by expressing fears lest the roads so constructed be used by the Soviets for an "aggressive campaign against Western Europe."

* * *

THROUGH an oversight in proofreading, an unfortunate typographical error was permitted to stand in the last issue (No. 9) of *Soviet Russia*. The date of Milyutin's article on the Economic Policy of Soviet Russia should have been Nov. 7, 1919, and not November 7, 1917. While we are speaking of our last issue, we must again call the attention of our readers to the three wireless messages of three successive dates (October 13, 14 and 15) which appeared in that issue. They will give an idea of the fullness and frankness of the Soviet wireless messages; a comparison of the daily military bulletins, for instance, with the corresponding news items in the daily papers for the same dates, will show how much of this information is suppressed before it reaches the reading public.

* * *

THE butchers of the Hungarian Revolution, who have put down the proletarian government of Hungary with more bloodshed than took place during the Terror of 1793 at Paris, seem to encounter very little opposition in the newspaper or government circles of other countries. The Russian Soviet Government seems to be the only one that is at all concerned over the brutal murders practiced by the Hungarian White Guards. Recently the latter sentenced to death, for his political opinions, a man named Otto Korvin. Unfortunately we have not the full details of this case, nor the full text of the Soviet Government's note on the subject, but the following news item from *Le Populaire*, Paris, of January 8, gives some indication of the nature of the Soviet document in question:

"It is reported from Moscow that Chicherin has forwarded the following message to the Hungarian Government via Deutsch-Altenburg (an important wireless station

in Austria): 'We demand—and to enforce our demand we state our readiness to apply the most energetic reprisals as all other measures required by the situation—that the sentence of death pronounced against Otto Korvin shall not be carried out.'

* * *

IN THE same issue of *Le Populaire* there is an item reporting that Colonel Avalov-Bermondts is stated by *Freiheit*, of Berlin, to have visited that city with his general staff after his defeat by the Letts in Courland. It is stated in the news item that on his arrival at the station he was received by a large number of "loyal" Russian officers. In more or less official fashion, Col. Bermondts then proceeded to pay an official call on Minister of War Noske.

And let us add that in Germany the recruiting offices for counter-revolutionary armies are working at full speed and without government interference.

* * *

A STRAIGHT line drawn on the map of Russia from Odessa to Archangel, both of which were taken last month by the Soviet forces, would be a trifle over 1,100 miles long, and would pass somewhat to the west of Moscow, through territory that is every inch in the hands and under the control of the Soviet Government. Draw a similar line from Odessa to Murmansk, which was reported in New York papers of February 21 as having been also occupied by the Red troops, and you have a distance of about 1,400 miles; Kiev, Mogilev, and Petrograd, are practically on this line, and your aeroplane, if it traveled in a straight line, would again have only Soviet territory, Soviet farms, schools, and Soviet railways and waterways under it. The imperialistic imagination would be tempted to pursue the subject, but we merely point out that it is an extensive, rich and varied country that the Soviets have reconquered for the Russian people, a country that they lived in but could not really call their own until they seized it and administered it in their own way.

EARLY ISSUES

We do not want to make a definite promise that we may have to break, but we herewith state that the Laws on Marriage, Guardianship, and other Family Relations, are at present undergoing revision as to legal and English terminology in this office, and will be printed as Special Legal Supplements to SOVIET RUSSIA at the earliest opportunity.

It may also interest our readers to learn that People's Commissar Lenin will complete the fiftieth year of his life on April 10, 1920, and that our issue of that date will contain a number of articles dealing with the activities of this prominent Soviet statesman.

Official Communications of the Soviet Government

SOVIET WIRELESS OF OCTOBER 27, 1919

A Great Victory

An article by Trotsky explains the tremendous significance of the great victory won by the Red cavalry at Voronezh over the most famous cavalry troops of the enemy. The commander of the Red cavalry that made such a brilliant showing was a former non-commissioned officer whose aides are all heroes. The men included many Cossacks from the Don and Kuban, with an equally large number of workers and peasants. Budenny is one of the Revolutionary leaders whose name will go down in history.

The Peasants and the Power of the Soviets

Smilga, a member of the Revolutionary Military Council on one of the fronts, has declared that in all the places freed from the Whites, not only the peasants and workers, but even the great mass of inhabitants in the cities, are working actively in favor of the power of the Soviets. In the districts of Viatka, Perm, and Yekaterinburg, the ardent and devoted attitude of the peasants is in marked contrast to their indifference of last year.

Communist Week at Tula

On the second day of the Communist Week more than two thousand five hundred new members had been enlisted in the party.

The Insurgents Against Denikin

According to the deserters, the trains have been held up between Tsaritsyn and Rostov on account of the frequent raids by insurgent bands who blow up the bridges.

The Situation Around Petrograd

The third day of the offensive of the Red troops on the Petrograd front shows a decided rise in their dash, and an ardent enthusiasm among the soldiers for routing the enemy, who is becoming more demoralized every day, and losing all hope of success. The enemy's losses are enormous. The Red soldiers are fighting like lions, with the commanders and commissars setting the example.

The Orel Massacres

During the short stay of the Whites at Orel, more than five thousand Jews were victims of all kinds of pillaging and violence. The number of those killed is not yet ascertained.

The Whites Destroy Industry

In the lumber yards of Nikolayev, the most serious troubles have occurred between the manager and the workmen, making all work impossible.

The Housing Problem

After the discovery of unsanitary conditions in a section of Moscow, a decree was issued ordering the sanitation committee there to clear out the district. The committee was obliged to find con-

venient accommodations in the same part of the city for the occupants, who were given free transportation. Then the unsanitary district was taken over by the committee, which is determining the conditions necessary before it can be put to any other further use.

Voluntary Labor Results

In Moscow, the railroad workers of the distributing station on the Kazan line have, by gratuitous work out of hours, put in order a complete train of forty-one cars and a locomotive, to carry food from Siberia for the workers of Moscow. In fact, the same station is undertaking to get a second train ready in the same way.

The Medical Congress

This congress, elected by "sanitary districts," has just ended. One of the reports showed that the Commissariat of Public Hygiene has provided inside of one year more than two thousand beds for venereal patients, as well as twenty-five ambulances and five special laboratories throughout Russia. At Moscow special clinics have been opened, with a model clinic situated near the Commissariat. At present, homes are being established for syphilitic children, where they can receive treatment and educational advantages. The Commissariat has already opened a hospital for children suffering from venereal diseases. The member who read the report states that gigantic progress has been made in this direction since the November Revolution.

The Journey of the President of the Central All-Russian Executive Committee

Early in April, Moscow witnessed the departure of the "Train of the October Revolution" as it started on its tour through the country. This train carried a large supply of literature, propaganda and educational material, a motion-picture outfit, etc., and was in charge of Comrade Kalinin.

Comrade Kalinin is a Petersburg workman. And he did not stop working during the whole trip. He has a thorough knowledge of the needs of the working class.

He was originally a peasant of the district of Tver. In spite of his work in the city, he has never kept out of touch with the country. He has always kept up his visits to his village, where he is very influential. The peasants there have great confidence in him, and had chosen him for village "starosta."

He was influential also among the workers of Petersburg, who had the same confidence in him. After the October Revolution, they made him mayor of Petersburg.

Comrade Kalinin is an old revolutionist, a skilled workman, and at the same time, a peasant who is closely associated with the country. He per-

sonifies the union of the proletarian revolutionists with the revolutionary peasants of moderate means. He is a clear example of the workers' and peasants' soviet power.

Comrade Kalinin's train tours all through Russia, and visits the most secluded parts. Where there is no railroad, the President of the Executive Committee goes about by automobile, seeking to penetrate to its very depths the life of the workers and peasants. The "Starosta of all Russia" looks into the needs of the people everywhere he goes, and explains to them things they do not understand.

We quote certain passages from Comrade Kalinin's speeches:

"The comrades of the party and the government of the Soviet Republic must use no pressure or violence towards the peasants. We bring to the peasants the doctrine of Communism, but at the same time, we must also learn from them."

"Everyone contributes according to his ability to the consolidation of the Soviet power; not only the one who spreads propaganda, but the one who plants cabbages and potatoes as well. And he, perhaps, contributes more than the one who speaks at the head of the tribunal."

"As I go through Russia, I take down the complaints of the peasants. On my return to Moscow, we go over all these complaints, and if they are due to any decree, that decree shall be annulled."

There is the greatest interest shown in the visits

SOVIET WIRELESS OF OCTOBER 29, 1919

Finland and Soviet Russia

Izvestia publishes an interview in which Trotsky expresses himself as follows with regard to the attitude of the Finnish government towards Soviet Russia: "The bourgeoisie of Finland evidently possess common sense. They must realize that in case of an offensive on their part they would be inevitably defeated, especially now that Yudenich's troops have been dealt a blow that will be fatal to them, as the near future will show. Furthermore, the Soviet Government have always scrupulously respected the independence of Finland, and if the Finnish bourgeoisie tried to take part in an attack on Petrograd they would compromise their relations with Russia, and without any benefit for Finland. Indeed, it is to the interest of the bourgeoisie of Finland that the new Finnish state prove its respect for neighboring states. Finally, if in spite of all, the attack by Finland took place, it would be infinitely less dangerous than that by Denikin, which has, however, already been repelled. We have reserves enough. The defense of Petrograd leaves nothing to be desired, and above all, we have the firm determination to punish all who might attempt an offensive against Soviet Russia.

Meeting of the Moscow Soviet

At the joint meeting of the Moscow Soviet, the bureaus of workingmen's federations, and the fac-

of the Chief of the Soviet Government. Levitzky, a workman, writes as follows, in the *Izvestya of the Central Executive Committee*, about the "Train of the October Revolution," at the station of Sassovo in the district of Tambov:

"The 'Train of the October Revolution' arrived the 16th of May. The news of Comrade Kalinin's coming spread rapidly. This decorated train immediately drew people's attention. A meeting was to be held at the station building at seven o'clock in the evening; a tremendous crowd attended.

"Some comrades of the center spoke. But the attention of everyone was fixed on the desire to hear Comrade Kalinin. A simply dressed comrade climbs up onto the engine without being noticed. The chairman of the meeting introduces Comrade Kalinine. The crowd turns to the engine, and a storm of applause greets the man whom they feel so close to them. It was most impressive: the head of the Workers' Government was dressed like a simple peasant, and stood there on the engine among his comrades. The 'Starosta of all Russia' spoke calmly and modestly, without any high-flow eloquence, and described the actual situation of the country.

"He spoke clearly, without using any 'oratorical language,' and thus made himself understood by all. It was immediately evident that he was the man truly worthy of holding such an honorable position.

"The speech produced a very strong impression, and the applause continued long after the leader had left the place."

tory committees, Goussev, member of the revolutionary military council of the republic presented a very detailed report of the general situation. "In the course of the past year there finally developed the attempt of the Cadets and the Mensheviks to impose their influence upon the peasant class. At present we are witnessing the end of this effort. The peasant class, in its enormous mass, has chosen definitely between the monopolists and the proletariat, and has taken the part of the proletariat, categorically. The Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionists nourished this illusion of the possibility of a revolution without combat. Today they have been obliged to renounce this idea, and to take, they also, the part of the proletariat and preach the war against Denikin, Kolchak, and Yudenich. There you have the clearest proof that the petty bourgeoisie and the middle class peasants have passed over to our side. The whole peasant class have risen voluntarily for the defense of the Soviets. As to the proletariat, the results of the Communist Week organized throughout Russia confirms once more that even the districts which have hitherto been indifferent to politics, or even favorable to the Social-Revolutionists and Mensheviks have today come over to our side. Tens of thousands of workers without party affiliation have entered our ranks. All the rest of the proletariat are now for

us. Such is the enormous progress accomplished in the course of the last half-year among the masses of the peasants and workers. And at the same time every base disappears upon which the White Guards could attempt to build their adventure. From the military point of view we have just witnessed a display of colossal forces by our enemies. Denikin has mobilized literally all he could. He has put into play his supreme resources, and, in effect, obtained certain temporary results. But as a whole we have resisted. And now all the advantages rest with us; we have already dealt the enemy such violent blows that he is incapable of recovering. We have taken the initiative on the entire front. During the course of last summer we created new and powerful armies, we have devoted ourselves furiously to the labor of organization, and today our forces are three times those of last spring, and double the enemies'. Our temporary setbacks have, only resulted in arousing the enthusiasm of the proletariat. Now all our enemies are one after the other retiring from the field. If we ask the question who is capable of holding on longest from the economic and psychologic viewpoint, we can declare boldly that without any doubt the advantage lies with us. Kolchak has mobilized all the Cossacks of Siberia and yet retreats in haste and his ruin is near. Archangel will be ours in the course of the next few weeks. Yudenich wished to imitate Denikin by using the same methods of intimidation and rapid raids. He has not succeeded and now it is we who attack, and we aim now no longer to defend Petrograd, but to crush Yudenich decisively. Two or three weeks more and we shall finish with the one who dared to attack the proletariat of Petrograd. On the Southern front we have learned to fight the enemy methods, thanks to our furious work of organization. Denikin's situation is hopeless. Thus we approach everywhere the end of the conflict. The enormous work accomplished during the last half-year in the political domain, and in organization, has so multiplied our forces that we can now say the victory is assured to us. The enemy will be unable to hold on, as long as we have resources infinitely superior to theirs. We shall triumph, and triumph in the near future." After Kamenev's speech on the role of the Moscow Committee of Defense, whose work is to place the whole working class on a war footing and raise to the highest point the military strength of the garrison, the assembly voted an invitation to all citizens to extend their forces to crush the counter-revolution decisively, declaring that "the bourgeois menace of counter-revolution has called to political life new sections of the working class and aroused in the laboring masses an outburst of revolutionary energy that grouped them about the communist party more closely than ever." Finally the assembly sent fraternal greetings to the soldiers and the commissars at the Southern front, to the cavalry corps of Boudenny, the conqueror of Mamontov and Chkure, and to Trotsky and Zinoviev, the organizers of the victory.

The Situation About Petrograd

At the present moment the defensive phase of our operations about Petrograd has just come to a close, the battle is entering a new phase which will aim at the elimination of the entire Northwest front. The latest reports announce some battles favorable to the Soviet troops five versts northeast of Gatchina. We have captured a series of villages. We are now attacking the principal position of the Whites along the road from Windau. The result of our operations will oblige the enemy to evacuate Gatchina, for our pressure on the Baltic line near Marienburg menaces their lines of communication. The resistance of the Whites in this key region will be broken by our offensive.

The Ukraine in Revolt

The insurgents hold the entire right bank of the Dnieper, all the region of Kiev, Tcherkassy, Thigirin, Tripolie, Kanev, are in our hands. None of Denikin's representatives in the region of Kiev has been able to remain more than a month in the district. The region of Kherson is in the hands of Makhno, or other Red detachments. Makhno has taken Alexandrovsk from the volunteer army. Elizabetgrad is besieged by the insurgents. The latter are approaching from Kherson and Nikolaev. The insurrection has won the regions of Poltava and Ekaterinoslav. The presence of Soviet troops in the immediate vicinity of Kiev redoubles the boldness of the insurgents, and cases multiply of the passing over to our camp of entire detachments of Makhno's and Petlura's troops.

Denikin and the Kuban

The journal *Rodina* of the 12th of October announces that Denikin has proclaimed the official blockade of the Kuban. In this country the insurrection is organized by a chief who has the recognition of all. The insurgents number several thousand and embrace all nationalities. The White journals report numerous successes by the Red detachments which force the surrender of some considerable towns to the volunteer army.

The Red Heroes

The journals frequently announce the death in the last battles of numerous officers of the old army who had consecrated themselves with absolute conviction to the Soviet Republic.

Where Denikin Has Passed

Pravda gives the impressions of a passenger on "L'Etoile" from Kamyhin to Doubovka near Tsaritzyn. According to the inhabitants themselves the only enemies of the Soviet power have been the Ossetes, Kalmuks and others of Denikin's mercenary savages, and the officers. Numerous incursions have been made by the enemy aviators but the aeroplanes were directed and the bombs thrown by English officers. At Kamyhin the pas-

senger has seen at the bazaar the gallows where six communists had hung for several days. There perished also the school-mistress Torgachova, who was, however, not a communist. The gallows and the tomb of the victims are preserved with care for the edification of future generations. A little further on one sees from the Volga several crosses placed by the peasants at the tomb of eighteen Red soldiers hung by the Cossacks. The entire route followed by the Cossacks is marked by gallows. The rejoicing of the peasant population at the return of the Soviet troops was without bounds, and they never weary of recounting the atrocities of the Whites, which all have had to suffer, poor, middle class, and rich.

French Intervention in Russia

The journal *Kievanin*, recounting the voyage of General Dragomirov in France, affirms that he has obtained from the French government a fixed engagement to support Denikin substantially with war materials, merchandise, and military equipment.

A New Falsehood

The news circulated in the German press to the effect that the Russian Soviet government had proposed to the German government to send Russia 800,000 German workers out of work, to occupy them in Russian industries, is absolutely without foundation.

SOVIET WIRELESS OF OCTOBER 30, 1919

Before Petrograd

RED troops on the Petrograd front are carrying off victory after victory. In the evening of October 29th they occupied the following line: Parachki, Gostilitsy, Ditlitsy, Volosovo, Vysotskoe, Karelakhty, Taitsy. On the Gatchina and Peterhof sectors, the Red troops are continuing to advance in spite of the enemy's resistance. Already all the institutions that had been evacuated have returned to Dietskoe Selo (formerly Tzarskoe Selo), where the Whites spent only about 36 hours.

The Communist Week in the Provinces

At Tambov 4,200 new Communists have been accepted as members of the party; at Smolensk 1,500, including many working women.

The Jubilee of the Young People's Communists

Yesterday there was celebrated at Moscow the first anniversary of the Young People's Workers' Communist League. The president, after having declared that the All-Russian League at present counts more than 100,000 members, announced that this number will be still more increased as a consequence of the Young People's Red Week, which has just begun. Bukharin recalled that the holidays of our time, even the celebrations of November 7th, which is perhaps for all the world the beginning of a new era, must change into days

Finland's Attitude

In *Izvestia*, Stieklov speaks of the intrigues of the Entente to engage the Finnish government in a new adventure against Soviet Russia. The bourgeoisie are hesitating, as has been revealed by the premier of Finland in an interview in the *Dagens Press*,—because Finland has not now any motive for intervention in Russian affairs, and, still more, because of the enormous risk involved for her in all aggression towards Soviet Russia. The check of Yudenich is not of a nature to encourage the imperialists of Finland. Further, Finland is economically incapable of sustaining a war. "But there is another reason, about which the Minister is silent. It is the very clear decision of the laboring masses of Finland, workingmen and peasants alike, not to make war against Soviet Russia." The bourgeoisie of Finland are beginning to understand that victory for the Russian counter-revolution is a much greater danger for Finnish independence than is the conservation of the Soviet power. They would gladly strangle the Russian proletariat but they fear that the restoration of the ancient regime in Russia will make doubtful the very existence of Finnish independence. In any case "Soviet Russia does not want war and has proved it more than once. The responsibility of possible conflict would rest entirely with the Finn imperialists and their inspirers. Moreover, Soviet Russia will be on its guard and will not allow itself to be taken un-awares."

of preparation for days of battle, in this period of offensives that have been forced upon us by our enemies. If the Russian formerly was capable of great deeds only at specific moments, the Communist Party at present is transforming him into an active and indefatigable worker. The prowess of a moment has been altered into a systematic and triumphant labor which will provide us with victory in the final struggle that has already begun. Madame Kollontai analyzed the four elements of success: organization, creative power, technique, and the new moral system, based on solidarity and comradeship of the workers. These four forces are on the side of the Reds. They are particularly abundant among the Communist young people. Posner, in the name of the Central Committee of the Instructing Staff, reported that the power of Soviets has torn away from the bourgeoisie its main prop, namely, the privilege of knowledge. It has created an army of 70,000 Socialist instructors, supported by the increasing numbers of the Young Communist People. This latter group is not only the inexhaustible reserve for the Red Army, but also the peaceful army of science and technology and of organized labor. To this army is confided the supervision of the schools. The other speakers declared, in the midst of a general enthusiasm, that the future belongs to the Young Communists, together with the young workers of all countries.

SOVIET POSTERS



We have recently received a number of posters from Soviet Russia, which we are reprinting on this and the opposite page. In tone and execution they do not differ much—at least this is true of the four military posters—from the products turned out by artists in other countries when working on similar subjects. It is likely that these military posters are of various dates, for they indicate the varying objectives of the military effort of Soviet Russia. Thus, those on the opposite page urging men to enlist for fighting in the Urals (IV and V) may be a year old, for it was in January, 1919, that Kolchak's armies had advanced furthest into European Russia. No. 1, on this page, is an admonition to fight for the Donetz coal-fields, in other words, to help recover southeastern Russia from Denikin. Its top line reads: "The Donetz Coal must be ours!" At the side are the three sentences: "If there is no coal, the factories are idle. If there is no coal, the trains will not go. Until the Don is ours, hunger will be with us." At the bottom is the line: "Victory over Denikin's bands means victory over hunger." Just what part these posters played in raising the spirit of the Red armies to the point of victory, we do not know, but their work is done, and all the tasks they urged the workers to perform have been fulfilled. Probably No. IV. is the most recent of the posters: it deals with the defense of Petrograd, probably against the Yudenich assault of October, 1919.

But Soviet Russia is interested more in the arts of peace than those of war, as is once more suggested by the two posters at the bottom of this page. In such case, the large words read: "Organize Reading Huts," while an extensive text at the bottom, too small to be legible in the reproduction, explains the necessity of spreading education and culture in the villages. Evidently it is intended that the peasants of the New Russia shall have educational opportunities that were greater than what they enjoyed in the Russia of old.

I



II



III



IV



V

Of the three posters on this page, the two upper ones are encouragements to enlist in the armies fighting for the recovery of the Urals. IV reads: "Comrades, all out for the Urals! Death to Kolchak and the other lackeys of the Czar and capitalism." V reads: "Forward, to the defense of the Urals!" VI, below, is a summons to defend the cradle of the Revolution, Petrograd, against the advance of Yudenich. It reads: "All Our Lives in the Defence of Petrograd!"



VI

The Defense of the Republic

The trade unions of Pskov are organizing a detachment of volunteers whose members, without giving up their work, are being given a severe military course. In addition, every union mobilized one member for the work of organization in the Red Army. The proletariat of Smolensk celebrated in a solemn manner the departure of the mobilized men of the trades unions. In the region of the front, new units are being constantly formed. The populations are furnishing a number of volunteers that is considerably in excess of the numbers required. In the region of the East, and of the Ural, the mobilization is continuing to yield the most excellent results. Simbirsk is mobilizing 150 Communists, who are boarding the troop trains proceeding to the fronts. Yukhnov is mobilizing tailors and seamstresses for the Red Army. At Shenkursk the workers are giving up one day's pay for the use of the Northern front. At Nikolaevsk, on the Volga, the population is collecting flour and biscuits for the defenders of the Revolution.

The Whites at Dietskoe Selo

In spite of the shortness of their stay in this town, the Whites took occasion to sack everything at Dietskoe Selo that fell into their hands, not sparing even flower and vegetable gardens. As for their treatment of dwellings, that of the celebrated Prof. Puchl may serve as an example. A library of immense wealth was destroyed; the books were torn, the cases broken to pieces. When we recall that this apartment was occupied by a major of the staff, in other words, by the cream of the White officers, we may imagine what happened in the other houses. Everywhere one beholds nothing but the remnants of debauches and drunkenness.

In the Provinces

In the Astrakhan district the population is showing in every way its devotion to the Soviet power. In the election to the cantonal committees, only representatives of the poor peasant class are winning out. At Samara the elections for the Soviet are being carried in the midst of an immense enthusiasm of the masses. The Communist orators are meeting with an unalloyed success, and the election of a tremendous majority of Communists is assured.

Public Instruction

The work of education in the Astrakhan garrison is proceeding under the most favorable conditions. There are 75 courses for the illiterate and educational clubs, together with a chorus and a literary circle.

Demoralization in Denikin's Territory

According to the statements of deserters, the demoralization in the White Army is increasing from day to day. A savage discipline, resorting to an excessive application of the death penalty, is nevertheless powerless in the struggle against this demoralization. The Cossacks, afraid of the winter campaign, are refusing to continue the struggle

against the Soviet power, and the desertions from their ranks are attaining fantastic proportions.

Speech of Kameneff

In the meeting of the Moscow Soviet Trades Unions and Factory Committees, Kameneff declared in his official report that Soviet Russia desires only peace with the Baltic republics. He emphatically criticized the attitude of the Government of these republics, which cannot make up their minds to conclude peace, and more particularly that of the Esthonian Government, which is aiding Yudenich in his aggressive attack on Petrograd. Kameneff declared that the Russian Soviet Government strongly regrets the fact that this aggression should have cut off the negotiations which have begun with Esthonia and the other Baltic states. The Soviet Government regrets even more the unfortunate consequences, which the operations, now being undertaken against us by Esthonia, may have in preventing mutual friendly relations in the future.

The Fate of the Counter-Revolutionary Russian N. W. Army

With the freeing of the threatened Petrograd and the beating back of Yudenich the counter revolution in Northwest Russia has grown critical, and with the withdrawal of the sorrowful heroes of the Bermond-Avalov army and its German hirelings it has grown actually hopeless. Now the Union Agency reports that the Yudenitch army had been forced to go over into Esthonian territory, and that the Esthonians themselves demanded that it be disarmed. On the other hand, there is a report from Copenhagen to the effect that General Yudenich requested the Esthonian Government to allow the Russian Northwest Army to be transferred to the Denikin front on Esthonian ships and that this wish would be fulfilled at once. The last, however, seems improbable, and without purpose besides, since the Denikin army too is in the process of dissolution; that cannot be changed even by the dreamers of the Northwest army so often defeated, and it could save itself the participation in another debacle by either disbanding or being interned in Esthonia.

A Latent Conflict Between the Poles and Lithuanians

While at times to the west European observer the Russian border states appear as a more or less closed entity, actually there is often considerable friction between these new and territorially still developing states. This is shown for one thing in their varying attitude toward a peace with Soviet Russia, which Esthonia is about to conclude as the first. But occasionally there are reports also of other conflicts which are significant in judging the latest and the future events from a political and from a military point of view. Thus it is reported from Kovno, that lately the already strained relations between Poland and Lithuania have become more so. The call of the Polish press for a union of border states, the conciliatory tone of which is directly at odds with the provocative actions of the

Polish authorities in Vilna, has been regarded with suspicion. In Lithuanian circles it is pointed out that Poland aims to develop a great agitation with Latvia and the other border states in order to cover up her annexationist plans in regard to Lithuania. Feeling dominates in Lithuania for immediate peace with the Bolsheviks and economic and political federation with them for protection against Poland.

Revival of Industry in the Bolshevik Ural

In *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* there is a detailed report of the conditions of production of Ural industry, which after the re-conquest by the Bolsheviks has become an essential factor in the economic life of Soviet Russia. The first to recover was the metal industry, especially manufacture of rails, wire nails, tools. Ural industry is to help above all to relieve shortage of means of traffic. The railroad shops are working at full capacity though at present engaged mainly in repairs on locomotives and cars. Considerable supplies were found in the way of domestic utensils, locksmith supplies, and forge tools, etc. While these articles had been destined for exportation to Asia and Siberia, they were now sent to Soviet Russia. The munition factories have been directed by the central authorities to remodel for new branches of production, in order to save fuel and make more practical use of raw materials. There has been special progress in the mining of gold and platinum, the production of the latter being raised 12 pood during the first month of re-occupation. But there is no diamond mining and a crisis in copper mining is at hand, due to the fact that the Kolchak administration neglected the mines, many of which are flooded, while others have suffered from sabot-

age by the retreating Kolchak troops. Fuel shortage is being relieved by exploitation of the numerous peat beds, and machinery for peat-mining is being manufactured.

A Meeting of Former Kolchak Officers

In Samara there took place a meeting of former officers and officials of Kolchak's southern army. About 2,000 persons were present, all of whom voluntarily joined the Red Army. According to a report a resolution was unanimously adopted in which the Soviet Government was hailed. The officers are placing themselves in the service of the Red Army and will soon be assigned to their respective branches. For their political education lectures on politics and national economy are held before them and there is always lively discussion.

Mobilization of the Social-Revolutionary Group "Narod" (the People)

The Social-Revolutionary organization adhering to the newspaper *Narod* held a meeting of members in which it decided to place all its forces at the service of the Red Army. The following resolution was adopted: 1. The group will participate energetically in the organization of the defense of the Revolution. 2. The members of the group are exhorted to join the Red Army and to support its work at and behind the front. 3. It is the duty of the mobilized comrades to perform to the best of their strength any work assigned to them, whether of a technical, organizational, or military nature. The members assume the task of getting other Social-Revolutionary comrades and elements to join the Red Army and to conduct the widest propaganda everywhere.

An Appeal to the Metal Workers to Save Russia

To the Workers of the Metal Industry:

Five years of war, which were to give liberty to all peoples, together with their right of self-determination, have done nothing but accentuate the slavery and wretchedness in all countries.

The workers and peasants of Russia have carried out their Revolution. It is they who prepared and supported the Revolution in Germany. They thus aided in putting an end to the German imperialism, in terminating the most abominable of wars, for which, besides, they have already made immense sacrifices. And besides, they have largely contributed to the "victory" of the Allies.

Full of gratitude, our Government is sending troops against the Soviet Republic to strike it down, and the criminal blockade of the Entente condemns to poverty, to suffering, and to death, hundreds of thousands of children, of women, and men, who are guilty of living in a country that has put an end to the rule of the bourgeoisie.

perpetrated long enough. You must not permit it to continue and achieve its aims.

You are the majority, you are the power! Take pity on your brothers in misery, do your duty, your whole duty, to prevent this base assassination. And your duty, as metal worker, is to refuse point blank to do any work on munitions, and to arouse, particularly in your environment, the same refusal on the part of others.

Rifles, cannons, machine guns, tanks, hand grenades, airplanes, are still being manufactured in our factories. You must no longer take part in these criminal activities. We must cease working in our factories for death, we must work for life.

We have worked too much for war; we must now work for peace. We wish to produce prosperity and not devastation. Tomorrow it will be our turn to free ourselves. Let us aid the others in their own liberation, so that we may expect aid from them, in turn.

This crime of the governing classes has been

Under conditions much worse than yours, others

have known what their duty was. Our sailors in the Black Sea, who refused to go and fight against their brothers in wretchedness, are now paying, by sentences of 10 to 15 years of jail, for their fraternal act.

The amnesty law has favored the delicate and high-placed rascals of the bourgeoisie.

We want amnesty also for the Black Sea sailors who have been so courageous; for our class brothers, for the thousands of soldiers who have suffered so much and who are still in military captivity, for our imprisoned friends, for all those who have been the victims of class justice, who have been victims of verdicts of hatred.

We will save the Russian Revolution and we will save our comrades from prisons and cells.

One great and only means remains for us to cause the capitalist bourgeoisie to surrender: it is the general strike of all the workers.

Prepare yourself and answer the call when the time comes.

COOPERATIVE UNION OF MECHANICS AND
WORKERS OF THE SEINE.

—*L'Humanité*, Dec. 30, 1919.

FROM THE POLISH PRESS

(From *Lebensfragen*, Warsaw, January 22, 1920)
Concerning Soviet Russia

THE latest telegram received dealing with the lifting of the blockade against Russia and the establishment of relations between the Soviet Government and the Allies has made a profound impression on the Polish political world.

The first to respond to this was *Robotnik*, which came out with a leading article under the headlines, "Peace, a Speedy Peace."

And in it, among other things, we read the following:

"However unexpected the collapse of the front against the Bolsheviki might have been, it was nevertheless inevitable, owing to the established facts and to the condition in which the Allies found themselves.

"A worse fate than this, of the Allies in their relationship with Russia is difficult to imagine. It was their desire to exterminate the Bolsheviki by force of arms, but instead they have strengthened them to such a point that today they rule as strongly in Eastern Siberia as they do in Petrograd, and from the White to the Black Sea. They have strengthened Bolshevism, and at the same time have helped to exterminate physically and morally the Czarist reaction.

"In addition, Clemenceau's project of a 'barbed wire' fence, which was to have been erected by Poles, Roumanians, Czechs and Yugo-Slavs, has proved to be nothing but a dream."

Robotnik concludes that of these four Powers, only Poland has remained as the "barbed wire" fence, and therefore,—

"The barbed wire fence has failed even before it was erected. Not because there are not sufficient police guards; but on the contrary, because there are already candidates in existence for smuggling."

These "smugglers" are Sweden and Germany, which have already established trade relations with Red Russia. Poland remains alone in her consistent war with Russia, and therefore *Robotnik* writes, in bold-faced type:

"The war with Russia, if it were to continue longer, would have been an undertaking of the Polish bourgeoisie, exclusively, an insane and self-exterminating act on its part, but an act which might have brought more direful results to our nation."

The Polish Socialist Party thinks, that "the present situation is such, that the coalition has, it seems, left to conditions themselves the unravelling of the Russian knot.

And it will no longer bring pressure to bear upon neighboring peoples to make war upon the Red country. Poland could, therefore, at the present time, make peace with the Soviet Government, but she will not do so, and continues to wage war—and, in the conclusion of its leading article, *Robotnik* says: "The dangers of this insane act will fall entirely on Poland."

It appears that in the face of this new situation, even *Dva Groshe* (a reactionary paper) has become frightened. This National Democratic sheet, however, does not say a single word about the new attempt on the part of the Entente. We are merely told that there have just come to Warsaw representatives from Russia and Ukraine, who are provoking Poland to continue the war for the benefit of these guests, to whom we will sooner or later be obliged to say Yes or No.

Also, for the sake of our own Polish interests, we must come to some decision, as to "a clear and concrete program with regard to our Eastern policies."

Dva Groshe is already asking whether we are thinking of a peace with the Bolsheviki, or whether we will continue to war with them. And, unwilling to decide for themselves, the National Democrats appeal to the Diet, and, after that, to general public opinion, that they should make themselves clear as to our aim in our Eastern policies. *What is the object and what is the end of our military undertakings on the Eastern front?* These questions and appeals to public opinion on the part of *Dva Groshe* are very significant. They show that even the imperialistic and thoroughly chauvinistic National Democrats are beginning to become somewhat sobered, and, under compulsion of the latest coalition, minds are beginning to think heretic thoughts.

In our present-day Poland, the ideas of the National Democrats are extremely influential, and such voices may mean that we are near a peace with Red Russia.

Books Reviewed

BOLSHEVIK RUSSIA, by Etienne Antonelli, Chargé de Conférence a la Faculté du Droit de Paris, etc., Translated from the French. New York, A. A. Knopf, 1920. Price \$1.50.

ETIENNE ANTONELLI: La Russie Bolcheviste. Paris, Bernard Grasset, 1919. Price 3.50f.

CLAUDE ANET: La Révolution Russe. III: La Terreur Maximaliste; L'Armistice; Les Pourparlers de Paix. IV: La Paix de Brest-Litovsk; Sous le Régime de Lénine; Les Ambassades en Finlande; L'Agonie—Petrograd—Moscou. Paris, Payot & Cie., 1919. Price 4.50f. each.

MARYLIE MARKOVITCH: La Révolution Russe. vue par une Francaise. 2me edition. Paris, Perrin & Cie., 1918. Price 3.50f.

THERE is no doubt that French books possess the quality of readability to a high degree and that French writers are sometimes acute and observing students. Antonelli's book which heads this list is probably the most painstaking and accurate study of the Russian Revolution that has thus far appeared from the pen of one not fully in sympathy with the aims of the Soviet Government. The first part of the book (200 out of its 300 pages) treats chiefly of the preparation of the November coup d'état, the execution of the coup d'état itself, and the colossal work of reorganization that was proclaimed immediately after its realization, including some of the negotiations which this involved with foreign powers. In other words, the setting of the book is the same as that of Trotsky's "From October to Brest-Litovsk," the authoritative outline of the Russian Proletarian Revolution that has already appeared in every European language. But Trotsky's book is the contribution of one who stood in the midst of the melee, and consequently there is a restlessness and nervousness about his book that makes it somewhat less readable than this cold, dispassionate, unsympathetic study by a studious and critical Frenchman. It is studies like this that will give to the future student much of his material, while all of their interpretation may be lost in the process of transmission.

And there is no doubt that Antonelli's book is an interpretation. In every line it speaks across his sentences and reveals his attitude. But such is the singular honesty of this man that while his reluctance to set down aught redounding to the credit of the Soviet Government is immense, he yet does not misrepresent those situations concerning which he possesses objective information. Thus, speaking of the manner in which the inertia (refusal to report at their offices for work) of the bureaucratic officials was overcome by Foreign Minister Trotsky, Antonelli says (p. 100): "Even towards these helpless adversaries the Bolsheviks did not employ violence without covering it with Slav duplicity. One instance will illustrate the method." But when you read the details of Trotsky's method, it appears to have involved a simple notice to all government employees that if they did not come to their offices to do their

work, they would all lose their jobs; then, when some failed to show up, came their discharge from the service; and finally, the rest of them all decided to do their work. Those unacquainted with Mr. Antonelli's "Slav duplicity" might consider the process to have been a rather refreshingly frank and decent one.

The second part of the book, "Bolshevism and Society," is a serious attempt to draw, on the basis of the author's personal observation and of official Soviet documents, a picture of the conditions of life in various classes of Russian society as they existed when the book was written, early in 1918, a few months after the accomplishment of the coup d'état of November 7th (October 25th, Old Style). We can only regret that the author has not, to our knowledge, contributed a further volume on later developments in Russia, on the solidification of the conquests of the Revolution, and the pursuit of the labor of internal reorganization, as well as on the brilliant military campaigns rendered necessary by the operations of invading forces.

Pedantry requires that we point out one slight defect in the otherwise excellent translation: the proper names are all given in the French transliteration, instead of being adapted to the English pronunciation. Thus, we find such peculiar names as Lenine, Staline, which, while perfectly adapted to the French pronunciation, give a wrong impression to the English or American eye. Lenin, Stalin, are the correct forms. "Noghine" for Nogin is particularly picturesque in English and "Dane" for Dan is quite ridiculous. There is no reason why a strict system of English equivalents for Russian sounds should not be used in books printed by American publishers, and we have taken the liberty to suggest the outlines of such a system in our Preface to the First Volume of Soviet Russia (printed March, 1920). But when you remember how much Antonelli tells you about the men whose names his translator misspells, how seriously he

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has studied their lives and their contributions, you feel like omitting any strictures of merely orthographic nature.

Claude Anet's volumes on "The Russian Revolution—I don't know how many there are, but Volumes III and IV have reached this office—are smooth and pleasant reading, if one could forget the hopelessly crippled and unbending attitude of their author's mind on everything done by the Bolsheviks or the Soviet Government. What Anet says is interesting enough as long as he describes his own experiences. It is an exciting picture he draws of the flight of the Allied diplomats through Finland from Petrograd, engaged in an unsuccessful attempt to cross through the military lines separating the Whites from the Reds (Southern Finland was then also a Soviet Republic—it was March, 1918—and General Mannerheim's headquarters were to the north of Tammerfors, where the fleeing diplomats tried to get into touch with

him.) Evidently the Reds had permitted the "friendly" diplomats to leave Russia with a rather good supply of foodstuffs, for, describing a lunch which he collected in the train as he wandered through the compartments reserved for representatives of the various nations, M. Anet says he "picked up a Roquefort cheese sandwich in the Ambassador's car, a capon wing in Serbia, a cut of ham in Belgium. M. Noulens took out a bottle of his native Armagnac; M. Destrée had some Chartreuse; M. Charlier, the Belgian Consul, had a remarkably fine champagne" (page 96).

The book of Marylie Markovitch (Mme. Amélie de Néry) can also be read, but it is extremely superficial, and besides, treats only of the March Revolution up to about the time that Kerensky began preparing for the July offensive that was to mean a useless and unnecessary death to so many soldiers. There is no reason why anyone should read this book.

J. W. H.

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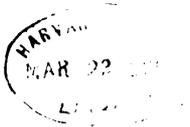
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The Necessary Peace with Soviet Russia

By A. YOFFE

Petrograd Pravda, November 18, 1919.

"NOT fine speakers, but men of action, are the servants of reaction," said Lassalle. And in his time this was indeed true, for Lassalle knew such servants of reaction as Bismarck. But in our time these men of action, it seems, have become scarce. The bourgeoisie, falling into decay just before the dissolution of imperialism and the transition to a new life, are not able to produce the giants of the past, and bourgeois politics now makes use of pigmies.

In the dawn of its youth the bourgeois system gave birth to the great Napoleon, in the zenith of its power Napoleon the Little took his place, and now it must be content with Clemenceau, and others like him. It has no longer either Napoleons, Bismarcks, or Gladstones, but the present Clemenceaus and Lloyd Georges, who even from the point of view of their own interests, represent their cause very poorly.

Not to seek far for examples, we may observe their agents, our neighbors, the national White governments who so stubbornly carry on war with Soviet Russia.

The Ukrainian Rada, basing its whole policy on the recognition of its independence, came out against Soviet Russia, and, in the great struggle of the Russian revolution with German imperialism, took the side of the latter. As a result it lost all independence and received a new little Czar from the hands of the German Kaiser. Then there began a new war of liberation, and the independent parties sought temporarily the support of the Soviet power, but, freeing themselves from the German

yoke, they entered forthwith into intrigues with the Entente imperialists, as if thus to escape falling under the heel of Denikin, who is striving to restore an autocracy.

In exactly the same way the White Guard Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland, as a result of their war against Soviet Russia, became the vassals of imperialistic Germany, and when they freed themselves from that dependence, did all they could to fall into still worse bondage to the Entente. And this at a time when these governments strive for national freedom.

It would seem clear that not one imperialistic government ever will or can recognize the freedom and independence of small nations, and the only power acknowledging this freedom, and struggling to attain it, appears to be the Soviet power. It would seem, therefore, that all the governments of small states, especially those which were within the territory of the former Russian empire, ought to be interested in the preservation of Soviet Russia and in maintaining friendly relations with her. But not for nothing do they say that whom Jupiter would punish he first deprives of reason; the nationalistic governments have been conducting a stubborn war against the Soviet power, which is hewing the bough upon which sit those who are everywhere working together to restore imperialistic Russia, and who must again deprive those governments of all independence,—and thus with their own hands they are tying the noose about their necks.

The little errors of little governments are being

committed on a larger scale by the "Great Governments of great states."

Imperialistic Germany concluded peace with Soviet Russia in order to give its people the illusion of a speedy end of the world war; to demonstrate its liberalism and love of freedom; and, finally, to draw upon Russia for raw materials indispensable for her existence and the continuation of the war. And at the same time Germany continued a campaign of conquest against Russia, showing clearly by that very fact that there was no peace: set up a monarchy in the Ukraine and in other republics, and entered into a union with it, thus destroying all illusions as to her motives of liberalism: and so coarsely and cynically plundered wherever she could, that she aroused a revolt against herself, and nowhere got even a hundredth part of what she might have.

And the vaunted imperial activities of the Entente are not at all wiser.

At the time of the war striving above all to bring about the downfall of Germany, they did not understand that the only real, serious opponent of German imperialism and militarism was just Soviet Russia, and with their wild attack on the latter they weakened themselves in the same degree that they strengthened their chief enemy, Germany.

Not desiring peace between Russia and Germany for the very reason that the latter might obtain from Russia raw material for her stores, they isolated Russia economically, blockading her, as if striving intentionally to force Russia to make every concession, and feed, that is, strengthen, Germany.

But their stupidity does not end there. Sending their peoples to needless slaughter during the course of four years, only by persuading them that the war was being fought for the national independence of small peoples, the very wise politicians of the Entente, at the moment that the national revolt of the enslaved peoples of the East was maturing, continued a stubborn war against Soviet Russia, emphasizing for them, as it were, that they will not allow the freedom not only of small, but even of large, nations, if that freedom does not please them, and manifesting to the masses thirsting for freedom, and the classes that support them, that they must abandon forever all hope for the realization of their wishes.

So great is class hatred, so serious the social rupture, that political sense is absolutely clouded, and government understanding altogether lacking. There is no understanding of the necessity of even the most pressing concessions, even with the purpose of self-preservation.

The Junker Bismarck was ingenious enough, for the sake of continuing the privileged position of his party to humor its impetuosity, and sacrifice the little privileges in order to keep the great ones.

At the dawn of the labor movement, when it was still very feeble, he already asserted that he would not take one step without considering how the Social-Democrats would look upon it.

His little disciples and adherents tried at that time to persuade the present writer that there would never be a revolution in Germany, since they were wise enough to make concessions in time, and, if it were necessary, even to set up in Germany a Soviet order, but established without a revolution, and granted by the higher powers in order to preserve the monarchy. Still, a revolution has taken place in Germany, and the monarchy kicked up its heels. But just this is the difference between the great Bismarcks and the petty Bismarcks, that the former really knew when the time had come to yield. . . .

Now, in the period of the great dissolution, there can be no preservation of the bourgeois order, just as there could not be of the feudal order in Bismarck's time.

But the social revolution can be accomplished quickly, with innumerable sacrifices, and also it may be long drawn out, with the minimum of loss.

In order to avoid the hecatomb of victims the revolutionary proletariat would make those concessions.

If the present guides of the destiny of the bourgeoisie resembled their predecessors, they would study these possibilities, and would be able to take advantage of them, they would not commit so many errors, for they would take thought as to how the world revolutionary proletariat look upon them.

They would understand also that the socialist order will not appear ready-made, like Minerva from the brow of Jupiter, and that in the transition period the creation of Soviet Russia is especially advantageous for Entente capitalism. Advantageous as the eliminator of imperial competition in Eastern Europe, advantageous as the creation of an immense economic organism founding its economic and political structure on the interests of masses of consumers, and not on the interests of capitalist producers.

Now that life has given the capitalistic forces some bloody lessons, now that the last lesson rises in all its giant height in the form of the coming world proletariat revolution, now that the crisis, as it were, begins in the politics of the bourgeois governments, they may be disposed to understand these lessons.

The task of Soviet Russia will make it easier for them thus to understand.

But of this another time.

"THE WEEK OF THE FRONT"

It is reported from Perm: The Week of the Front is in active progress: Workers and employees are proposing to give a day's pay for purchasing gifts for the Red Army. Gifts of warm clothing are being made on a large scale. The First Reserve Sharpshooter's Battalion has donated one thousand poods of rye, and in addition 50,000 rations, aggregating 77 poods of rye and 7 poods of salt.

—From *Politiken*, February 4.

The War in Russia

(Statistical and Political Reflections)

Washington, D. C., March 4, 1920.

“**NOTWITHSTANDING** the Red Army's sweeping victories, we are ready to make peace today as we have ever been. And the country which is first to enter upon amicable relation with us will be the first to derive the commercial advantages accruing therefrom.”

These significant words were spoken by Leon Trotzky, People's Commissar for Military Affairs to Mr. Lincoln Eyre, whose interview with the military organizer of Soviet Russia appeared in *The World* of February 25th.

The confidence with which Trotzky describes the military position of Russia is remarkable no less for its simplicity than for its firmness. “Our troops have never been in a better position,” he affirmed. “Kolchak and Yudenich are *Kaput*—that should be plain even to Winston Churchill. Denikin's finish also is in sight. The Cossacks, the mainstay of his forces, are deserting him. Within a month or two—though in military affairs it is difficult to be a prophet—our divisions, sweeping steadily forward, despite icy temperature and other climatic hardships, will have seized Denikin's last strategic bases. Before spring—unless the Entente sends Senegalese, Malgaches, Annamites, Hindu or other colonial troops against us, as France presumably is ready to do—we shall have disposed finally of all our armed assailants.”

“... And then, if peace is concluded, we shall demobilize and turn our energies toward domestic problems.” With a most energetic protest Trotzky met the suggestion that Russia is becoming a militaristic country and that, as has been often repeated in the capitalistic press, she will impose the revolution throughout the rest of Europe by force of arms.

With flashing eyes the War Minister of Russia exclaimed:

“Ludicrous lies! The Red Army is the most anti-militaristic* body existing today. Nine-tenths of us, I mean of the organizers, are workers and peasants, pacifists all. The remaining tenth are professional soldiers and officers who served under the Czar and now serve under the Soviet. And of

*Twelve days before Trotzky's interview with Lincoln Eyre, which appeared in the *World*, February 28, 1920, Lt. Col. B. Roustam Bek in his interview with Paul Wallace Hanna, published in the *New York Call*, February 17, 1920, describing the Russian military forces, called the Soviet Army “a democratic, anti-military army able to resist the most powerful attack, yet wedded to its native soil and bitterly hostile to imperialistic adventures.” In the same article of Paul Hanna, under the title, *Russia Wins Because Her Soldiers Are the Workers, Too*, Colonel Roustam Bek says: “by reason of its perfect organization, no less than its tactical ability, the army of Soviet Russia is the strongest in the world.” (*N. Y. Call*, February 17, 1920). The same is repeated by Lincoln Eyre in his despatch from Paris about the Russian Soviet army in the *World* of March 4, 1920.

these, nine hundred and ninety-nine out of one thousand are sincerely in sympathy with us, genuinely pro-Bolshevik” “Have you never heard,” continued Trotzky, “of those Generals formerly in the service of the Czar, who, when captured by the Whites while leading Red divisions, refused to turn against the Bolsheviki and cried ‘Long live the Soviet Republic’ as they were being shot to death?” “Immediate demobilization is obligatory with us as soon as hostilities cease Frontier guards will be maintained, of course. The frame-work of our organization must also be preserved in order that with the experience they have received in the past eighteen months, our proletarian fighting men can be remodelled in two or three months if the need arises.” Declaring that some form of military training for the working class will exist even after demobilization, Trotzky finds amusing the suggestion that he is considered a militarist in the bourgeois circles.

“I suppose,” he says, “I am by inclination the least military individual imaginable. Militarism, striking as it does at the very roots of Communism, cannot possibly exist in Soviet Russia, the only truly pacific country in the world.”

So speaks the man who was considered by the Imperialistic press the Napoleon of the Twentieth century.

The hysterical fear of Bolshevism in America is gradually dying out and there is no longer any hope felt that the anti-Bolshevist executioners may arouse the world against Soviet Russia. A new campaign seems to have started; this campaign is directed toward preventing the American government from recognizing the Russian Soviet Republic and establishing with it the normal trade relation. And while this has been taking place in America, we read a most amazing cable from London, of February 25th:

“A Moscow radio message, referring to events just before the fall of Archangel, says that Earl Curzon, the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, sent a note to Chicherin, Russian Soviet Foreign Minister, in which he stated:

“The Government of the Northern Region has come to the conclusion that it cannot continue to fight against the Soviet forces on the Archangel front, and offers to surrender the town.”

So what we predicted in our former article as likely to happen with the coming spring has come even sooner. According to the same dispatch, Earl Curzon added that General Miller, Governor-General of Archangel, had asked him to request that when the city was taken over by the Soviet, no violence should be committed against property—or propertied classes. Lord Curzon concluded his note as follows:

“In view of the fact that his majesty's government has been in large measure responsible for

more than a year for the general welfare, i. e., of the population of the northern region of Russia, it would create a painful impression in England if the Soviet power should have recourse to severe repressive measures against the population."

"What hypocrisy!"

Mr. Chicherin replied, proposing that the White Guards surrender all the northern regions, including the Murmansk region and coast, as well as all government and military property, means of transportation, munitions and food supplies; the troops to give up their arms and equipment. It was proposed that if the surrender were agreed on the personal safety of all members of the army should be guaranteed, the same condition applying also to the responsible members of the Northern Government and the staffs of the command, who would be permitted to leave the country."

What does this mean?

From a military standpoint, it means a capitulation of the British arms in Northern Russia to the Soviets. And according to the latest information, reporting that Archangel as well as Murmansk are in the hands of the Red Army, it means that this capitulation has already taken place; and Great Britain and Moscow have come to a certain agreement, which means practically a recognition of the Soviet Government, though it be a camouflaged recognition—but a recognition none the less.

The further reports from London threw more light on the situation in the North. According to a despatch from London of March 3, (*Philadelphia Ledger*, March 3,) Winston Churchill, British Secretary for War, was forced to admit, while discussing Russian affairs in the House of Commons, "that the Bolsheviks captured *all* the British stores left in Archangel when the Allies withdrew".

This shows that the withdrawal had very much the character of a flight, rather than having been accomplished in good order, as we were often informed by official statements.

The importance of the Archangel-Murmansk front from a purely strategical standpoint we already described in No. 13 of SOVIET RUSSIA, (August 30, 1919). Its importance lies in this: that it presents a basis from which the Allies may supply their troops through Murmansk, an open port; and, for more than six months of the year, through Archangel. Being close to the Finnish frontier, and communicating with Petrograd by two railway lines, that front was of great strategical significance, and had to be destroyed at a single stroke, in which the Red Army was entirely successful. When the activity of the invaders on that front was paralyzed, the destiny of Archangel and Murmansk became a matter of time only, and we have never supposed that there could be an opportunity for new serious military operations.

According to the *N. Y. Times* of February 27, the London war office declares that the Bolshevik advance in Siberia continues. "The Red troops have advanced to the Chinese frontier in the Yli

River district,* and have demanded that the Chinese Government give up the Russian Consul and all refugees and permit the appointment of a Bolshevik Consul in the province of Yli. This proves the complete triumph of the Red Army over the reactionaries even in that remote part of Turkestan.

On the other hand, the wireless from Moscow informs us that the "Revolutionary movement is growing in the Caucasus. Along the Black Sea, the insurgents have occupied Gagri and Adler and are advancing on Tuapse. The Reds have captured Biela Yglina."

The consequence of this movement is reported from London, (March 3): "Unobstructed advances of Soviet forces in the Caucasus are reported in dispatches from Moscow. 17,000 prisoners are reported to have been captured during the last fortnight. General Denikin's army is reported as being gradually dispersed." (*N. Y. Call*, March 4). We have already on several repeated occasions stated that there is no longer any Denikin army left, its remaining fragments are simply a few disorderly bands of looters, and the annihilation of this foe is a matter of time only.

It was also reported from London that the Persian revolutionary forces under Kuchuk Khan, had occupied Resht, near the Southern extremity of the Caspian Sea, and were driving the British from that place. (*N. Y. Times*, February 27).

In the Don Cossack region, Rostoff has been recaptured by the Soviet armies and there can be no doubt that Novochoerkassk, the cradle of the Don Cossack reactionaries, is already in the hands of the Soviets. According to the dispatch from London of March 3, 1920, (*Ledger*, Philadelphia), "Winston Churchill acknowledged in the Commons that England still has a staff of 394 officers and 1529 men in Southern Russia." But the British Secretary for War did not mention in what capacity these British officers and men were acting, whether they were still fighting the Red Army, or were prisoners of the Soviet Government, which is very probable when we review the military situation in Russia.

In conclusion we can firmly state that the victory of the Red Army is complete and that there is no danger in sight to prevent an early peace and a formal recognition of the Soviet Government by all the world.

"ORDER" IN WHITE ESTHONIA

By Telegraph from *Velikiye Luki* to *Izvestia*.

The Menshevik Minister of the Interior, of White Esthonia, Hellat, has spun a net of secret espionage over all Esthonia. The workers are disappointed. Food supplies have increased by 100 per cent in price, while wages have increased by 25 to 50 per cent. They have recently begun to distribute only a quarter of a pound of bread daily per person.

*The Yli district in the Semiryechie Cossack region of Turkestan, east of Kulzha.

The Reconstruction of Russia

(From our Paris Correspondent)

PARIS, Feb. 6.—One of the most encouraging items of news coming out of Russia is that of the transformation of the Red Army into an Army of Labor. *L'Humanité* recently published the enthusiastic report of the Soviet of the first Army of Labor, which was working to cut down fuel and to rebuild the railroads. This manifestation of initiative on the part of the workers of Russia is particularly encouraging when taken in the light of the general stagnation of Western Europe, which after fifteen months of peace has only commenced to rebuild the devastations of the war. But the workers of Russia, even before they have finished putting out the last vestiges of the counter-revolutionary flames started by the malignity and stupidity of the Allies, even while they are still threatened with the attacks of new combinations of imperialistic states, have already begun the great work of peace. An interview with Litvinoff from Copenhagen further explains the Soviet policy in this regard. Enough of the Red Army will be kept under arms to assure the safety of Russia until the Allies sign a definite peace, but as fast as one front after another is liquidated, the men freed will be enrolled into labor battalions, governed of course by their elected Soviets.

Thus at one blow Soviet Russia has commenced her reconstruction and has dissipated the fears, expressed by those ignorant of conditions in Russia, of a large standing army and a Bonapartist military dictatorship. Soviet Russia in one public act after another has affirmed to the world that she has taken up the sword only at the urgent necessity of having to defend herself from a world-wide coalition of enemies, and that with the work of defense heroically accomplished she is ready to sheath the sword and resume the nobler, if less glorious, pursuits of agriculture and industry. The French imperialistic press here raves and rants against the supposed trick in the generous offer of peace to Poland, according to which the Soviet Government promises not to advance beyond the present battle line, which is deep in Russian territory, and offers to settle all boundary disputes by friendly negotiation. There is no trick in this method of diplomacy—it is indeed that very ancient method counselled by the Psalmists, the Prophets, and Christ Himself, of baffling one's enemies by a display of generosity. Poland dare not refuse pointblank to treat on the basis of the peace offer for fear of outraging her own people, and what is more, Great Britain has no shadow of excuse for arming Poland to repulse any aggressive attack of the Red Army. In vain does M. Paderewski weep to a correspondent of the *Echo de Paris*:

"Cannot a combination be found which will permit us to arm and to equip for the service of civilization an army of 700,000 men. . . . It is a question

of knowing if, once more in history, Poland will stop the barbarous flood coming from the East or whether she will be submerged by the Red wave."

In vain these appeals to "civilization," for in the face of the repeated peace offers of the Soviet Government, the contentions of the imperialists are deprived of the last shadow of support. The peace with Esthonia, the generous concessions and money grants given by the great and powerful Russia to her little neighbor are greeted with astonishment by the non-plussed journalists of Paris and other European capitals. They cannot understand that a durable peace is not one necessarily dictated by might but by equity, and that in the long run Russia will be the gainer by her altruism. *L'Information* prints a despatch from Reval according to which the Esthonian Government hopes to secure the capital for the railway concession from Reval to Moscow from the coffers of the Parisian banks—the very places that have financed until now the Russian counter-revolutionaries, the Yudeniches, the Kolchaks and the Denikins. What better commentary on the discomfiture of the enemies of the Russian Revolution!

The economic situation of the Revolution, now that the danger of counter-revolution is past, is in one sense back at the position of April, 1918, when Lenin delivered his famous speech on the organization of work under the Soviets. It will be recalled that the months of April and May were practically the only months of peace that the Revolution has enjoyed. The first months after the assumption of power by the Soviets were occupied in putting down the isolated counter-revolutionary uprisings attempted by the Korniloffs, the Kaledins, the Krasnoffs, the Alexieffs *et tutti quanti*. But so unanimous was the acceptance of the new order by the Russian people, that the counter-revolutionary attempts, though financed by foreign governments, never had the remotest chance of succeeding. They did, however, manage to obstruct the constructive work of the Revolution by preventing the mining of coal and iron, etc. Hardly was the question of the counter-revolution put out of the way, when in March the Soviet Government was forced to sign the treaty of Brest-Litovsk by which the Ukraine and the Caucasus were wrenched away, under the parodied application of the principle of self-determination. For a few weeks before and after the signing of the treaty there were attempts to bring about cooperation between the Soviet Government and the Allies in order to resist the German military aggression. These attempts failed, we have it on the testimony of Colonel Robins as well as that of Captain Sadoul, through the short-sightedness of the officials of the Entente.

In April, then, the Revolution finally attempted to concentrate on internal reconstruction, and the

Supreme Council of National Economy began to function. But the peace proved to be only a short and very insecure truce. For at the very moment the preliminary economic plans were being developed, the reactionary interests of the entire world began their propaganda for intervention, and in June came the Czecho-Slovak adventure, initiating the counter-revolutionary wars which are only just beginning to cease. The twenty months between June, 1918, and February, 1920, constitute the sabotage of the Revolution undertaken by the imperialistic interests of the world, a sabotage as needless as it was futile, as stupid in the beginning as it was unreasonable in its prolongation. Future generations will never forget the campaign of 1919-1920 against Russia, which followed the negotiations of last spring. This extra year of the starvation of Russia and the maintenance of turmoil throughout Eastern Europe—and indeed throughout the world—was absolutely unnecessary, for the Soviet Government had already manifested both its stability and its pacific intentions. The responsibility for the loss of life—but let future historians establish the responsibility.

The sufferings of the last twenty months have not been an unmixed misfortune for the Russian people. It is equally true of a people as well as of an individual that suffering is one of the best schools of character training. The long drawn out military struggle has certainly not weakened the idealism which the Revolution liberated, it has

on the contrary been strengthened by adversity. One has only to read of how the oppressed populations of Siberia, the populations of Vladivostok, Nikolsk and Irkutsk are preparing to welcome the Red Army, two and three thousand miles away, by setting up again their Soviets and their Communes to understand the redoubled enthusiasm with which the Russian people will now take up the reconstructive work of the Revolution. The spirit of cooperation in mass, manifested in the peasant communes and in the armies of labor, has always been characteristic of the Russian people, ever since, with the emancipation of the serfs, gangs of students flocked to the countryside to help the newly freed peasants with their land. But that discipline which makes cooperation really effective, has been gained from the bitter struggles of the Red Army in its defense of the Revolution. As for the administrative experience gained by the central economic organs of the Soviet Government, they have been so patent that they hardly need to be mentioned. The war with Germany wrecked the machinery of the old regime in Russia, but the wars against the counter-revolution have built up the machinery of the new regime.

With the dream of peace coming finally to be realized, Soviet Russia can face the future with confidence, and dedicate itself to the great task of realizing a genuine "government of the people, by the people and for the people."

The Unveiling of the Petrograd Plot

Izvestiya, November 25, 1919

(An Interview with the Acting Representative of the Special Division of the All-Russian Extraordinary Committee, Comrade Pavlunoskiy)

A NEW plot of the agents of the Entente has been discovered at Petrograd.

Referring to the unveiling of this plot, the Acting Representative of the Special Division of the All-Russian Extraordinary Committee (*Vsyerossiyskaya Cherezvychainaya Kommissiya*), Comrade Pavlunoskiy, communicated to our staff correspondent the following particulars:

The war staff of the agents of the Entente on the internal front was represented by the National Center, whose military-technical part had been preparing the revolt and was in communication with the staffs, while the political division was to outline the composition of the future government. The organization of the National Center was subsidized and controlled in its activities by the agents of the Entente. In the matter of the composition of the future government, the English agent, Paul Dukes, was conducting negotiations with Shchepkin. Under the guidance of the Entente agents there was also carried out the forming of the military division of the National Center. For the purpose of handling the subsidies, the English espionage had or-

ganized an underground English committee, which was in fact to supplant the consular offices closed by us; through the medium of this committee it was giving subsidies to the National Center on an All-Russian scale. The extent of the participation of the English espionage—and of the French as well—in the Russian counter-revolution may be seen from the following fact:

When one of the agents of the National Center, former officer of the Sumak regiment, Yelizarov, arrived with a packet from the National Center to Yudenich, he was met by the English Vice-Consul Lehme, who said to him: "If you must see Yudenich, I shall call for him in here, and you will speak with him in my presence." Later on Yelizarov had to see Yudenich in a secret meeting place.

Even long before the attack of Yudenich on Petrograd, the Petrograd section of the National Center, in the person of Steininger, now executed, had been ordered by Yudenich to provide for the formation of a new government, chosen from the midst of the Petrograd and Moscow social workers of today. After Steininger's arrest, the formation

of the committee was undertaken by Professor Bykov, former editor of the *Torgovo-Promyshlennaya Gazeta* (Commercial and Industrial Gazette). At the time of Yudenich's attack on Petrograd, the following composition of this "government" was mapped out: premier—Bykov; minister of finance—former Czarist Vice-minister Weber; minister of communication—engineer Albrecht; minister of education—former Vice-minister under Kerenski, Kardashev; minister of naval affairs—Admiral Razvozov; his substitute, Admiral Bakhirev; the post of the Governor-General of Petrograd was assigned to the chief of the staff of the N-army, colonel of the general staff Lundenquistov. The police department had been organized already.

At present all the personnel of that government are "sitting" at Petrograd, on the Gorokhovaya street, house number 2, in the quarters of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission (*Cherezvychnaika*).

The above-mentioned organization of the Entente agents had connection with all staffs, military and other establishments. It systematically gathered information and sent it to Yudenich by means of a cutter that was on the Neva and through a radio station whose director proved to be also a member of the organization. This same organization has worked out and handed over to Yudenich a plan of an attack on Kronstadt by English light cruisers, in which two of our ships were damaged.

A general plan of an attack on Petrograd was outlined and handed over to Yudenich by the former chief-of-staff of the N army. The plan consisted in the following: The armies of the Northwestern front were to break through in the sector of one of our divisions or in the Luga sector. The attack was to start on October 28 and it was decided to take Petrograd first, before taking Kronstadt. The attack was to be pursued in three main directions: first, along the Baltic and Vindava railroads; second, along the Tsarskoye-Selo road; third, on the Nikolayev road around Kolnipo (Kolpino?). A strong screen movement was to be effected from the side of Krasnaya Gorka and Oranienbaum, which was destined to break through to Stryelna, in order to cut off Oranienbaum from Petrograd. Simultaneously, a naval attack was to assist by means of bombardment the land battle, by obstructing the military operations of the forts of Krasnaya Gorka and Syeraya Loshad'. A day before the taking of Petrograd, the aerial fleet was to make an attack on Petrograd and throw a five-pood bomb on the Znamenskaya square (without explosion), as a sign for the uprising.

When the situation of Yudenich near Krasnaya Gorka became critical, in order to improve his position, a new variation for an attack was mapped out by the chief of the operations division of the staff of the Baltic fleet, a colonel of the General Staff, Medyakritskiy, and sent to Yudenich. According to this plan, three Yudenich columns were to move in the following manner: one, for an attack on the flank of the N brigade; a second, be-

tween this brigade and Gatchina, where were positioned our detachments that had not been yet fired at; and the third on Kolpino, from which point the troops formerly concentrated here had been then distributed over the whole front; this latter circumstance facilitated the capture of Kolpino and of the Nikolayev railroad. In order to cut off Petrograd from the rest of Russia, it was planned to blow up the bridges at Chudov and along the Northern railroad going to Vologda.

Having at their disposal an organization that was communicating to Yudenich exact details of all that was going on in our midst, the White Guards were confident of the success of their undertaking and thought that Petrograd would surrender to them without a struggle and Moscow would be taken by them in two weeks after.

As it had been decided, however, to defend Petrograd, and when barricades were erected for that purpose, the organization, in order to facilitate for Yudenich the capture of Petrograd, considered necessary an armed uprising, to strike in the rear of the barricades. Colonel Lundenquistov was appointed commander of all the armed forces of the White Guards at Petrograd and Admiral Bakhirev commander of the naval forces. For the better success of the insurrection, the city was divided into 12 districts, and detachments were selected for the capture of Smolnyi, the Astoria, the telephone and telegraph stations, water supply, etc. The main forces of the insurgents were to be directed to the Narva district. The actual forces at their disposal consisted of the Fourth mining division, part of the Third division, a small group of 70 men of the White Guard youth, and about 100 men in the intelligentsia detachment. Outside of these forces they found support among the hooligans, of whom they counted about 300 men. The total strength of the detachments reached the number of 700 men.

In order immediately to embark upon the bombardment of the Petrograd fortifications, it was decided to capture the ship "Sebastopol." The crew was supposed to be assembled in the lower part of the ship for a meeting, as it were, after which the hatches had to be closed. Two cutters were then to approach the ship with armed men, prepared in advance, who were to man the guns, open the hatches and to begin arresting and throwing overboard all of the crew who had Bolshevik sympathies. Thereupon a bombardment of the Petrograd fortifications was to begin.

As the signal for the insurrection a bomb was to be thrown on the Znamenskaya square; or, the Yudenich troops were to approach the outskirts of the city.

The Petrograd plot has proved that it had no support among the masses of the population, either in the proletariat or in the mass of the burghers. For the period of ten months they succeeded, with the aid of Entente millions, to enlist a small band of hooligans.

It is interesting to note that, as regards the necessity of forming a new government, by the side of

the already existing Northwestern government, the ground advanced by Yudenich himself, as related by the prominent Cadet, Nikolskiy, who arrived from abroad and communicated it to the National Center, was that "the Northwestern government is of a half-speculative nature and is of no value." In connection with this plot, it has transpired, among others, that a keen struggle is going on in the camp of Yudenich between German and English influences. Moreover, the unveiling of the plot has revealed the participation in it of persons close to the Mensheviks and the Socialists-Revolutionists. Thus, for instance, Petrovskaya was embroiled in

the organization, who has been a Socialist-Revolutionist since her eighteenth year (she is now 44), as well as the son of Axelrod, through whom the commander of the Baltic aerial fleet had been sending intelligence, in the nature of espionage, to the English consular agency.

As with our external fronts, where the operations conducted against the Soviet power find their exclusive support in the aid of the Entente, our internal Russian counter-revolution also, as it transpires with the unveiling of the plot, would be powerless if it were not for the guidance and financial support of the agents of the Entente.

Polish Government Telegraphs to Moscow

Editorially we have frequently called attention to the fact that the Polish Government is a puppet in the hands of the Allies, as far as its actions of hostility to Soviet Russia are concerned. Mr. Patek, Polish Foreign Minister, travels to Paris for consultation with high Entente officials, whenever he is faced with the necessity for any decision with regard to the relations of Poland to Soviet Russia. Whatever hazy instructions the Entente gives him, Mr. Patek then announces to his constituents.

WE are confronted with an accomplished fact: the Polish Government has telegraphed to Moscow.

Throughout the period when Poland was waging war against Soviet Russia peace proposals on the part of the Bolsheviks reached us several times; but up to now our Government has been accustomed to ignore all their notes. But now the situation has radically changed. The widest circles of the people get official knowledge of the text of the Russian Soviet note, and the Council of Ministers officially answers Moscow (through a radio-telegram) as follows:

"Your note has been received. Contents to be considered. A reply will be sent."

This radio-telegram, which was sent yesterday from Warsaw to Moscow, opens a new page in the history of the Polish-Russian relations. Let us now hear what Foreign Minister Patek has to say about it.

Mr. Patek conferred twice yesterday with the representatives of the press.

The first conference took place in the afternoon, right after the secret session of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Diet came to a conclusion.

During the second conference which took place in the evening, after the end of the Diet session, Mr. Patek declared among others the following:

"You wish to know what is the attitude of the Great Powers toward the Bolsheviks, and I must tell you that the opinions of the Allies in this question differ.

"One part is for defensive tactics, that is that one should not enter into any kind of relations with the Bolsheviks, but that they should be surrounded with a so-called barbed wire fence.

"In opposition to this, the other part is for the opening of trade relations with the cooperatives of

the Russian people, and consequently they are quite ready to enter into relations with the Bolsheviks—for one does not trade with those whom one is preparing to fight. . . . Those holding such opinions would have nothing against it if other states, too, would enter into relations with the Bolsheviks. . . .

"I must also tell you," the Foreign Minister conceded, "that on our part we cannot leave the Bolshevik note without a reply, and such reply will be sent outright."

Let us hear what took place during the session of the Foreign Relations Committee in which Mr. Patek rendered a report of his last trip abroad.

We must, to be sure, base ourselves upon mere rumors that are, however, close to the truth, since they agree substantially in spite of their various origins.

It appears that Poland must now be fully independent in its decision and—what is more important—in its actions.

The Allies are no longer ready to support Poland. The Polish state may expect aid on the part of the Allies in a war against Soviet Russia in one of the following three cases: (1) if Russia should not want to conclude peace; (2) if, after having concluded peace, Russia should break the terms of the peace treaty; (3) if Russia should attack ethnographic Poland, i. e., if she should invade such territories as are inhabited by a *solid Polish majority*. Under other circumstances, the Allies will remain absolutely neutral and will not interfere.

During the session of the Foreign Relations Committee a number of other questions were raised, which are related to the present international situation. Mr. Patek answered in detail all questions that were put to him by the members of the Diet.

As it transpires from the various rumors, the voices of the foreign press are positively confirmed, tending to prove that the Allies at the present moment are not inimical toward Russia. They wish to trade, to do business, and to allow "Bolshevism" in Russia to run its own course.

In the Diet lobbies, after the session of the Foreign Relations Committee, various rumors were spreading as to the attitude toward the peace proposal of the divers parties in the Diet.

The National Democrats are apparently no longer inflexibly in favor of a further war. They heard rumors that very soon English ships would arrive in Swedish ports with merchandise for Russia, and the Polish commercial circles that are represented in the National Democratic Party are already developing some appetite—to do business.

But they are possessed of fear, they shake to their foundations before the "Bolshevik plague," and this makes the choice somewhat less free. . . . However, the attitude of the National Democrats is said to be that of reserve; for a time, they do not want to commit themselves.

As regards the peasant parties, it is said, that a certain part of the "Piautowey" (a conservative peasant group deriving its name from the peasant king Piast) have strong peace leanings. Decidedly for peace are the members of the group "Wyzwolenie" that had split away (consisting of ten peasant members), the radical peasants from Stanpinski's camp, and the "Pepesowcy" (members of the Polish Socialist Party). The latter threaten quite openly, in case the peace proposal is turned down, to call upon the Polish workers for . . . a general strike.

A rumor received also attention in the lobbies of the Diet to the effect that the Belvedere (military) circles were now strongly inclined to a continuation of the war with Russia.

II

The Final Reply to the Russian Peace Proposal Will Be Given in Two Weeks

It is being reported semi-officially that conferences of the political circles of the country and with foreign governmental circles, regarding the Russian peace note, will be conducted in a most thorough manner, and that a final reply to the Russian peace proposal cannot be expected before the expiration of two weeks.

It appears that up to the time that the Foreign Relations Committee will have finished its work, no sessions of the Diet shall take place.

III

A Manifesto of the Soviet Government to the Working Class in Poland

Prague, Feb. 4 (Polish Telegraphic Agency).—A radio-telegram from Moscow intercepted by the Chekic Press Bureau makes the following announcement:

Yesterday there took place here the first session of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Soviets. *Lenin* delivered a long speech on the home policy. The Committee have reaffirmed the resolution of the People's Commissars concerning the abolition of death penalty and taken cognizance of the peace note to Poland sent by the Soviet Government. The Executive Committee have resolved to address a special manifesto to the working class in Poland.

VI

A Resolution of Peace by the "Bund" Passed in the City Council of Lodz

Lodz, Feb. 3 (a special telegram to the *Lebensfragen*).—In today's session of the City Council, after an impressive speech delivered by our comrade Lichtenstein, an urgent resolution presented by the councilmen of the "Bund" Party was passed, which demands the cessation of the war and the initiation of peace negotiations with Soviet Russia.

V

The Resolution of the "Bund" on Peace with Russia

We are presenting herewith the full text of the resolution that was passed by the City Council:

(1) WHEREAS the continuation of the war is ruinous for the economic life of the country, is undermining the foundations of the working class, and is making impossible the conducting of a normal municipal administration in the interests of the working class, and

(2) WHEREAS the continuation of the war is only in the interests of the capitalists and profiteers, and

(3) WHEREAS the war aims which had been imposed upon Poland by Allied capital have for their purpose the strangling of the Russian Revolution and the reestablishment of the old order, and are against the interests of the working class, and

(4) WHEREAS the last (January) peace proposal of the Russian Government makes possible the immediate taking up of peace negotiations;

Be it resolved that the City Council of the toiling city of Lodz express itself as being for a cessation of the war and demands the immediate opening of negotiations with a view to peace.

After Lichtenstein's argument for the urgency of the motion, the Council concurred in the motion.

VI

A Meeting of the Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.) for Peace

The Central Workers' Committee of the Polish Socialist Party has published an appeal to all party organizations, calling upon them to call mass meetings and demonstrations under the slogan of Peace and to adopt resolutions in accordance with the resolution passed by the Main Council of the Polish Socialist Party, in order to exert pressure for an immediate opening of peace negotiations with Russia.

—*Lebensfragen*, Warsaw, Feb. 5 and 6.

The Blockade Against Russia Must Be Lifted

"The workers of Scandinavia ought to make an attempt to send cod liver oil to the children of the workers in Petrograd."

Translated from *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, Stockholm, Dec. 18, 1919

WE Scandinavian workers have said a great deal about helping our Russian comrades in their revolutionary struggle. But they are not being helped by words. Action must be taken.

Of course we go about feeling sorry for Soviet Russia, and God knows with reason, for they have had troubles. They have fought at times on the very verge of destruction. But we do not yet seem to be sufficiently clear that our own weal or woe depends upon the titanic battle of the Bolsheviks against capitalism. When nationalism, capitalism, and imperialism devastated the world and ran their claws and tusks into its flesh and blood it was they who rose to a new struggle. When the humiliation of the proletarian masses was at its height, and when innumerable corpses of young and vigorous workers covered the fields and woods, which had been transformed into shambles, when the proletarian masses of all Europe were being choked by suppression and the boundless misery which capitalism evoked, then the Bolsheviks, with their revolt, threw a flaming ray of hope and faith through the dark. They began with revolutionary energy and indefatigability to rebuild and reorganize the world, to lead it out of the Gehenna of capitalism.

Petrograd fasts while we feast.

Everything of really great and developing force in this world has had to overcome formidable resistance. The struggle and the work demand almost superhuman exertions and sacrifices. Here it is not only fought against the violent power and evil plots of capitalism, and the bourgeois class; here it is also fought to remove the worst thing in the world,—the enslaving of great laboring masses, and the degraded and slow operation of their minds. And we, who profess to understand and feel, have done nothing to show our fighting brothers that we are ready to give them so much as a helping hand. We who still sit about the flesh pots in Egypt, we arrange banquets for them, and eat and drink and speak and make poetry about them. But Petrograd, the mother of the world's revolution, the city of the Red Masses, who have suffered and sacrificed and fought most, sends 280,000 of her best Communist proletarians out over Russia, the greater part of whom go to the most dangerous fronts. Many thousands women, mostly mothers of workers, have in whole armed battalions marched out to the front, also, as well as taken over guard duty in Petrograd.

The Formidable Inheritance.

What a formidable inheritance of bankruptcy it was that the Bolsheviks took over from Czarism, Kerensky, and the war! The whole country disorganized, production at a dead standstill, famine in the cities and in great portions of the country! The disbanded soldier crowds which had rushed

home from the fronts spreading epidemics and sex diseases over the country! The people enfeebled by hunger and privation! On account of a shortage of fat, an absolutely new and fatal disease, hitherto unknown to science, has come into existence. Lack of soap and means of disinfection have allowed spotted typhoid, scurvy, as well as psoriasis and other skin diseases to rage almost unhindered. Drugs are not to be obtained and many doctors are sabotaging.

As in all other great cities, there are thousands of small children in Petrograd,—mostly proletarian children, because the rich have not so many children,—who were born and brought up in proletarian quarters, weak and starved, perhaps tubercular, from their birth. But they want to live, and they must live. They must live because they have an immense task to accomplish after their fathers and mothers, who fight and work on battlefields and in factories. One cannot shop or even sell medicines or hospital supplies in Petrograd, because the capitalist governments of England and France are repeating the acts of Herod in Bethlehem. They fear this generation and wish to destroy it.

But Red Russia does not fall on her knees. She asks no mercy from her enemies and does not beg at their doors. The people of the Soviet republic set their teeth and do what they can.

Organization, Propaganda, and Free Nature.

There are no medicines, no nutritive preparations, no apparatus. All these things were formerly imported. However, they manufacture what they can, and the rest they try to remedy by information and organization. Medical attention and hygiene have been made a social matter. The physicians are mobilized. At immense mass meetings health information is given in pamphlets and leaflets, and the people are taught how to avoid illness. The children of the rich and poor alike, and great masses of the population, are fed daily by the Soviet society. In Petrograd alone 1,100,000 dinners are distributed daily. The rich idlers have been chased away from watering places and sanitariums. Children and sick workers are being sent there instead. The fine bright places of the rich grand dukes, land owners, and the other great bourgeoisie are given to the children as their homes. The hangmen of the Entente have not been able to shut out light and air and water from the children of Red Russia. The proletarians of Russia have captured a place in the sun at least for the children of their land.

Labor Celebrations.

In spite of the difficulties and distress, Petrograd has, however, had celebrations sometimes, the holidays of the masses. For instance, the second anniversary celebration of the great revolution. The

people roared in stormy rapture at the glowing words of the speakers. Colors flew and music sounded, but the best part of the holiday was when Petrograd's own proletarians and thousands of visiting peasants and worker representatives went out with pickaxes and spades to build stronger entrenchments, thicker walls, deeper trenches, around the city of the revolution. Because every street, every stone, every square and every house, are consecrated to both the history and the future of the proletariat, and baptised with the tears, the blood, and the sweat of comrades. It is always action, fight and work.

Prometheus, the Fire-Bringer.

Have not the people of Soviet Russia become the leading people of the world? Forty years ago Dostoyevski prophesied that this would happen. Are they not now the torch-bearers, the fire-bringers of the whole fighting and striving part of humanity, as France was once,—the France of the Jacobins,—the Russia of the Bolsheviki, the Communists! There they have during two hard lonely years thought and fought, starved and worked, watched and fallen. For whom? For what?

They have done it, and they continue to do it, for Socialism, for liberty, for revolution, for the future, whose high and bright sky their children will see.

We can no longer stand still and speak and wait for something to happen. We must try to do something, if ever so humble, for our Russian comrades. We cannot all go to their fronts, at least not yet, but let us try to

Break the Blockade;

and send a present, we Scandinavian workers, to the children of Petrograd. We will send something we can get and which is badly needed. It will be the first step to a real approach, real co-operation. We extend our hand to our Russian comrades over the barriers and fences which the capitalist governments have erected between us. Let us send, then, a load of cod liver oil to the proletarian children of Petrograd. In Norway cod liver oil is produced in superabundance. In Norway also the labor organizations are most active. It is therefore natural that the Norwegian comrades should take the lead. The Swedish and Danish class-conscious workers first of all contribute money. In each country a small but energetic committee shall be founded, to take charge of the matter, make propaganda, and collect money. A little time and work is all that is required, and we can give these.

A small steamer or a motor schooner can thereafter be purchased, which will be loaded with 30 to 50 tons of cod liver oil. An able crew can be obtained amongst the volunteers who will report. There is no doubt but that the boat will be allowed to clear a Norwegian port.

Of course this project will have obstacles, the first and greatest of which will be the blockade carried on by the Entente. But it is just that which we propose to break. It ought to succeed if the opinion among the workers in England, France, and America is worked in time. A few special com-

munications can be written to explain the matter. The whole world can be asked to keep an eye on the English and French destroyers in the Finnish gulf at the time of the passage of the boat. Then we shall see if any scoundrel is base enough to lay hands on this present of nutrition to the children of Petrograd. May then the contempt and curses of the workers of the whole world follow him and the government whose lackey he is.

We will at any rate try to send the blockade breaker. There is an excellent possibility that it will arrive safely.

But there is the ice hindrance. It will scarcely be possible to reach Petrograd in winter because of the ice. But if peace is made with Esthonia the boat can be sent to Reval, since that place can be reached during almost the whole winter.

Above all we must try, with daring and enterprise. If we succeed in getting this oil to Petrograd to the children there, then we may be sure of a wave of brotherly and comradely feeling throughout the whole of the great fighting Russia. The practical significance of our act will be that thousands of small proletarians will be saved, perhaps, but our Russian comrades will appreciate the matter as a symbol of our sharing their thoughts and beliefs, and of our daring to offer a hand to help them.

*The Executive Council of the
Social Democratic Left Party.*

FIRST ASSISTANCE SENT TO PETROGRAD
*Contributions From Swedish Workers Among 25
Tons of Goods*

HELSINGFORS, Thursday.—After the negotiations during the past two weeks between the representative of the English Red Cross, Emiel Nielsen, and the Bolshevik authorities, concerning the forwarding of a consignment of foodstuffs to hungry Petrograd, a special train of five cars left Tuesday evening bearing twenty-five tons of foodstuffs and clothing. The materials had been sent from England, from Denmark, from Sweden and Finland. With the train there also traveled Lieutenant Hongisto, as a representative of the Swedish authorities; Consul Nielsen for the English Red Cross, and Mr. Dahl for the Danish Red Cross.

The Swedish workers have thus for the first time offered their hand to the Russian proletariat in aid. We must see to it that the next consignment is a larger one! Hurry along the collections!

—*Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, January 30.—

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.

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About Russia

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WARNINGS are being sent out by persons and organizations who seem to be interested in preventing foreign countries from opening up trade with Soviet Russia. Thus, a first-page article in the *New York Times* of March 7, one of whose subheads, curiously enough, pretends that the text of the item deals with an "American Chamber of Commerce," tells us that the "American-Russian Chamber of Commerce on March 6 issued a statement which "attacked those who were carrying on propaganda for trade with the Soviet."* A quotation from this statement follows, in which various reports of incipient trade with Russia are repeated and duly discredited; such are: advertisements that "have appeared in a London newspaper calling for British contractors to develop the shale mines along the River Volga," which, the Russian-American Chamber of Commerce adds, is "in Russia"; "advertisements of extensive sales of Russian furs in London"; and "exports of flax" that have "already begun from Soviet Russia"

Now, it is not our desire to magnify the reported beginnings of foreign trade with Soviet Russia, nor do we wish to assign to them an importance which they may not have; but the curious pass to which five years and a half of imperialistic warfare and treacherous blockades have brought the world certainly is well illustrated by the fact that an American-Russian Chamber of Commerce, presumably organized with purpose of encouraging trade with Russia stable, is devoting its energies to furnish proof of the contention that there is no pos-

sibility of trade with the only portion of Russia that has a stable economic system. Probably the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce has members who are trading with such parts of Russia as are not now under the control of the Russian Soviet Government (no trade, apparently, being carried on by members of this organization with Soviet Russia), but let us see how much of Russia they are now trading with. Vladivostok apparently is not yet in the hands of the Soviets; probably a few portions of Eastern Siberia are still in dispute, i. e., not definitely under Soviet control, and therefore in such a condition of military activity and social unrest as to make commercial operations unreliable and unstable. Northern Siberia—at least those portions inhabited only by nomadic tribes—will for a long time remain, even after Soviet control is established, a potential theatre of colonial and predatory commercial adventurism. Until the country begins to be well policed and administered by the new authority, individual commercial expeditions may continue to swoop down from time to time to seize whatever materials may be easily obtainable on the surface without conscientious husbanding. The hard and productive task of administering the permanent industries of Russia and Siberia must remain the part of the Russian Soviet Government, and the products of this rational exploitation of Russia's resources will pass through the hands of the duly appointed organs of that government, which has nationalized all its foreign trade. Through these organs, therefore, will also pass such imported goods as the Russian Soviet Government may decide to accept in exchange for its own products. There would not remain a very large field for the members of this commercial organization in New York.

* * *

THE number of wellwishers of the Russian people who are discovering that the Soviet Government is really in power in Russia, and who are eager to save the Russian people from any arrangements which their government may make for them, is now being increased by a group of persons from whom the Russian people have not been in the habit of receiving favors. Learning that the opening of trade between Soviet Russia and the Allied countries is becoming daily more probable, the sincere wellwishers of the Russian people who tried hard during the Kerensky regime to prevent the government established by the March revolution from becoming very different from the Czarism which that revolution displaced, are now feeling themselves called upon to vary these efforts of friendship for Russia under the altered circumstances. Messrs. Lvov, Savinkov, and Milyukov, two and a half years after the Russian people decided on the Soviet form of government as the one suited to their needs, are reported in the *Washington Evening Star* of February 7 as warning foreign nations against dealing with the Soviet Government of Russia.

SPURN PACTS WITH REDS

Paris, March 4.—A document declaring that “the Russian people will never consider themselves bound by any treaties the Soviet may conclude with other nations” has been handed to the Allied premiers. The manifesto, which is signed by Prince Lvov, Prof. Paul N. Milyukov, former Russian foreign minister; Gen. Boris Savinkov and some prominent Russians who were members of the Duma, considers it “will be intolerable that the Bolsheviki distribute Russian patrimony in their name.”

No doubt the future historians of the Russian people will give due credit to the prominent Russians who did all they could in trying times to discredit the government set up in Russia by the Russian people.

* * *

SOME time ago New York newspapers reported that Soviet Russia’s purchases of foreign goods might, according to a plan elaborated by People’s Commissar for Finance Krestinsky, be repaid in notes of certain denominations, to be redeemed in platinum after a certain period. However this may be (the plan seems a little unfeasible and the report is probably incorrect), it may interest Americans to learn that platinum is a substance on which Russia has practically a world monopoly. A. T. Stewart, in his book, “Business Prospects in Russia” (London, 1915), says:

No less than 96 per cent of the world’s supply of platinum comes from the Ural Mountains, the total annual output (for the world) amounting only to between 12,000 and 16,000 pounds.

The figures for platinum production in various countries are given by Meyer’s *Konversationslexikon* as follows:

Russia (1902)	7,306 kilograms
Colombia (1900)	356 “
Borneo (annual average) about.....	50 “
New South Wales (1900).....	15.6 “

Practically nothing is mined in other countries.

* * *

SOVIET GOVERNMENT’S PEACE OFFER TO THE UNITED STATES

We are reprinting from the New York AMERICAN of March 6, the following Special Cable Dispatch to that paper from its Berlin correspondent, dated March 5, and containing what is apparently the full text of the note of February 24, addressed by Commissar Chicherin to the State Department at Washington, which has thus far had no other publication (except that in the AMERICAN) in the American press.

Berlin, March 5.—I am able to give herewith exclusively the text of Soviet Russia’s peace note sent to the United States Government on Feb. 24. It is contained in a wireless message from Moscow, signed by the Soviet Foreign Minister, M. Chicherin, in reply to an inquiry from me, M. Chicherin’s message follows:

“You state that the American people are in the dark with regard to the Soviet Government’s peace proposals. The People’s Commissariat of Foreign Affairs being desirous that American public opinion be enlightened upon the Soviet proposals for

peace negotiations with the United States Government, and being convinced that no real antagonism can exist between the oldest and the youngest democracies in the world, I shall appreciate it if you will give publicity to its note addressed to the Department of State under date of Feb. 24, provided that you publish it in full.

“Moscow, Feb. 24.

“State Department, Washington, D. C.

“The victorious advance of the valiant Soviet army in Siberia and the universal, popular movement against the counter-revolution and against foreign invasion which has spread with irresistible force throughout Eastern Siberia, have brought into immediate proximity the question of re-establishing connection between Soviet Russia and the United States of America.

“Reports that have reached us from our representative, Mr. Martens, show with full clearness that American commerce and industry are able to help in a very large measure in the great work of the reconstruction of Russia’s economics: that the United States can play a gigantic role in the realization of this problem, and that numerous prominent representatives of the American business world are quite willing to take an active part in this work.

“The more the trials of civil war that Russia has gone through are retreating into the past, the more will all the forces of the Russian people concentrate upon the fundamental aim of reconstructing the country, and American production, wealth, and enterprise can be among the greatest assets in helping us to attain our purpose.

“It can be affirmed decidedly that the connection between Soviet Russia and America will be of the greatest use to both parties and that both will reap from it the largest benefits.

“Having no intention whatever of interfering with the internal affairs of America, and having for its sole aim peace and trade, the Russian Soviet Government is desirous of beginning without delay peace negotiations with the American Government.

“On December 5 and 7 the All-Russian Congress of Soviets solemnly proposed to all governments of the allied and associated powers, and to each of them separately, to commence negotiations with the view to concluding peace.

“Once more this proposal is made, and we ask the Government of the United States of America to inform us of its wishes with respect of a place and time for peace negotiations between the two countries.

(Signed) “Chicherin,

“People’s Commissary for Foreign Affairs.”

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STATEMENT BY RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT
BUREAU

War Department Sales to Russian Government
March 1, 1920.

WE are at loss to understand the denial by the War Department of the acceptance of our bid for \$200,000 worth of overshoes and field shoes. These are not by any means the only negotiations which we have had with the War Department. For instance, the Textile Division of the Surplus Property Division of the War Department has during the past week offered this Bureau for export to the Russian people large quantities of various textile materials. Our bids have been solicited on some 40,000 yards of drill, half a million yards of various kinds and colors of duck, large quantities of jerkin lining, as well as melton wool, moleskin, sheeting, twill, webbing belting, and so on. The Commercial Department has these solicitations under consideration at the present time and expects to submit bids for the goods we can use before the sale of this particular lot closes on March 15th.

In these negotiations as in others with the War Department, there has been no suggestion made to us that there would be any discrimination against us for political or other reasons. We have always made it plain that the goods we purchase or bid upon are for export to Russia. We could hardly use them for our staff in the United States.

While we are not, of course, in a position to speak with any authority, it would seem a fair assumption that the War Department would not invite or accept bids from this office on goods which the State Department would refuse to allow us to export. Business men with whom we have negotiations have taken this action of the War Department as a sign of an approaching resumption of trade with Russia and we have allowed ourselves to entertain at least this hope.

WHAT SOVIET RUSSIA NEEDS

From a letter that we have recently been allowed to copy, written by a gentleman at present in Soviet Russia, we print below the following statement of the immediate requirements of Soviet Russia's population:

"I was shown by Rykoff, the Commissar for Public Economy, the following list which was being sent to America as the first inquiry for tenders for the supply of goods.

The inquiry covered the following:

1,000,000 pair of boots, 500,000 suits of clothes, 5,000,000 tons of soap, 10,000,000 tons of fats, eatable; 2,000,000 tons of conserves, 6,000 tons of nails, 5,000,000 tons of coal, 2,000 mallets, 15,000 hammers, small; 100,000 chisels, 300,000 files, 400 tons of steel cutters, 15,000 drills, 200 tons of tin, 1,000 tons of lead.

"Further immense supplies of rolling stock, gas pipes, lubricating oils, traction engines, machine tools, instruments, and in fact the whole machinery of civilization are required."

MOSCOW ECONOMIC CONGRESS

THE Third All-Russian Economic Congress was opened on January 23, 1920 in Moscow; 224 delegates were present. The Bureau of the Congress consists of Bukharin, Rykov, Tomski, Noghin, Kotliakov and Kulmussov. Bukharin opened the proceedings and declared that the Congress had to solve questions of the greatest importance; the application of the live forces of the nation to the establishment of the economic life of the country. In his address he dealt with the partial raising of the blockade by the Entente, emphasizing the fact that this was not the brotherly help of the Western comrades, but the interested assistance of foreign capitalists.

Trotsky at the same Conference spoke on mobilization, and said that the mobilization of labor was not an infringement on personal liberty. Free labor in a bourgeois state had invariably led to the exploitation of the workers. The constitution of the Soviets anticipates the mobilization of the workers. Henceforth the entire military administration must be adapted to the economic conditions. The entire population of a region will become an association of labor, and at the same time a unit of the Red Army. The best elements of the working class will apply to the economic life the organizing experience acquired during the war. An army of labor is functioning in Ukraine, another is being created in the Northern Caucasus for the exploitation of the naphtha district of Grozny. In the North the 7th army will be employed in the exploitation of turf-pits.

In conclusion, Trotsky said, "If the workers adapt all their energies, their intelligence and their revolutionary enthusiasm to economic tasks, just as they have sacrificed themselves for the defence of the Republic, Russia will shortly enter upon the radiant path which will confound her enemies and will fill with joy the hearts of her friends."

"Pravda" comments on above speech as follows, "Hitherto we had only the volunteer worker who gave his labor on 'Communist Saturdays.' However, just as our red guards became the red army, the voluntary communist workers in our economic life will become the revolutionary army of labor. We must co-ordinate all the efforts of the industrial proletariat according to a regulated plan."

—*The Worker*, Scotland, February 21, '20.

EXPORTING TO SOVIET RUSSIA BEGINS

Helsingfors, (Tuesday, N. C. P.)

According to Uusi Suomi, exports to Soviet Russia will begin in a few days. Part of these exports will go via Finland. The government is negotiating with England and with the Danish Red Cross, which has procured the goods for export.

Goods are handled by a well known Finnish Forwarding Co. The Finnish authorities inspect the shipments and will see to it that they do not contain arms and ammunition.—From *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, Stockholm, Jan. 28, 1920.

The Conditions of Transport

By R. ARSKY in *Izvestya*

THE question of railway transport is most serious for Soviet Russia.

If it does not improve, the difficulties of industry will increase. Everything goes to prove that our transport is far from satisfactory. In previous years to every "healthy" engine there were 20 cars; towards April of this year, the number of cars to every engine was about 45, i. e. more than double the number.

The number of outworn engines and cars has increased with startling rapidity. For instance, towards the end of March and beginning of April, 55 per cent. of the engines, and 22-23 per cent. of the cars were in need of repair. The normal figures of outworn engines were 15-16 per cent. and of cars 4-5 per cent. Towards the end of March 4,237 engines in good repair were at the disposal of Soviet Russia. There were also 2,173 in current repair, 1,558 undergoing minor repairs, and 997 general repairs.

The number of engines under so-called current repair must be reduced. If this task is executed more or less satisfactorily, there will soon be fewer worn-out engines.

The metals necessary for repairs are satisfactorily conveyed by the railways; the Ukraine gives one and a quarter million poods of various metals including cast iron, second-rate iron, trusses, shafts, tubes, nails, wire, belts, nuts., i. e., everything necessary for repairing the railways.

January was the most critical month of this year with regard to the condition of repairs, which was at a very low stage. We are in possession of the details of the repairs of the rolling stock up till June last.

For the first four months of 1919, 47.2 per cent. of the proposed plan of repairs was executed: the percentage of work executed for the various months fluctuates: in January, 40 per cent.; in February, 49 per cent.; March, 53 per cent., and in April 49 per cent.

Simultaneously engines and cars were being repaired in the large factories, 19.1 per cent. were turned out, and for the remaining months, the percentage fluctuates: 18.3 per cent., 12.2 per cent., 15.3 per cent., and 30.8 per cent. At the different factories, the work of repair fluctuates from 6 per cent. to 32 per cent.

In June there was a further marked improvement. For instance, on May 1st, 52.5 per cent. of the general number of engines were in repair or were in readiness for repair, while on June 1st, it was 49.6 per cent., i. e., approximately an increase of 2.9 per cent. in the quantity of healthy engines. In comparison with May 1st, the number of engines repaired increased to 46.6 per cent.

The progress of the work of repair from January 1st to May 1st was on the average of 33 per cent. For the separate months the figures are: in January 29 per cent., February 34.7 per cent., March 36

per cent., and in April 33 per cent. The lowest percentage of work belongs to the Moscow-Kursk-Nizhni-Novgorod railway at 32 per cent., and the highest to the northern railways at 75 per cent.

Fluctuation in the work of repairing freight cars at the railway shops is even greater. The average percentage of work executed is 15 per cent., while there is a great increase as from January. In January, the percentage was 0.5 per cent., in February 4 per cent., in March 24 per cent., and in April 34 per cent.

The work of repairing cars in the railway workshops is on the average 45 per cent., the work of repairing passenger cars 44 per cent. Here there is also a marked improvement in the quantity of work, equalling for January 9 per cent., February 52 per cent., March 66 per cent., and for April 60 per cent.

From May 1st till June 1st there was a decrease of 8.6 per cent. in the number of engines in the course of repair, a decrease of 2 per cent. of those in general repair, and the number of engines requiring minor repairs was slightly increased to 3.7 per cent.

All these figures go to prove that there is a crisis in the construction, and chiefly in the repairing of engines. Up till now the number of outworn engines and cars has increased, while at a certain period, all our efforts to improve the situation were to no purpose.

The situation became catastrophical: our transport was threatened with complete ruin.

To save transport we were forced to adopt most energetic measures: the leading proletarian organizations adopted the watch-word: "Everything for transport," which immediately gave concrete results in the increase of rolling stock repairs.

Several railways, as for instance the Alexandrov railway, were cleared of the elements attempting to interfere with the work in the work-shops. Almost at all the railways leading to Moscow we introduced the "Communist Saturday" (on Saturday, Communists work several hours overtime without receiving extra pay). These have considerably increased the productivity of labor, sometimes two and a half to three and a half times, in comparison with the ordinary work.

First of all, the worker-communists took part in this work with brilliant results, but later on the remaining workers joined them which finally led to an increased output of engines and cars. At the present moment, a most significant turn for the better is to be remarked.

Mr. Gregory Zilboorg will contribute weekly articles on literary and cultural aspects of the New Russia, beginning with our next issue.

Cultural Items from Soviet Russia

RECENT RUSSIAN NEWSPAPERS CONTAIN THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUAL ITEMS OF EDUCATIONAL INTEREST.

The Workers' and Peasants' Theatre

A sum of twenty-five million rubles has been set aside for the maintenance of a Workers' and Peasants' Theatre in thirty-five districts.

A Traveling Stage

At Kiev a traveling stage was exhibited which gave performances for the Red Guard and the peasants along the railroad routes. This theatre car tours through Russia, accompanied by two other cars, one carrying the actors, the other the scenery and stage settings.

The Museum of Religious Painting

A museum of Church and Icon painting has been opened in Vologda. In addition to the collection of ancient Icons and artistic objects of worship, it contains works illustrating the religious beliefs of the people of the north of Russia.

A Country Museum

In Livny, in the district of Orel, a museum of art and antiques has been opened. This museum contains many pictures, portraits, Icons, porcelain from Japan and Saxony, tapestries from China, coins, etc. The workers of the vicinity and the peasants from the neighboring villages enjoy visiting the museum. Energetic work is being carried on to spread instruction and culture in the Red Army. Besides the traveling theatres and traveling museums along the battle fronts, as well as lectures and meetings, a number of permanent institutions and culture have been founded in the region behind the front. The Red Guards who leave the firing line can frequent theatres, clubs, and concerts; enjoying intelligent pleasures which give them relaxation from the painful scenes of war.

In the radius of activity of the only Army (N) on the eastern front there are seven permanent theatre clubs: the "Red Army" Club, dedicated to Lenin, the club dedicated to Karl Marx, the "Red Army" Theatre, the "Red Star," the "Club of the Cannoneers," the "Internationale" Club, the "Club of the First Division Artillery, Red Guards," and the "People's House." Every day performances and concerts are arranged. In the repertoire we find: "In the Shallow Water," by Gorki; Schiller's "William Tell"; "Sabbath," by Andreyev; "The Struggle," by Galsworthy; Chekhov's "Miniatures," etc. The plays and concerts are given by State artists from Moscow, and by students of theatrical art associated with the People's Commissariat of Instruction.

Conference on Work in the Villages

The Sub-Committee has held a conference on work in the villages with the sections of the district party committees in the Moscow government. Representatives from 13 districts were present. It was decided to establish a system of such sections

throughout the Moscow government. Together with the communist groups they are to free the peasants once for all from the dirty clutches of the counter-revolutionists and all provocateurs.

The work of the sections will be done in cooperation with the local territorial committees—those for food, instruction, social provision, and others.

Attention will be directed chiefly to the earliest possible dispelling of the ignorance among the peasants, and the organization of agricultural workers' unions.

Conference of the Red Youth

The 13th general city conference of the communist youth was held in Moscow on the 16th of November.

Comrade Bukharin opened the conference with a report on the present situation which won the sympathetic applause of the young people. Comrade Rivkin followed with a report on the activities of the communist youth among the masses.

A detailed report of the 11th All-Russian convention of the communist youth was given by Comrade Dunayevsky.

The Moscow Committee of the Union of Young People's report on its activity caused heated debate. The majority came out for a revivification of its activity by an infusion of new blood.

The conference closed with the election of a new Moscow Committee.

A Theatre for Workingmen and Peasants

A conference relative to the founding of a theatre for workingmen and peasants, several times postponed, and organized by the theatre section of People's Commissariat for Provisioning, has been opened at Moscow.

A reunion of the members of the conference was held on the 16th of November, and attended by as many as 120 provincial delegates. Delegates continue to arrive. The practical work of the conference is divided into sections.

The most interesting of the reports submitted with reference to these questions appear to be: Vyacheslav Ivanov's on "The Organization of All the Forces of the People in the Direction of Artistic Activity," P. S. Kogan's "The Aims of a Proletarian Theatre," and P. M. Kerzhentsev's "Communal Creative Activity in the Theatre."

Meeting of Kolchak Deserters

On the 25th of October a meeting was organized in the Red barracks at Cheliabinsk for those who had come over to our side from the White camp. Among the speakers were Comrades Teplov, Iushkin, Podbelski, and others.

About nine thousand persons attended the meeting.

Comrade Teplov informed them of the progress of the revolution, and in a few words outlined the history of how the working class seized the power.

Comrade Iushkin threw light on the treasonable activities of the clergy.

Comrade Podbelsky welcomed the former soldiers of Kolchak in the name of the Soviet of People's Commissars and gave a short account of the present situation.

The audience listened to the speakers with great interest and sympathy. Immediately after the close of the meeting cheers were given for the leader of the proletariat, Comrade Lenin.

In the Kolchak Army

Fifteen per cent of the Siberian divisions are volunteers. The discipline is of a rude character, all the soldiers loot and plunder promiscuously. Sentiment is anti-Kolchak and there is a secret Bolshevik organization. The soldiers listen with disbelief and amusement to the officers' promises to give the soil to the people.

Half of the troops in the storm divisions are composed of volunteers, but even they do not want to fight. Many of them sympathize with the Soviet power.

Anti-American agitation is strong in Siberia. Thus an American soldier was killed by a Colonel Sharapov, but the latter was acquitted by the court.

Activity of the Green Army

Tula, November 14.—The eastern coast of the Black Sea from Gelednika to Sochi has been occupied by the Green Army operating in Denikin's rear. In all the occupied places Soviets have been formed. The population is friendly toward the new Soviet power.

The Green Army made a sudden attack on the stations "Krimskaya" and "Labinskaya." Much war material and provisions were taken. The average number of the Green Army reaches five thousand men. It is stationed on the southern Tamanski peninsula and in the Caucasus mountain chain as far as Elburz, forming groups many of which call themselves Green Soviet Armies. The detachments are composed of Bolsheviks and they have their own staffs. The inhabitants are friendly toward them. The operations of Makhno have received confirmation. In the Crimea in a short time he has occupied Mariupol, Berdiansk, Alexandrov, and some other places.

Financial Matters in Soviet Russia

The following three items are of interest in connection with questions of currency and finance under the Soviet Government. They are taken from various sources, which are indicated in each case.

WHITE GUARD MONEY DECLARED VOID

In the People's Commissariat for Finance a motion to declare the money issued by the White Guards null and void, and to indemnify the populations for the losses they have incurred through this money, is under consideration. It is well known that Kolchak demanded that the Siberian population hand out all the Kerensky money it possessed. Half of the "Kerenkis" thus deposited were converted into paper money of the Siberian Government, while the rest were converted into a loan not bearing interest, to be redeemed within twenty years. As far as can be judged from the at present available fragmentary data, the population handed over at least two and a half millions in Kerensky rubles under these conditions. In the regions which are being cleared of White Guards, there are in addition to the Czarist rubles that are still in circulation, also Duma and Kerensky rubles in small quantities, which are declared null and void after the arrival of the Red troops. This declaration of invalidity was in some cases put through so quickly, and so long before the arrival of the paper money that is current in Russia generally, that the population was put to some inconvenience. And while the Soviet Government has no reason to pay the debts of Kolchak, which were made after the emission of the Kerensky money, the Commissariat for Finance is nevertheless ready to consider the question of indemnifica-

tion, since the working population after its betrayal by Kolchak is now in a rather serious position.

—*Kommunistische Arbeiterzeitung*, Hamburg, January 23, 1920.

A DECREE FORBIDDING THE EXPORTATION OF MONEY NOTES INTO HOSTILE STATES

(*Izvestiya*, Sept. 12, 1919)

THE Council of People's Commissars have ordered:

Unconditionally to forbid all institutions, enterprises, and individuals who find themselves within the boundaries of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, to transfer or to send by any means or for any reason whatsoever, sums of money to hostile states or into territories of Soviet Russia occupied by enemies of the Soviet power.

Persons guilty of violating this decree are to be handed over to the Revolutionary Tribunals and dealt with in accordance with the laws of the military emergency situation.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars,
V. ULYANOV.

Chief Clerk
V. Bonch-Bruyevich
Secretary
L. Fotnyeva
Moscow, Kremlin, September 9, 1919.

THE INVASION OF FRANCS AND POUNDS

Moscow, Jan. 29.—The Moscow Soviet has just issued the following communication:

"We have repelled the invasion of the counter-revolution, and we are obliged now to repulse the invasion of the francs and the pounds sterling. The purpose of the Entente is clear. The Allies want to flood our country with small traders, to get hold of the trade in our raw materials and to prepare for our country the fate of a dependent colony. The struggle is not yet ended. It has

only entered a new phase. *We must permit only the importation of articles which are absolutely necessary to us, and this only through the medium of the state, which will distribute them among the populace. We must export only our surplus, and that also through the medium of the state.*"

—*Die Rothe Fahne*, Vienna, Feb. 3, 1920.

Russia's Vast Empty Market

Able to Pay for Imports in Gold and Goods Lansbury Interviews Krassin

By GEORGE LANSBURY

(By Wireless to the *London Herald*)

MOSCOW, February 13.—Today I have interviewed Krassin, the Russian Minister for Transport and Foreign Commerce.

Krassin told me that Russia was quite willing to trade through the Co-operative Societies, but that it would be impossible to send bulk supplies of the goods Europe needs until peace is secured, owing to the difficulties of transport.

"It would be a mistake," he said, "to think that Russia is exhausted. She has endured a terrible strain, and is still suffering owing to Allied intervention and the blockade; but the spirit of the people and of the Army is superb. We shall never go back to capitalist autocracy.

"Europe needs Russia's grain, flax, minerals, bristles, etc., in order to stabilize the economic position, particularly in respect to the exchange crisis between America and Europe.

"It must be understood by the workers of Europe especially that trade with Russia will set the wheels of industry going at full speed everywhere.

"Russia could take from Europe and America at once 2,000 locomotives and almost any quantity of rolling-stock—besides vast quantities of other goods—for which she can pay in gold and commodities. There is already in existence the People's National Bank, which is competent to carry through all the necessary financial arrangements.

"It may also be possible to leave valuable portions of country for exploitation by foreign capitalists—but this is obviously a matter for commercial negotiation.

"As to the admission into Soviet Russia of skilled organizers, experts, and engineers, these will all be welcome if they come with the loyal intention of working with the existing Government and of developing the country in the interest of the people.

"Let me repeat," Krassin emphasized, "that the condition precedent to everything is peace, for without peace conditions there can be no transport in bulk."

The more I see and hear, the more convinced I am that a sound and constructive peace between Russia and the whole world is possible. I am also convinced that the present Government is unshakable—this in spite of the fact that our refusal of peace and our blockade are imposing disease and suffering unparalleled in modern history on a great and heroic people. Britain has only to say the word, and Poland, Finland and the other small States will quickly make peace.

Krassin, the subject of the above interview by the editor of the Daily Herald, is more responsible than any other single man for the amazing feats of internal organization achieved by the Bolsheviks.

An engineer by profession, he was for some years

prior to the Soviet Revolution head of the Russian section of Siemens Schubert, the greatest electrical concern in that country. Since the end of 1918 he has devoted his organizing genius to the various Soviet institutions in turn. He is now to establish the Department of Foreign Trade.

—*London Daily Herald*, Feb. 17, 1920.

RUSSIAN TRADE

THE dispatch we print today from George Lansbury recording the interview he has had with the Russian Minister for Transport and Foreign Commerce, will, we imagine, give people in Great Britain food for thought.

Russian cannot send what the rest of Europe needs until it has peace.

Russia, though it has been made to suffer terribly by the blockade, has achieved such miracles of organization and reconstruction that it cannot be permanently crippled or excluded from the family of nations. The vindictive policy of exclusion may continue to make Russia suffer: it cannot achieve the purpose for which it was undertaken—to make Russia revert to Capitalism.

What Russia has to give Europe would, by providing raw materials which Europe needs, and thus enabling the increase of manufacture and export—to America as well as to Russia itself—help to stabilize the exchange (the adverse American exchange being in the main the register of the discrepancy between what we import from America and what we are able to export in return).

We, as a people—the workers, the consumers—are actually suffering in high prices and short commons for our rulers' insane foreign policy. By making peace we shall not only cleanse our consciences of an intolerable stain: we shall be doing ourselves good in the ordinary commercial sense.

British Labor, it is true, did not wait for the commercial appeal: it has always been dead against the Russian adventure on grounds of sheer morality. But nothing that can help to rectify the appalling economic state of Europe ought to be, or can safely be, ignored.

Full trade with Russia must and will be resumed. Let the resumption be thorough, practical and immediate.

—*London Daily Herald*, Feb. 17, 1920.

Direct Communication Between Esthonia and Russia Immediately—For Passengers As Well As For Export and Import of Goods.

Helsingfors, January 31: According to information from Dorpat, direct communication will be opened next week between Reval, Narva and Petrograd, for passengers as well as for export and import of goods.

—*Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, Feb. 3.

The Exchange of Prisoners Between Russia and France

Izvestya, Nov. 22, 1919

Translation of a Radio from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated November 12, 1919

To the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Moscow:

The French Government—in accordance with its intention, expressed as early as April—is methodically carrying out the repatriation of Russian soldiers, not only those residing in France, but also the 38,000 Russian war prisoners from Germany who had come over to France at the time of the armistice. At present about a half of them were afforded the possibility of returning to Russia, while

not one Frenchman has been permitted to leave the Soviet territory. The repatriation of the Russians from France will go on, but, besides, the French government, in whose power there are a number of Bolshevik agents, proposes to the People's Commissars to exchange them for Frenchmen who are at present in Russia. It hopes that the Soviet Government will consent to an exchange that is based on the universally recognized principles of humanity.

P. O. BERTHELOT.

Translation of a Radio from the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, Dated November 20, 1919

To the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris:

The radio signed by Berthelot and received by the People's Commissariat on November 12th clearly shows that the French Government is breaking not only its obligations and promises but also the most elementary ideas of justice and honesty. Through this radio the French government proclaims to the toiling masses of Russia, as represented by the Soviet Government, that the Russian citizens held in the hands of the French Government are being handed over to their worst enemies, the abominable heirs of the heinous Czarist regime, whom the French Government continues to support in their struggle against the Russian popular masses and who are the most cruel tyrants and executioners of the Russian soldiers who are being handed over to them by the French Government. Through the medium of its many agents—the generals, officers and others who are accompanying the former Czarist generals that are carrying on a war against the Russia of the workers and peasants—the French Government cannot possibly be ignorant of the fact that Denikin and his mates are using the most cruel means, including tortures and executions, in order to compel the former soldiers to join their bands for a fight against their own people, their own fellow citizens, families and relatives. The French Government informs us of the fact that it is systematically sending the Russian soldiers remaining in France and the war prisoners that had come over from Germany to France into the hands of the agents of Denikin who are meting out to them the most cruel lot. Not content with the fact that it had been spilling the blood of the Russian soldiers sent to France by the Czarist government at the time of the war against Germany, the French Government has since then been systematically subjecting to the most savage excesses our unfortunate fellow citizens who fell into their hands. It has itself demonstrated its unclean conscience and the truth of the horrible details which had come to our knowledge about the fate of our fellow citizens, by the fact that it forbade our Red Cross commission

to visit the prisons, concentration camps and other places of detention where they were being confined, and that it put obstacles in the way of the commission's investigating and learning directly of the situation in which they found themselves. However, the French Government has not only itself been using barbarous methods against the Russian soldiers, which have created a deep indignation among the toiling masses of Russia, but it now delivers them outright to the counter-revolutionary hangmen. It thus confirms the information to the effect that its agents, while subjecting the Russian soldiers to bestial treatment in France have told these soldiers that France had given Russia so much money that in exchange for it they ought to consider themselves to be given over to the full and unlimited discretion of the French authorities. Such is the point of view of slaveholders and traders in negroes, from which point of view the government of Clemenceau and Pichon regard these men who for such a long time fought as one with the French army. But the toiling masses of Russia will compel a cessation of the captivity of their sons who have been delivered into the hands of executioners and tortured. During all our negotiations with the French government in the matter of the Russian soldiers, we have been stating with absolute clearness and precision that the French Government must give us guarantees of the safety of our fellow citizens who are being repatriated, up to the moment they reach the soil of the Soviet territory, and that we should consider the French Government wholly and fully responsible for every violation of their immunity at the hands of any White Guard bands or any other enemies of the Russian people. We stand by this declaration still, although the French Government itself admits that it is consciously turning over our soldiers to these savage hordes, the mortal enemies of the masses of the Russian people. The French Government has very appropriately recalled at this time the fact that there is yet in our power a part of the French military mission, but we behold in this only a cynical mockery, when the French Government in

the same radio proposes to us that we repatriate this military mission and generally all Frenchmen that are in Russia, appealing moreover to the "universally recognized principles of humanity" while the French Government itself is simultaneously violating the most elementary principles of humanity in the most flagrant manner. If the French Government tells us at the same time of a certain number of Bolshevik agents who, it says, are in its power, we hope that it will be so kind as to furnish us in detail with the names of the persons to whom it refers, together with concrete information about them. At present we do not know whether refer-

ence is made to some persons, unrelated to us who, by the use of provocative methods, often enough applied by the French authorities against our fellow citizens, have been transformed into imaginary Bolshevik agents, or to active comrades in the labor movement whom the French Government for obvious reasons desires to represent as such agents, as it were; or, possibly, reference is made to some criminal culprits whom the French Government wishes to connect with us in order to discredit us. The radio of M. Berthelot leaves us in complete ignorance as to this question.

PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Government of Sweden and the Blockade of Russia

REMARKABLE COMMUNICATION OF IVAR WENNERSTROM TO THE MINISTER OF STATE

DURING the debate on January 17 I urged the government to take the initiative in the resumption of trade with Soviet Russia. The reply given by the Minister of State, in behalf of the government, implied that this could only happen through the use of armed force, and through the implication of Sweden in belligerent encounters with the blocking Entente countries. That same day telegrams came from London and Paris informing us that the highest Councils of the Entente had decided to raise the economic blockade against Soviet Russia and, to a certain extent, resume economic relations. It is of course not stated that the government has had knowledge of this important change—important even for Sweden—in the Russian policy of the Entente. Certainly the government did not inform the Riksdag of its knowledge. We can only presume that the government was ignorant of the matter. But this does not lessen the amazement of the people that a government should be left in such deep ignorance of a foreign policy decision which is of extreme importance to the country, all the more since the policy was planned a long time in advance. Nor can one be less amazed at the foreign representation of the Swedish government, which is so delinquent in attending to reports and notifications to its own government that the great event comes through the agency of a private telegraph bureau. Such a government and such a diplomacy, proven so inefficient, cannot hope to meet with credulity on the part of the people of Sweden.

At this same debate the Minister of State expressed himself as believing that there was no use in wishing an open door to a country with which it would be impossible to establish trade exchanges, and as of the firm opinion that trade relations with Soviet Russia were utterly impossible. This attitude is in sharp contrast with that of the leading statesmen of the Entente, who evidently consider trade exchanges to be both possible and advantageous, inasmuch as they have taken the initiative in establishing it. It is also in contrast to the

industrial and mercantile world, particularly England and America, which have already prepared themselves for an economic offensive on a large scale upon the markets of Soviet Russia. Finally the attitude of the Minister of State is in contradiction to important industries of Sweden and to Sweden's industrial workers, who intensely desire and have been working for the resumption of trade relations.

To the representatives of Russia in Sweden many quotations on goods which are desired to be exported have poured in daily. The Swedish representatives of the Soviet government, as well as of the Central Cooperative Society, have proven that the industry and trade of Sweden have shown great interest in the opening of trade relations. This applies especially to those branches of industry which manufacture agricultural implements, tool machinery, and separators, the electric industry, shoe factories, and paper mills. These industrial representatives regret sincerely that we have been outdistanced by Americans and Englishmen. They have been preparing for a long time to throw quantities of goods upon the Russian market, and great quantities of these goods have been stored in Sweden for a long time, in preparation for this opening. To the great disadvantage of the laboring people, especially, Sweden will be left far behind unless the government of our country uses the utmost speed and energy in adopting measures to establish trade at the earliest possible moment. Without a decisive and prompt change of mind, instead of the indifference and hopelessness expressed by the Minister of State, during the debate, the present government is not conducted in a way suited to meet the economic questions connected with the opening up of Soviet Russia.

But the resumption of trade relations is most intimately connected with the opening of diplomatic relations as well. To bring about the adjustment of economic relations without bringing about an adjustment of diplomatic relations as well will be a most difficult matter. It is quite certain that a resumption of trade relations will involve diplo-

matic matters that cannot be handled unless the two countries are on an amicable diplomatic basis.

In the following letter, dated Copenhagen, January 9, to one of the foremost representatives of a Swedish branch of industry, Ambassador Litvinoff has made clear the attitude of Soviet Russia on this matter:

"In reply to your inquiry concerning trade possibilities between Russia and your country I shall briefly recapitulate what I have already expressed to other representatives of the Swedish commercial and financial world.

"The demand for foreign goods in Russia is enormous. No single country, no single combination of countries can satisfy this demand. But it is not only the question of the importing of foreign goods that we are considering, but also the export of the accumulating raw materials of Russia. It is clear that the country which first opens trade relations with Russia will have the greatest benefit from the transacting of business with Russia, and the sooner the country prepares such connection the better it will be. The necessary preparatory steps ought to be the resumption of normal connections between the governments of the two countries, because even after the lifting of the blockade I cannot see any possibility of business between Sweden and Russia or any other country and Russia without mutual official representation.

"Some countries have already tried to resume

trade relations with Russia, but have failed on account of the absence of official representation. One must remember that the whole import and export trade of Russia has been nationalized and is under the care of the government departments. It is natural that the government, which will be the only buyer on the foreign markets, must have agencies abroad. It is the definite policy of the Soviet government not to transfer its agencies to any foreign firms or place any orders with them before it has official representatives on the spot to attend to its interests. I recommend this last sentence for special reflection."

I hereby request the permission of the Chamber to address the following questions to the Minister of State:

Does the Minister of State still maintain his announced conviction of the impossibility of bringing about trade relations with Soviet Russia?

If the Minister of State has prechance changed his opinion, what measures have been taken and what measures will be taken to quickly and effectively arrange economic relations between Sweden and Russia?

Is the Minister of state willing to take the initiative in the necessary steps to bring about mutual economic exchange, to negotiate for the settlement of matters of dispute between Sweden and Soviet Russia, and for the resumption of diplomatic relations?

—Stockholm *Politiken*, Jan. 28, 1920.

Emigration to Soviet Russia Planned by Locked-out Workers

LISTS WILL BE SENT OUT ALL OVER SWEDEN IN A FEW DAYS—GREAT INTEREST EVIDENT

THE striking and locked-out factory workers in Stockholm had a meeting yesterday in auditoriums A, B, C and D of the People's House, all of which were filled. The most important question of the day was the plan for emigration to Russia as soon as conditions permit. After several preliminary speeches on the question, an intense discussion began, during the progress of which it developed that the idea had universal support. As an expression of the result of the discussion, the following message was sent to the strikers and the locked-out workers all over the country:

"Fellow workers, the metal workers of Stockholm stand now in conformity with their fellow comrades of the country in open fight against the unscrupulous dominion of the employers, who evidently consider themselves entitled to sabotage the favorable—for the workers—effect of the legal decrease in working hours. In spite of the acknowledged trade skill and the intense exploitation of the workers, which have increased production during the last years to a hitherto undreamed of degree, we are still subject to the persecution of employers who are backed up by the entire Swedish bourgeois

nation, because we demand the maintenance of our present modest incomes. By proclaiming a lock-out, the employers have declared themselves as being able to do without us. If that be true we shall show, on our part, that we can be independent of them, and in this we know what we have to do. In days gone by the Swedes made their impress in the history of Russia by peaceful deeds as well as by acts of war, which, of whatever kind they may have been, have contributed to the development of both countries. Once more Swedes may be given the opportunity to make a contribution to Russia, this time of a peaceful kind, and to the mutual advantage of both Russia and the Swedish workers, as well as to the cause of Socialism. Soviet Russia needs, according to what we have been told, many thousands of skilled metal workers to build up the demoralized metal industry of that country as a result of years of war and revolution.

"The Swedish employers seem to have more interest in fighting us than in preparing for the opening of trade connections, which will soon be accomplished, with Soviet Russia. The situation being thus, we feel it our duty to place our labor power

directly at the disposition of Russian industry, where we have reason to believe it will be more appreciated than at home.

"We urge you, fellow comrades, to take the mat-

ter under consideration. Sign the emigration lists which will shortly be sent out, and on which further information is given."

—*Politiken*, Feb. 7, 1920.

A Vladivostok View of the Siberian Military Situation

THE following summary is condensed from the Vladivostok *Dalnevostochnoye Obozryeniye* (*Far-Eastern Review*) of January 1, 1920:

At the beginning of 1920, history finds Russia in the same state of territorial disruption, as it did in the dawn of 1919, a year which turned out as bloody as a number of its predecessors.

However, a good many things have changed since. In the first place, the number of persons who base their hopes on foreign aid has dwindled considerably. Second, the boundaries of the regions fighting among themselves have changed enormously.

These territorial changes, not particularly conspicuous in the north and northwest, are immense in the west, south, and especially in the east.

A year ago the Siberian Army in a continual triumphant advance toward the heart of Russia, had almost reached the banks of the Volga, keeping in constant touch with the southern and northern armies. But the fortunes of war are mutable. A blow at its flank which the Red Army has dealt the Siberian Army from the direction of Buzuluk and Buguruslan, proved fatal. The right wing of that army was retreating ever further and further eastward, until it was compelled to leave the Ural mountains behind it, and finally, its left wing, which had not budged till that time, tearing away from Orenburg, was forced to retreat into the interior of Siberia.

As a result of the retreat of the Siberian troops, which began on May 1st, the eastern boundary of Soviet Russia has been shifted some 2,500 versts, almost reaching the administrative boundaries of Western Siberia and the Irkutsk Government.

This means that now the major portion of the Soviet dominion is no longer situated in Europe, as was the case in the beginning of 1919, but in Asia, where it embraces the governments of Tomsk, Tobolsk and Altaysk, four steppe regions and the whole of Turkestan, with the exception of only 130 versts of roadside in Transcaspia, Eastern Semirechye and those localities of the Steppe region where detachments of the Siberian, Orenburg and Ural troops are operating.

The exact situation of these anti-Soviet sections is very difficult to ascertain, due to the scanty news coming from those localities.

On the other hand, even within the boundaries of anti-Soviet Siberia there is a considerable section of Soviet territory in the shape of the fertile, rich and,—according to the Siberian scale,—densely populated county of Minusinsk and the adjoining

southern parts of the counties of Achinsk, Krasnoyarsk and Kansk. According to later information, this region, though torn from the rest of Soviet Russia, has been in more or less constant communication with her since the latter part of December, by way of the mountain passes of the Kuznetsky Altay.

Concerning the remaining part of Siberia up to lake Baikal, it would hardly be possible to state anything definite, under present conditions.

Barring the territory which is under disputed jurisdiction, the total population of Soviet Siberia by December 22, could be placed, roughly speaking, at 10,500,000, while that of anti-Soviet territory in Siberia would amount to 2,000,000, excepting the refugees.

The Soviet Republic comprises all of Great Russia, Western Siberia, the Steppe region, the Ural region, Turkestan, the Volga region, with the exception of the Tzaritzin district, and the governments of Vitebsk, Mogilev, Chernigov, almost the entire government of Poltava and considerable parts of Kharkov, Volyn, Kiev and the Don region.

According to the numerical strength of the population, Soviet Russia ranks first among the 12 parts of Russia rent asunder from each other. One hundred and thirty to one hundred and forty million Russian citizens reside in Soviet Russia.

As to the population of the anti-Soviet territory it is approximately as follows:

Southern Russia, including Northern Caucasus	20,000,000
Russo Ukrainian regions seized by the Poles	7,000,000
Georgia, Azerbeidjan, and Armenia....	5,000,000
Lithuania	3,000,000
Bessarabia	3,000,000
Latvia	2,500,000
Eastern Siberia	2,500,000
Esthonia	1,500,000
Northern Provinces	500,000

Total

45,000,000

A large part of the railroad lines, of the industrial establishments, large cities, higher institutions of learning, etc., has fallen into the hands of Soviet Russia.

Liquid fuel up till now was obtained exclusively in the present anti-Bolshevist localities—Kuban and Baku. But it can be found in large quantities also in Soviet Russia—Turkestan and Ukhta.

Of cotton, flax and hemp only Soviet Russia has sufficient quantities.

Generally speaking, Soviet Russia can satisfy al-

A Supplementary Note from Our Military Critic

March 6, 1920.

According to the dispatch from London of March 4, the complete elimination of the forces of General Denikin in South Russia has been brought about. This is an official statement of the British War Office in its summary of the operations of last week. The Reds are in possession of the Tikhoretskaya-Petrovsk Railway, thus depriving the Denikin bands of the possibility of using their last means of communication. The Red cavalry in great masses, supported by armored trains are concentrating on the railway center of Yekaterinodar, or, in short, are accomplishing the last act of their sad but necessary labor: the elimination on the Russian rebels.

The British are very much alarmed about their interests in Central Asia. Their alarm is increased by the statement about the establishment of the new Soviet administration at Merv, Transcaspia.

At the head of this administration, according to the information of the British War Office, has been appointed the famous General Kuropatkin.

General A. N. Kuropatkin started his military service in Turkestan in the first Turkestan sharpshooter battalion. He then took part in all military expeditions sent by the Russians to Central Asia; he took part as chief of Staff of General Skobelev in the Russo-Turkish war, 1877-78; was a

Military Attaché with the French Army in the Algerian Expedition; then in 1880, again in the Akhalk-Teke expedition in Transcaspia, with General Skobelev; later he became Chief of the Transcaspian region of Turkestan and organizer of this vast country; then he was War Minister of Russia and Commander-in-Chief of the Manchurian Army during the Russo-Japanese War. The Revolution found General Kuropatkin as Governor-General of Turkestan. General Kuropatkin is a highly educated military scientist and first class strategist, as well as a skillful administrator. He was very popular in Turkestan among the natives. The failure of the Russian arms in 1904-5 was due in no case to strategical mistakes on the part of Kuropatkin, but chiefly to the general disintegration of the Russian system. The Russians lost the Japanese campaign only tactically; strategically Russia was never beaten. General Kuropatkin was always against any aggressive movement of Russia towards India and Persia, and often mentioned this in his historical works. He is purely Russian and has always been known as an honest man. It is no surprise that though a high official of the Czarist regime, he has ultimately joined the Bolsheviki, approving the righteousness of their cause. At any rate, General Kuropatkin knows Asia very well, not only as an administrator, but also as a military leader.

The Next Number of

"Soviet Russia"

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Next Saturday, March 20, 1920

and will contain the following important features:

1. *Wireless telegrams forwarded from Moscow to a Norwegian newspaper last month.*
2. *"The Darkness that has Passed," by Gregory Zilboorg. A literary study, treating of the social background of the dramas of A. N. Ostrovsky.*
3. *"The War in Russia", by Lt. Col. B. Roustam Bek, Military Critic of SOVIET RUSSIA.*
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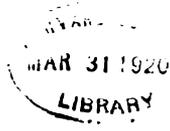
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The Emancipation of Woman in Soviet Russia

Some months ago Lenin published a work entitled: "The Great Initiative, a Brochure designed for Study by Labor in Soviet Russia." We give herewith the article devoted to the emancipation of woman:

IT is a fact that in the course of these last ten years there has not been a single democratic party in the world, and not a single person among the leaders of the bourgeois republics, that has undertaken for the emancipation of woman a hundredth part of what has been realized by Russia in one year. All the humiliating laws which involved curtailments of the rights of woman have been abolished. For example: those which put an obstacle in the way of divorce, the repugnant formalities for the determination of paternity and other relatives of "illegitimate" children. These are the laws in force in all the civilized states, to the shame of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism. We have a right to be proud of the progress accomplished in this domain. But as fast as we sapped the bases of the bourgeois laws and institutions, we arrived at a clear vision of the preparatory character of our work, designed only to prepare the terrain on which the edifice is to be built.

"We are not yet engaged on the construction of the edifice.

"Woman remains, in spite of everything the slave of the house. The emancipatory laws do nothing for her, since she remains subjected to all the petty drudgeries of the menage, which enchain her in the kitchen, in the children's nursery, and make of her rude and unproductive activity a chain of minute torments which are simultaneously oppressive and stultifying.

"A genuine emancipation of woman, a genuine communism will not exist except when the prole-

tariat, taking the reins in hand, will organize the battle against domestic slavery. Or rather, when society will have been entirely reconstituted on the basis of a general and socialist organization of housekeeping.

"The practical realization of this program has already begun. The result is as yet scarcely felt. But we should not underestimate these tender and promising buds. The popular restaurants, the children's gardens are, in their way, new shoots, very far yet from maturity, but nevertheless leading potentially to the practical emancipation of woman, thanks to the suppression of her inequality as compared with man in the domain of social production and life.

"These means are not new. Like all the provisions of Socialism they have been in general organized by capitalism. But under the capitalist regime they constituted only an exception. In most cases, they offered the saddest examples of speculation, cupidity and fraud. Or else they were transformed into institutions of that bourgeois philanthropy which is so justly hated and mistrusted by the best elements of the proletariat.

"We have taken in hand the greater part of these institutions, and they are beginning to lose their ancient character.

"We do not cry them out in the streets, while the bourgeoisie understands thoroughly how to celebrate the merit of its institutions.

"In contrast with the bourgeois press, with its great circulations, which vaunts its enterprises as

worthy of exalting the national pride, our journals do not spend their time in celebrating the merits of our popular kitchens.

"It is none the less true that they are based on

these principles: to economize work, husband the food supply, to ameliorate the sanitary situation and to liberate woman from domestic slavery."

—*Le Populaire*, Jan. 10, 1920.

The War in Russia

(*Situation on the Polish Front*)

By LT. COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

Washington, March 11th, 1920.

THE statement attributed to General Pilsudsky and published in the American press on March 8, was an extreme example of imperialistic hypocrisy.

"Poland wants peace," Pilsudsky is reported to have said to the correspondent of the *Petit Parisien* at Moscow, "and is willing to discuss it, but we refuse to be forced into that discussion by threats of the Red Army. We will not make peace under pressure of threats. We want either a pacific peace, freely accepted, or war. I am aware that the Bolsheviki are concentrating large forces on our front. But they are mistaken if they think to frighten us thus and offer us a sort of ultimatum. Our army is ready and I have full confidence in it. If it is threatened it can threaten in turn."

Pilsudsky does not fear Bolshevik propaganda, being absolutely sure of the imperialistic sentiments of the Polish bourgeoisie. He tries to assure the world that "Russia will never be able to furnish Europe with the wheat that is expected." The Polish Premier bitterly criticizes the zigzag policy. "The worst of all policies is the policy of zigzag. Poland cannot adjust herself to that." He claims restitution and damages since the partition of 1772. The real intention of the bellicose Polish Government is clear. Pilsudsky aims to restore the artificial frontier of Poland which existed 148 years ago, and to establish a Greater Poland which will be limited on the East by the rivers Dnieper, Berezina and the Western Dvina. This aggressive pretention has neither ethnographical nor geographical justification—Poland has as much right to the possession of this territory as she has to Moscow.

Incited by France and reckoning on her support, the Polish imperialists, in spite of all the efforts of Soviet Russia to avoid a sanguinary conflict, have persisted in an offensive movement against the Soviet Republic since an early period of the civil war in Russia. Entirely neglecting the new frontier line fixed for Poland by the Paris Conference, Polish military forces have gradually invaded Russian territory, penetrating farther and farther to the east.

In May, 1919, the Polish front, starting from east of Olita in Lithuania, ran in a south-westerly direction, past the town of Vilno, and joined the important railway junction at Baranovichi. Thence

it passed to the town of Pinsk, where it terminated, stopped by the famous Pripet Marshes. South of these marshes the Poles were confronted with the Ukrainians, with whom they were in constant struggle along their Galician frontier. They were very weak in that region and were unable to overpower Petlura's bands and to establish junction with the Denikin forces advancing from the South. After the Russian Army penetrated into Ukraine, the Poles were menaced along their southern front.

It must be noted that Poland had not declared war upon Soviet Russia, and the occupation of Pinsk and Baranovichi was undertaken, it was alleged, only for their protection.

Being unmolested by Soviet Russia, the Poles did not expect any danger from that side. They were, however, very much alarmed by the Kolchak-Denikin-Yudenich movements and did not show any desire to support these Russian monarchist imperialists.

Nevertheless, in our article in "Soviet Russia" on August 30, 1919, we predicted that "in any case an advance of the Poles may be expected, and it is certain that the Soviet General Staff is anxiously watching the Polish army, and is ready for the necessary regrouping of its forces in the case of a sudden offensive of the enemy." At the same time we pointed out that "the occupation of one or more Russian towns by the Poles will not be of great significance and will only complicate the Polish strategical situation, and consequently force the Poles to seek an understanding with the Soviet Government."

In the beginning of January, 1920, the Poles had made advances in Lithuania and in Russia as far east as Dvinsk, east of Minsk and Bobruisk and were even concentrating their troops east of the Pripet Marshes at Mozir. Their detachments were approaching from the Galician frontier to Zhitomir and Berdichev in Ukraine and exhibited every symptom of a general offensive towards Russia.

Since May, 1919, the Poles have penetrated about 130 miles into Soviet territory, and did this while the Soviet Government on repeated occasions was trying to establish friendly relations with them.

The constant advance of the Poles into Russia alarmed even their former supporters, who very wisely realized the foolishness of such a movement. Except for French politicians, the Allied leaders well knew that the Polish army could not alone

carry through a successful campaign against the Russian Republic, especially when almost all the best Russian forces were free to meet the new invaders.

Secretary of War Baker and Major General Tasker H. Bliss, in their testimony before a Congressional Committee in the middle of January, 1920, expressed this opinion in agreement with the British: that aid to Poland should be given "purely and specially for defensive purposes, to be used only for thwarting the contemplated Bolshevik invasion of Poland, and that any arms, munitions or supplies furnished should under no circumstances be used for imperialistic aims, and especially, that these arms and munitions should not be used against the sovereignty and unity of the Russian people". (The N. Y. Times, January 22, 1920). "As long as the Polish Government," continued Secretary Baker, "a new nation set up by the conference in Paris, is occupying the defensive position assigned it and is living up to the convention by which it came into existence, it is entirely proper for the nations responsible for its existence to render it possible aid".

"I should personally have no sort of objection," said Secretary Baker, "to the participation of the United States in aid of Poland as long as Poland continues to preserve the frontiers and the obligations incurred in the creation of the new 'Poland.' A Washington dispatch in the N. Y. Times of January 22, 1920, stated that "The American Government is not in favor of any plan for aiding the army of Poland or any other state to cope with Bolshevism, that would involve annexation of any Russian territory beyond the frontier fixed by the treaty of Versailles, or of recognizing the independence of the Baltic States without consulting Russia. This also is believed to be the attitude of the British Government."

America and England thus announced that they were prepared to help Poland only in case the Poles were on the defensive. Nevertheless, the Polish army, equipped, armed and fed by the Allies, accomplished an offensive invasion of a considerable part of Russia. Assuming that this was done solely with the aid of the French (though we are aware that all the Allies are responsible for the creation of the Polish army), this aggressive movement naturally provoked a concentration of Soviet forces for the defense of their territory. A decisive battle is imminent, and the Poles may be forced, like Kolchak and Denikin, to make a "strategical retreat", and thus assume purely "defensive" tactics. This may happen somewhere in Russia, and the Poles may be supported by Great Britain and America—which would be absolutely the same as if they had been so supported from the very beginning of their offensive.

In the New York *World* of March, General Szeptycky, Commander-in-Chief of the Polish armies on the Lithuanian front, is quoted as saying that "The Bolsheviks will surely make an offensive against Poland as soon as the ground hardens, if they do not get peace." Thus, even this Polish

General has admitted that it was the Bolsheviks who were trying to obtain peace.

The Soviet Army began the regrouping of its forces and its concentration against the Polish invaders only after the Allies, together with Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich, were completely defeated, and after the actual invasion of Russia by the Poles.

According to a dispatch from London of March 7, 1920 (*Public Ledger, March 8*): "Large forces of Bolsheviks have opened an offensive against the Poles on both sides of the Pripet region". The dispatch adds that "the Poles report the enemy was repulsed with heavy losses."

An Associated Press dispatch from Warsaw, March 9, reported that Polish troops under Colonel Sikorsky had attacked the Red troops in the vicinity of Mozir and Kolenkovitz, southeast of Minsk, Sunday morning, and captured those two important railway junctions and much war material.

So it becomes clear that the attack was directed by the Poles on the Red Army and, as it alleged, was made in order "to prevent further operations by the Russian Soviet army, which has been operating from Mozir and Kolenkovitz, and also to disperse Bolshevik troops which were being concentrated behind (sic) the enemy lines". The Poles claim the capture of the Staff of the 47th division, while they assert that the Staff of the 57th division barely escaped capture.

This report from the Polish headquarters shows clearly that the tactical success of the Polish forces in the Pripet district had no importance whatsoever because it was not accomplished fully, and provoked a development of the military operation just in the center of the Polish front, which, considered from a purely tactical point of view, is the most unfavorable to the Poles, who have in their rear the Pripet marshes which are now thawing.

On the other hand, the same dispatch shows that Mozir, which was for a long time in the possession of Polish troops, is now serving as a base of operations for the Russians. We are therefore rather skeptical about the report that Poles have captured the Orsha-Mozir railway, which is the continuation of the most important parallel strategical railway line extending from Petrograd, the principal points of which are in the direction from North to South, Velikiya Luki, Vitebsk, Orsha, Mohilev, Rogachev, Mozir. It is just along this railway line that the Reds have concentrated their reserves at several points, and to which they have all means of communication with their center.

Let us now consider the strategical situation of both belligerents. The Russian front from Pskov to Odessa is about 832 miles. This is the front which, in case of war, must be attacked by the Polish army. This can only be accomplished by an army as strong and as numerous as was the German army which engaged the Russians in 1915: namely, 2,000,000 men in the first line, with proportionate reserves. The Poles have no such army.

According to a Washington dispatch in the N. Y. *Tribune*, January 26, 1920, Poland can put an

army of about 700,000 men in the field against the Bolsheviki. Unless the Allies lend military aid this army will be neither well equipped nor particularly well officered. The Poles are understood here to lack ammunition and artillery”

“Against this army,” continues the dispatch, “the Bolsheviki, American authorities agree, can muster possibly 1,200,000 men, a formidable army, better equipped and better trained and led than the Poles.”

“This statement we believe to be not quite accurate. The Poles have not more than about 600,000 troops, of whom 200,000 may be considered as first-class fighting units, fully equipped to meet the Red Army.

The remainder comprise 100,000 armed reserves, half trained, and suffering a lack of officers and non-commissioned officers—and deficient in artillery and machine guns. Another 300,000 are partially armed with different kinds of firearms, and partially unarmed.

In addition to the Russian battle front, the Poles have to protect their Northern, Western and Southern frontiers and must have a considerable military force in order to insure order in their rear. It is true that at the present time the Polish army is holding a battle front shorter than that of Soviet Russia. Roughly, the Polish front is about 735 miles in length. But in order to cover only this front, the Poles cannot dispose of even a thousand men per mile, using for that purpose all their available forces, leaving out of consideration any question of reserves and the necessity of protecting their other frontiers. Under these circumstances, the Polish strategists have started an invasion of Russia! On the other hand, the Russians have at their disposal for operation against the Poles about 2,000,000 of their best troops under General Brusilov. It is not necessary to describe the military value of this formidable force, which is now so well known to the whole world and which is backed by the whole population of the Soviet Republic.

The strategical aim of this Russian army remains the same as the strategical aim of any Russian army facing the armies formerly invading Russia. It is to annihilate the invaders and to clear the Poles from Russian territory, pushing them beyond the frontier which was fixed by their protectors and admitted by their representatives in Paris, and which the Soviet Government was prepared to recognize.

The Polish politicians appear to have let their ambitions run wild, and are leading their people to destruction, remaining deaf even to the sound advice of their sympathizers. In the *New York American*, of March 8, 1920, we find the following lines in a dispatch from Berlin dealing with the Polish situation:

“The country is maintaining an army of about 750,000 men for the sole (sic) purpose of keeping Bolshevism out of the country, but this is considered as a great menace from within.

“There is conviction here that Poland cannot much longer support the tremendous financial burden of so vast an army, for the new nation is practically bankrupt,

without a national treasury, and with paper money worth little more in exchange than one-third of the German mark. The question is being asked, what will happen when Poland begins to demobilize, adding to the already large number of unemployed?”

In my interview with Paul Wallace Hanna, published in the *New York Call* of February 9, 1920, I said: “Poland will make peace with the Soviet Government or see her armies annihilated by Communist troops guided by Brusilov.” The annihilation of the Polish army, of course, does not at all mean the invasion of Poland by the Russian army or the dismemberment of the Polish Republic. On the contrary, the Soviet Army, in destroying the Polish military force, will free Poland from its own greatest foe: capitalistic militarism—thus opening to the Polish people the opportunity for real self-determination and a free and independent existence.

Summing up the military as well as political situation of both belligerent parties, we come to the following conclusion:

1. The morals of the Soviet armies, thanks to the series of most brilliant victories over the imperialistic coalition and the Russian counter-revolution, as well as to the common support of the whole Russian population, must be incomparably higher than that of the Polish army, because in Poland only the Capitalists and *Szlachta* (nobility) are infected with a warlike hysteria, while the peasants and working people are inclined to peace with Soviet Russia. The Russian army can reckon on the support of the whole nation, while the Poles cannot expect from the Allies even as much support as was given to Kolchak and Denikin.

2. The Red army is numerically preponderant over its enemy, about six to one.

3. The Soviet troops are better armed, supplied, trained and led than the enemy, who are under command of the officers of different nationalities and conflicting interests.

4. The Russian army has a well organized rear and superior means of railway communication, as well as inexhaustible strategical reserves, which cannot be expected in Poland.

5. Estonia is at peace with the Soviet, while Lithuania is hostile to the Poles and regards Russia as her liberator. Consequently, the right flank of the Red army is fully safeguarded.

6. It is reported that the Soviet Government has offered terms to the Rumanian Government and that peace is a matter of possibility. In this event the left flank of the Russian army will be fully protected.

7. Under these circumstances the Poles will have to accept the peace terms offered them.

Just as this article is completed I am informed by the Jewish *Daily Forward* that the Poles suffered an important defeat two days ago at Bobruisk on the Berezina, which means that their left wing was counter-attacked by the Russians. This is of great strategical significance and will have the most disastrous consequences for the invaders.

THE PRESENT WESTERN FRONT IN RUSSIA



The heavy black line indicates the Western and Crimean Fronts

GEN. GOUGH ON RUSSIA
*Incredible Stupidity of British Envoys
 Dangerous Women*

IN a remarkable address to the Oxford University Labor Club, General Gough told a good attendance of undergraduates what he thinks about the situation in Russia. The British policy, he said, was dominated by an insane fear of Bolshevism.

The General said he had been in South Russia and had also been head of the British and Allied Mission in the Baltic States, so that he was in a position to know the facts. His conclusion was that the Whites in South Russia were hopelessly inefficient. The Reds were extremely efficient; they had a good grip on things, and apparently had plenty of brain-power. This was the General Staff opinion of the situation.

As for the Border States, they did not like Russia at all. But they had a much stronger suspicion of the Whites than of the others, and this was based on experience. Our policy was to support the Border States in their independence, and also the Whites, who were opposed to them. Our agents and generals had to try and carry out this conflicting and confusing policy. They had to ride two horses at once in different directions.

Light-Hearted Killing

Much killing had taken place in Russia, Russians seeming to kill each other with facility and light-heartedness. The old regime had inured them to this. A Tsarist general during the war captured 9,000 Turks and placed them on a small island in the Caspian Sea. There was no water on the island. A miserably insufficient supply was given them by two steamers which called once a week. Thousands died as a result. But wherever the Soviet Government held power it maintained law, order and peace. If anything, there was too much law and order under its rule.

Women Propagandists

Russian ladies were one of the chief instruments of White propaganda. They were not scrupulous, would believe anything and repeat anything. If we paid attention to their tittle-tattle, we might bring two great Powers, Britain and Russia, on to the rocks. Many of these ladies were dissolute and pleasure-seeking, did not read, had no idea of liberty or progress, and talked extraordinary tosh. The *Times* had a special article on Yudenich, who commanded the push towards Petrograd. He was described as being over six feet in height, lithe, handsome, with flashing eyes—a born leader of men. He was, in fact, rather old, short, and fat. All this was typical White propaganda.

General Gough, continuing, said he had heard a young Russian of about 28 telling society ladies and others a day or two ago that Britain must fight to put the Whites back. He (the General) had fought for four years, and he had had enough. He did not see why our men should go on fighting, while this young man and others like him stopped in England, and talked about the need for British help and intervention. The fact was that the Russian people undoubtedly preferred the Reds to the Whites. It was impossible for a small section to dominate the whole of Russia against its will.

What a General Told Whitehall

British officials and officers had been sent to Russia with no capacity whatever for judging political events. They had not even the ability to judge plain facts. One General declared in London, after returning, that the Bolsheviks were nearly done for, that they were at their last gasp, and at the time he spoke Denikin was hurrying on board ship for safety. Churchill was full of optimism over his plans, as he always was. As a result we had earned the hatred and contempt of both sides in Russia now.

Mr. Lloyd George, with his Prinkipo policy, was right. But what were we to think of his statesmanship, honesty, and courage? The policy was right, but for months the exact opposite of what the Prime Minister wanted had been carried out. It was their duty to make it plain to him that peace is wanted, and that he would get votes by making peace. This seemed to be the only argument that he

heeded. We must find out the whole truth, and go to the Russians with loaves and machines in our hands.

—London Daily Herald, Feb. 14, 1920.

THE CZARIST GENERALS IN THE RED ARMY

M. Polianov, former correspondent of "Russkoye Slovo," in the *Tribune*, of Geneva, has given the names of the principal generals who are in Trotsky's general staff. From the following list it is apparent that they are Russian generals, and not German generals, as our big newspapers have for long been pretending, and that they are generals of the old regime who have rallied around the Soviet Government, doubtless not through sympathy for that government but because the Bolsheviks are defending Russian soil against foreign invaders and against the Denikins and Kolchaks in the pay of the western Allies.

M. Polianov particularly mentions:

General Cheremissov, Professor of the Academy of War, formerly Commander of the 12th Army.

General Klembovsky, formerly Chief of the General Staff of the Southwest front.

General Svechin, noted military writer (expert).

General Radus-Zinkovich, formerly chief of the General Staff of the 6th Army.

General Bagov, formerly Commander of the 6th Division.

General Selivachev, formerly Commander of the Fourth Finnish Division.

General Nadezhny.

General Sytin, formerly General attached to the general staff of the Roumanian front.

General Yegoriev, formerly Commander of an Army Corps.

General Bonch-Bruyevich.

General Velichko, military engineer.

General Neznamov, of the Academy of War.

Let us add to this list the name of General Evert, former Commander of the Center Armies on the German front, who is now directing the Bolshevik operations against Admiral Kolchak.

—*L'Humanité*, Dec. 31, 1919.

LLOYD GEORGE AND RUSSIA

The Premier, to write moderately, told a whopper to the House when he said, "All our forces are out of Russia, except a few at Baku." According to the *Manchester Guardian* there is still a huge draft which was sent to Russia from Salonika, running grave risks of annihilation or capture. Moreover, the Red troops now in possession of Odessa, according to a Moscow wireless, are being shelled by British cruisers. It was with profound satisfaction, however, that we read the official confirmation of the execution of the "supreme ruler," Kolchak. If the Calvinistic creed is true, astrakan fur coats are unfashionable in the place where he has gone to.—*The Worker*, Glasgow, Feb. 21, 1920.

The Role of the Czecho-Slovaks in Siberia

FROM the very inception of the Czecho-Slovak adventure in Siberia it was evident that the alleged neutrality of the Czecho-Slovak war prisoners was a mere pretense. They were fighting the Bolsheviki not only for the purpose of cutting a way through to France via Vladivostok, but in order to take away the power from the Bolsheviki and hand it to the Siberian government. And here the cultural side of the Czechs was displayed, the same Czechs who ridiculed the foolish Russians for permitting themselves to be led by Jews and Magyars. As far as the brutality and bitterness with which the Czechs fought the Bolsheviki is concerned, it is difficult to find a parallel in history. No prisoners were taken. They were all shot. All sorts of lies were invented against the Bolsheviki, and in this respect the Czechs acted like hired murderers without any human sympathy and justice. With their dirty boots they went right into Russian life, which they do not begin to understand, although they make such great pretenses.

The weak Siberian Bolshevik army kept on retreating before the Czechs, and on July 12, 1918, the Czechs took Irkutsk. On this occasion the Siberian Bolsheviki made several attempts to talk peace with the Czechs, but nothing came of it, because the Czechs had orders to overthrow the Bolshevik government. Such was the desire of their master, France. Only for two weeks there was arranged an armistice between the Bolsheviki and the Czechs on the Marinsky front, not far from Krasnoyarsk, but General Gaida, who was then a Lieutenant-Colonel, did not want to hear of peace or of going to France, and he continued the war.

There appeared, on July 17, 1918, in the Menshevist paper, *Irkutskiy Dni*, an article entitled, "Down with the Death Penalty!" signed by Victor Mandelberg, a former deputy of the second Imperial Duma, and a well known worker in the Russian Social-Democratic Party. This was the reply of a Socialist to the murders of the Czechs and the Black Hundreds who indulged in outrages after breaking into the city, and who shot every one who had anything to do with the Soviets.

That very day there appeared at the office of the *Irkutskiy Dni* four Czech officers from Gaida's staff who arrested Mandelberg, but the Socialist sentiment was too strong in Irkutsk, and the Czechs still paraded their democracy; so, because of the strong protests of the Social-Revolutionists and Social-Democrats, the Czechs released him. They realized that they were playing with fire, because, having Bolshevik fronts on both sides of them, creating inside a front against the kind of democracy they were practicing was somewhat dangerous. Only now, a year and a half after the Czech liberation, all Socialists and Democrats are against them and against all foreign "liberators." At that time the Czechs were hailed because it was thought they would bring back the Kerensky regime of freedom, but the Czechs, with the help of the White and Black Hundreds, very soon did away with the rejoicings over the Bolshevik defeat.

The Czechs stood silently by and in a way helped along when Kolchak's monarchist officers shot in Omsk eleven members of the Constituent Assembly, among them the Siberian Minister, S. R. Novosieloff, and the first representative of the Siberian Government of Irkutsk. This was their reward to the Socialists and Democrats for their assistance in the war against the Bolsheviki, and when the Bolsheviki on the Trans-Baikal front shot the chief of Gaida's staff, Col. Ushakoff, Gaida issued an order to shoot every Red Guard that was then in captivity. At the stations of Missovaya and Sludanka there was another St. Bartholomew's massacre, in which several thousand Russian workers and peasants were shot down in cold blood. The Socialist newspapers and the trade unions were suppressed in the most outrageous way,—and yet very recently Gaida paraded as a Democrat, in Vladivostok, and criticised Kolchak as a "monarchist and a murderer." Since this hypocrite Gaida had not, with the help of the Kolchakists, become a Napoleon, he turned to the Democrats for their help. And now this Czecho-French murderer, defended by the Allies, is writing his reminiscences, somewhere in Shanghai, and they will undoubtedly be published in some "democratic" American newspaper.

The Strike at Bordeaux

(From Our Paris Correspondent)

PARIS, Jan. 12.—With the precipitate flight of Kolchak, Denikin & Co., it would have seemed that the long-vexed question of trying to send counter-revolutionary munitions to Russia against the will of the workers would be solved. Since Denikin and Kolchak are hopelessly beaten, it would seem the part of both common sense and wisdom for the reactionaries of France not to sink any more money in munitions of war for these worthies. But the French government and the French bourgeoisie are

still sanguine of renewing the falling fortunes of counter-revolution, and have not abated their efforts to send munitions to South Russia and Siberia. Several times in the past few months at the various ports of France the dockers prevented the loading of ships bearing such nefarious cargo, and in the past week a new conflict has broken out at Bordeaux, where all the port workers, including the longshoremen, railroad men, electricians, mechanics, etc., (numbering several thousand), have gone out on

strike to prevent the loading of supplies for Kolchak. The Bordeaux unions are being solidly backed up by the entire C. G. T. organization of France, which is resolved to show this mark of solidarity with their Russian brothers.

At the very time when the strike order was voted, the Chamber of Commerce of Bordeaux, with a singular cynicism, published in its report a notice to its members warning them against trading with Soviet Russia. We quote the text of this notice:

"The Chamber has received from the customs administration a notice of the measures taken by the Allied Government to prevent commerce with Bolshevik Russia.

"This document is deposited at the Secretariat of the Chamber of Commerce where all those interested may come to see it."

We may contrast with this the gesture of the Bordeaux proletariat:

"The syndicates of the cartel adhering to the Union, assembled Sunday December 28, 1919, at the Bourse du Travail, being asked to take a special action in regard to our comrades of Russia: hereby decide by an energetic gesture, in refusing to load munitions destined for the counter-revolutionary armies of that country, to express their entire solidarity with them, no matter what repercussion this gesture may have.

"They hope to be able to count in this circumstance upon the support and the solidarity of the Union of Syndicates, as well as upon the agreement of the other organizations.

"No trade with Soviet Russia, but more munitions for Kolchak and Denikin. This is truly the path to lead to the bankruptcy of Europe. In France bread will soon be raised to twenty cents, by the removal of the government subsidy occasioned by the necessity of retrenchment. But the government is quite willing to squander millions upon millions of francs in the bottomless hole of Russian counter-revolution. The French capitalists are satisfied, for they are able to make money on the contracts, even if the munitions do neither France nor Denikin any good. Denikin's aids early invented the practice of selling Allied munitions so as to enrich themselves by graft—so everybody all around has a chance to make money, at the ultimate expense of the proletariat.

"If the entire counter-revolutionary circle were not so corrupt and interested in individual profits, the Allies would long ago have realized the terrible waste and extravagance of the entire business. And they would long ago have resumed business with Soviet Russia, which is ready to trade dollar for dollar in cash. But the counter-revolution is not conducted on business principles."

Cultural Work and Education in Soviet Russia

A SOVIET RADIO

The Russian autocracy was able to exist until the twentieth century only because of the exceptionally antiquated methods of popular instruction. The funds necessary for this instruction were always granted unwillingly; the curricula in the schools, in their sterility and lack of concern with real life, apparently sought to instill in the child a distaste for knowledge. An altogether automatic religious instruction, dead languages, orthographic subtleties, notably the rules relating to the use of the letter "yat",—such were the trials that the student had to undergo in order to obtain his "certificate of maturity". Half of the primary schools, moreover, were in control of the clergy.

It was not until after the revolution of 1905 that our government, self-styled "constitutional", under constant pressure from the democratic Zemstvos, considered the question of general primary instruction; but the reform which seemed almost on the point of being realized was checked in 1914 by the outbreak of the world war.

The great Russian revolution thus finds Russia half illiterate and ignorant.

The power of the workers and peasants, represented by the People's Commissariat for Public Instruction, declared a most pitiless war upon this popular ignorance. The chief aim of the Soviet government is to render instruction accessible to all, and to join in the closest bonds the school and the socialist constitution of labor. In place of the

multiplicity and heterogeneity of the old types of schools, the Soviet power emphasized the principle of one school and practical work. The application of the scholastic reform has had to contend with the obstinacy of pedagogues and their failing comprehension of the exigencies of the hour.

Even in the heart of red Russia, in Moscow, the principle of manual work has not yet been instituted in all the schools. But wherever the organizers give themselves with all their heart to the creation of the new school, it is seen that cordial relations and a mutual confidence are established between masters and pupils, and the work is rapidly organized.

The children's clubs in Moscow are an excellent innovation. The children frequent them between the hours of 9 and 7. There are at their disposal studies, galleries of design, a library, a workroom, a dining room where they receive tea with sugar and bread. The whole intimate life of the club is based on the principle of a working commune.

The school of applied work has broken rudely with automatic study and the immobility during interminable hours in class; it has been transferred to the factories, the shops, the fields, to receive instruction from the workers and acquire working practice. It is thus that the schools organize kitchen-gardens. In the districts they are allotted plots of ground for the planting of vegetables and fruit trees. In many governments communal summer

colonies are organized for students in frail health and for children still too young to attend school, as well as groups which pursue in the open air the studies begun at school. Every child must attend the communal colony about a month, so that four parties can take advantage of the summer in the provinces of Samara, Kursk, Kharkoff, Minsk, etc. Besides their importance from the point of view of education, these communes are also of great assistance in the preparation of provisions for the winter.

The school of applied work develops initiative in the children and prepares them for life in society. Students' assemblies are organized; these send their representatives to the scholastic pedagogic councils; there are also conferences for adolescents. In the middle of May there were held conferences of the young people in the schools, notably at Moscow. Questions of pedagogy and organization were discussed and it was decided to institute in the schools communist sections, tribunals of comrades, commissions for economic organization and the safeguarding of the work of the children. One hundred and nine delegates took part in this conference.

While occupied with the education and instruction of the new generation, the Soviet power has manifested an intense activity in the direction of extra-scholastic instruction for adults. This activity includes so many forms that their mere enumeration constitutes in itself a long terminology. Observe for example the number of sections included under the extra-scholastic division of the section for Public Instruction in the government of Penza:

1. Section for cultural and educational social activities.
2. Section for libraries.
3. Section for lectures and schools for adults.
4. Section of the Museum.
5. Section for popular lectures and conferences.
6. Section for cottage reading-rooms.
7. Section for people's houses.
8. Section for proletarian universities.
9. Section for popular theatres.
10. Section for clubs.
11. Section for scientific societies.

Moreover, something has yet to be added to this great variety.

12. The traveling book-shops and libraries.
13. The vessels and trains devoted to the transport of instructors and literature.
14. The mobilization of all educated people to read journals aloud.
15. The cinematograph exhibition and the traveling phonographs devoted to communist propaganda.
16. The aeroplanes which drop appeals, literature, etc.

To illustrate the work accomplished in the sphere of public instruction in the distant provincial localities, let us take as an example the little town of Clebove in the district of Rybinsk. A circle for culture and education was organized there in May,

1918, which now has 161 and 125 meetings of directors; they gave there 7 spectacles, one concert and 12 lectures (on hygiene, agriculture, the study of Russia, etc.), and opened a library. Moreover, the circle owns a building for children, where they may spend their recess and take tea.

The second year of the Socialist regime has been marked by the appearance of libraries in real "holes", where it was difficult before the revolution to find even a single book (other than a religious book). The village libraries have been established thanks to the books which were confiscated in the mansions of the old estate. And thus the cultural capital which had remained hidden for hundreds of years has been at last put in circulation for the profit of the working people.

Note, for example, the figures illustrating the activities for May, 1919, of the library at the Palace of the Red Army in Kazan: 8514 volumes representing 5852 different works, of which 75% were novels, 2360 books of a Communist nature, 20 reviews and 8 journals. This library is used on the average by 3400 to 3500 persons every month.

The villages have their libraries and their communal cottage reading-rooms. The district of Viazma of the government of Smolensk furnishes an example typical for all of Russia; it has 59 library-reading-rooms of which 20 are central branches containing from 1000 to 2000 volumes.

Besides these libraries one notes also the popularity and success of the so-called traveling book-shops. The communists of the district of Shatsk. (government of Tambov) were the first to organize a book-store on a wagon, and take it from one village to another. In these traveling book collections are found small libraries of thirty volumes enclosed in a chest which circulate from village to village until it has made the tour of the whole commune.

Frequently we have not sufficient resources at our disposal to execute the enormous work involved in the instruction of the masses in a country so exhausted by the war as was Russia. That is why we must utilize without exception all the forces that we have in the direction of the greatest effectiveness. This explains the rapidity of the organization of visits by experienced teachers. A few months ago special trains were reserved for the transport of instructions and literature. While traveling about from place to place in their trains these specially organized groups of agitators and learned men organize in the stations meetings, lectures, conferences, cinematograph shows: they distribute Socialist literature and publish in the trains even papers treating of the events of the day in this or that given region.

Since the opening of river traffic, steamers and barges devoted to the transportation of instructors and literature have been placed with the same purpose on the Volga, the Dniepr, the Don, the Volkhoff, the canals of the Marie system and the lakes of the Region of the North.

One of the methods for spreading culture and

education which appears to be unknown in the Occident consists of mobilizing educated people for reading aloud to the illiterate. From the little town of Kalesnikovo (provinces of Riazan) one person wrote: "All of the mobilized must read journals and pamphlets to the illiterate, and explain to them the unfamiliar words."

The ignorant masses of the rural districts are most interested in the theatrical presentations. The theatre exercises so great a power of attraction that the peasants gladly travel several kilometres to reach it, and very readily pay 10 rubles per person. It matters little that the decorations are crude, that the artists are inexperienced amateurs, that the repertoire is poor, the wigs and beards tors more than compensates for the shortcomings of the *mise en scene*. Occasionally among the actors real talents are discovered, who instinctively interpret their role in a lively and original manner without having attended any dramatic school, and having pursued no courses. Sometimes also decorators with genius are found. In the village of Kransha (government of Nizhni-Novgorod), which has only 80 families, there is already a people's house provided with a good stage where performances are given on fete-days. All the decorations have been painted by a peasant of the vicinity, a self-taught painter, D. I. Abramytcheff, who has gathered about him the local amateurs in the dramatic art.

It is interesting in this connection to remark the manner in which the peasants have welcomed that innovation, the people's house. When the initiators addressed themselves to the "mir" (the village community), in order to ask for wood to build a people's house, the older ones suspected some folly. But after the first performances the community sent delegates to them of their own accord: "Take as many horses as you need to draw the wood. We can very well see that you are working in our interest".

The dramatic circles are now sprouting up in the villages like mushrooms after a rainstorm. For example, one person writes from the district of Malmyzh (government of Viatka), that everywhere are "cultural and educational circles, and there is not one commune where they have not organized a performance".

The theatre enjoys the double role of the director and the gardener of culture. Little by little the other organizations of instruction begin to group themselves about the theatre: circles for self-instruction, musical circles, libraries, reading-rooms, clubs, etc.

The spectacles succeed in loosening the Russian peasant's purse-strings—his who is so economical, and who was never before inclined to satisfy his cultural needs. What need could an illiterate person have for a library? In the village of Popoff, district of Poutiloff, the communist section was even able to present a series of spectacles, and to organize a reading-room with the funds thus collected among the local peasants.

The repertoire of the village theatres is limited, but it is interesting to remark that it contains almost exclusively classic works. The favorite is Antoline; thus they adapt for the stage his little novelettes such as the "Wicked-Minded", "Chirurgie", etc. Then they also present plays like "Poverty is not Vice", Ostrovski's "To Endorse for Another", Gogol's "Marriage", Leo Tolstoi's "From Her All Virtues are Derived".

Latterly there has been a tendency for separate circles of amateurs to join together in organizations sharing their artistic resources with greater regularity, improving costumes and decorations, organizing traveling theatrical libraries, and receiving considerable subsidies from the State in view of the fact that they act in perfect accord with the district sections of the Commissariat for Public Instruction. In the district of Rybinsk, the various existing circles have thus, joining in this way, grouped together their best actors and formed an elite troupe which now gives performances throughout the entire district.

The organizations of railway workers place themselves also at the disposition of the traveling troupes. At Kieff a carriage-stage was organized, which was dedicated to the Commissar for War, Podvoyski, and which gives popular performances along the whole route of the railway line. In addition to the carriage-stage there are two other cars, one of them containing the decorations and costumes, and the second the artists. The Committee of Instruction for the line Moscow-Kursk has established a dramatic school. The same Committee also organized 25 theatres during 1918, which serve the various localities off the railway line, and receive books as well as cinematograph films from the central theatrical library.

The Red Army defends Socialist Russia against the wild bands of the Russian counter-revolution and foreign imperialism. Upon the conscientious performance of their revolutionary duty by the soldiers of the Red Army depends the victory of the world proletariat as well as the establishment of the reign of labor and the era of liberty upon earth! That is why the Soviet power is occupied with an indefatigable ardor in the instruction of the great masses of workingmen who have been called to arms in the ranks of the Red Army.

All the methods and processes of educational and cultural work which have been experimented with in city and village, are taken over into the military sphere with the adaptations required by the conditions of life in the barracks and in the field.

The cultural work in the Red Army is directed by the political Section of Instruction on the General Staff. There are local subdivisions of this section in all the commissariats of war in the military districts, as well as with the active armies.

In the units of the territorial army up to the present there have been enrolled 64 communist sections, 97 commissions for culture and education, 50 clubs, 27 schools for elementary learning, 27 reading-rooms and 63 libraries (37,000 volumes).

Almost 10,300 copies of journals are distributed every day among the red soldiers of the city of Moscow. During the first three months of the year 1919, the Red Guard clubs of Moscow organized 108 spectacles, 101 concerts and 552 lectures.

The same intensive work in the diffusion of instruction is being realized in the Red Army throughout the territory of the Republic. The number of cultural and educational organizations has increased more than twenty times during the first four months of the current year:

	Jan. 1, 1919	May 1, 1919
Libraries—Reading-rooms	77	1614
Schools	69	674
Clubs	204	642
Theatres	6	211
Cinematographs	26	221

The regions retaken from the bandits of the reaction seem especially to re-establish with feverish activity the cultural values destroyed by the White Guards. Thus, during the few months that have passed since the workers and peasants of Ukraine shook off the yoke of Skoropadski, the Commissariat of War of the Kieff district has succeeded in organizing 54 clubs (23 in the government of Kieff, 27 in that of Chernigoff, 4 in Podolsk), 67 schools, (24 in the government of Kieff, 27 in Chernigoff, and 16 in Podolsk), and 264 libraries (32,000 books and pamphlets).

The cultural and educational work does not cease, even on the most active fronts, in a military sense, and is carried on almost under artillery fire.

In the region of Samara there have been organized in the railway stations political bureaus, which furnish literature to troops stopping there and organize meetings, lectures and talks. Almost all the army units have communist propaganda sections. This revolutionary propaganda extends to the enemy camp, and there often achieves better results than artillery fire; the White Guards come over in whole regiments to the side of the Soviet Power.

The Red Army, while under arms, does not forget cultural interests of a superior order. It reclaims, through fighting, all that had been lost during the sombre years of autocracy. Almost every day, in different army units, schools are opened for the illiterate and those with but little education. But the Socialist soldier is not content with that; he is already tormented with a spiritual thirst. And now they are organizing under fire a university for Red Guards (under the political section of the Northern Army General Staff). The war-councils, the collaborators in the political section of the General Staff, who lecture there, and the tutors, all are communists.

There is no reason then to be astonished at the fact that the Red Army becomes morally stronger every day. A member of a cavalry unit writes from the front to the journal, the "Red Tocsin"; "The work of the Socialist Party is being organized; the ignorant masses are being enlightened; gambling and drunkenness are combated. Each

aspires not only to the conscious existence of a revolutionary soldier, but is infused at the same time with the spirit also of a free citizen. We acquire new knowledge, new sentiments, a new energy. Thanks to the incessant activity of those of our comrades who are more developed, and who organize performances and soirées under the most difficult conditions, we can pass our time freely, gaily and cordially with the citizens who inhabit the localities which we traverse. Indefatigable comrades, you have our cordial thanks".

This constant mobilization of the spirit animates the young communist army with that spiritual force which cannot be destroyed by the mercenary bands and the others who for more than a year already have vainly been trying to throttle heroic Russia of the workers. The cultural and educational organizations of the Red soldiers are the long-range guns which will silence the most perfect batteries bought by international capital.

ALEXANDER HERTZEN'S MEMORY CELEBRATED IN RUSSIA

On January 31st, the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the well-known Russian revolutionary author, Alexander Herzen, was celebrated. One of the most prominent streets of Petrograd—Morskaya—was renamed Herzen Street. In the garden in front of the University a cornerstone was laid for a monument to Herzen and his friend Ogaryev. On January 25th the well-known literary historian, Professor Vengerov, delivered a public lecture on Herzen.

At Moscow, the festivities in honor of Herzen's memory began on January 18th. On that day the academicians of the Socialist Academy gathered for a solemn session of homage to Herzen's memory.

—*Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, Feb. 9, 1920.

SONNET TO SOVIET RUSSIA

Hail, Soviet Russia! Wondrous light art thou!
 Clear morning star athwart the eastern sky.
 Dispelling sleepless night of direst woe—
 As, anguish-tossed, we writhed in blood and tears.
 Bright star of hope! Portent of sunrise near—
 We glory in thy warmth, which cheers the soul.
 Alas! from far, strange darkling clouds appear—
 Bursting in thund'rous storms from North to
 South!
 Thy light is overwhelmed. Despair is ours!
 The storm rolls on. We grope. Deep dark en-
 folds!
 While Allies jeering shout—"That star is false!"
 A strong voice speaks—"Darkest before the dawn!"
 Lo, Phoebus smiles! Our fears dissolve, 'tis dawn
 of freedom's day!
 World-wide it spreads. Nations awake, rejoicing
 in its ray.

ALICE M. REINHOLD.

SOVIET RUSSIA

A Weekly Devoted to the Spread of Truth
About Russia

Official Organ of the
RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU
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IN another column we are printing a recent statement of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau concerning the necessary preliminaries to the trade between Soviet Russia and the United States. There is no doubt that this trade is now receiving serious attention on the part of the United States and the Allied Powers, and we understand that a conference is to take place today between the Governments of the United States, France, England and Italy, to discuss the basis of such exchanges. At any rate, such is the clear statement in President Wilson's note to these Powers on this subject, as quoted in the *New York Times* of March 15:

"Prohibition of trade with Russia is a war measure no longer justified. The American Government proposes to abolish all restrictions. It suggests, however that the Governments of France, England and Italy come to an agreement with it and for the necessary conference proposes the date of March 20."

Meanwhile official representatives of the Allied Powers are already in Russia studying the commercial situation, and while the United States is not represented on the Commission sent for that purpose, this does not mean that the United States has no representative in Russia for the same purpose.

HOW much real opposition the reactionary government that was proclaimed in Berlin on March 13 may meet with on the part of the Allied governments may be judged from the remarks of General Baron Von Lüttwitz, the new government's Minister of Defense, quoted in the *New York Times* of March 15. Von Lüttwitz stated that it was necessary to do more work than was being accomplished

under the Ebert Government, and that he needed "more than the 100,000 men permitted by the Entente. How are we to combat Bolshevism with that handful of men?"

What will happen now we do not know. Is it possible that after everything else has failed, after all the border states have been kept at war with Russia until they have themselves cast off the Allies and thrown in their lot with Soviet Russia, after even Poland has abandoned her plan for a drive into Soviet Russia—that the attempt is now to be made with a large border-state instead of a small one? The question suggests itself as giving to the new "revolution" in Germany a significance and a content that might otherwise be overlooked.

ACCORDING to the issue of *Struggling Russia* which is dated March 6, there was printed in the Petrograd *Izvestya* of September 22, 1919, an Order (No. 12) of the War Council of the Petrograd Fortified District, which provides for the temporary disconnection of such telephones in Petrograd as had not been "licensed previously by the former chief of the Interior Defense, Comrade Peters." There are other provisions in the Order, chiefly matters of detail, but one clause (VII) states that: "All persons guilty of connecting subscribers without permission from the Commander of the Petrograd Fortified District, are to be shot."

Several reflections of necessity pass through the reader's mind. First, there may have been no such decree issued, or portions of it at least may, in the form as published in this country, be mistranslations. We cannot decide this question, as no immunity from blockade of mail from Russia, such as may be enjoyed by *Struggling Russia*, has been extended to us, and we are not in possession of a copy of the document in question; we cannot state whether it, or parts of it, are genuine. Second, the reader will ask himself, what was the general situation at the time this "Order" was issued, if it is genuine, and it happens that the date of publication attached to it is, as above mentioned, September 22, in other words, just when the drive of Yudenich on Petrograd was being prepared. If our reader will add to this the interesting article from the Petrograd *Pravda*, reprinted in our last issue, and dealing with the revelation of a counter-revolutionary conspiracy at Petrograd, which was to overthrow the Soviet power in that city to prepare for its occupation by the Yudenich troops, he may decide that the document printed in *Struggling Russia*, if genuine, was perhaps not out of place. Governments that are attacked by force answer with force.

And a third reflection will not be absent from the mind of him who reads the plaintive comment made by *Struggling Russia* on this situation:

Thus it is not only difficult to obtain permission for connection of a private telephone, the subscription for which—and at a pretty high rate at that—has already been paid—but even the use of one, if proved illegal, is punishable with death by shooting.

The State may be in danger, enemies may threaten from within and without, but the telephone subscriber has paid his good money and is entitled to his service, even though he be a counter-revolutionist using the telephone for the very purpose which the State—the Soviet—finds hostile to its very existence. To a great extent the events of the recent universal warfare weakened—we had thought—the more petty forms of the sense of ownership, but we must admit that for *petit bourgeois* querulousness the spirit of "Struggling Russia" rivals even that of Mr. H. G. Wells.

SOMEWHERE in his "The Perfect Wagnerite," Mr. George Bernard Shaw points out that it is not the professional musician necessarily who most readily appreciates the new departures which genius introduces into his art. More probably it will be the natural lover of music, the untrained ear, that is first accessible to new forms of beauty in music, forms that may at first impress the orthodox musician as ugly. We are therefore not at all annoyed or alarmed by the frequent repetitions, in the reports of American newspaper correspondents, of the statement that the streets of Moscow and Petrograd are ablaze with the most striking vagaries of cubist and futurist painting. Mr. Walter Duranty (in the *New York Times* of March 11) rather naively suggests that an obliged departure from these revolutionary activities in art was due to the necessity of producing recognizable likenesses of Lenin, Trotsky and other prominent Soviet statesmen. No doubt the historian of Russian painting will find Mr. Duranty's suggestion a fruitful one, and the world will thank the Russian Revolution for having been guided by men of sufficient prominence to require faithful portraiture.

However this may be—and we should be inclined to call it the ideological school of art history—it remains a fact that every art receives invigoration, new birth, with the advent of each new and unspoiled group that takes it up. No doubt Shaw knew that Wagner's musical genius required a different atmosphere than that of courts and ceremonies, in which to make itself felt, and no doubt the Russian people have a sense of art that is saner and healthier than that of the painter who becomes so wedded to one school as to be unable to see the life that is stirring in a new method. We do not maintain that in cubism or in futurism lies the future and the salvation of painting, but we do know that it is not a sign of weakness or of failing intellectual vigor when a city that has not enough to eat will turn out to admire the paintings with which a new school has adorned its streets.

AND this in a country that has other things to think of—in a country whose people have only since 1917 been able to provide themselves with elementary instruction in reading and writing—a country that recently was reported to have opened simultaneously 43 schools for illiterates at Petrograd. (*Manchester Guardian*, February 24)

STATEMENT OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU

March 14, 1920.

The Russian Soviet Government Bureau, in accordance with definite instructions received from the Soviet Government, will not entertain any offers from American firms or manufacturers of exports to Soviet Russia, except for railroad equipment, until such time as commercial intercourse between the United States and Russia has been fully established.

It is obvious that no trade between the two countries can be carried on with freedom and mutual representation without free communications by mail and wire and without a definite understanding between the two countries concerning the exchange of commodities and the security for all Russian funds in the United States.

STATEMENT BY A. A. HELLER DIRECTOR COMMERCIAL DEPT.

March 14, 1920.

The Commercial Department of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau has been authorized to place orders in the United States for 2,000 locomotives and the corresponding amount of railroad cars and equipment. Payment will be made in gold or its equivalent upon delivery at ports in Soviet Russia as soon as these are open to foreign trade.

On the other hand, we are instructed to place no orders whatsoever outside of this material until such time as there is a definite understanding as to the general terms permitting free commercial intercourse between Russia and the United States.

Russia's first need is to rebuild its railways in order to bring to seaports the material which has accumulated in the interior and which is available for export. Grain, timber, flax, bristles, hemp, hides, metals, etc., in large quantities are awaiting transport. Russia's determination to pay in cash or raw materials for all foreign purchases makes it necessary to bring materials to points where they will be available for inspection by foreign buyers and for export shipment.

Apart from railroad equipment Russia is prepared to get on without the very much needed supplies of shoes, clothing and articles of similar description until commercial intercourse is freely and definitely established.

Great Britain has invited a commission of representatives of the Russian Soviet Government to come to London to discuss terms of such commercial intercourse. The Entente and neutral countries are vitally interested in this discussion and are supporting it, according to best information we have. The United States is the only country that has so far not indicated its intentions in any way. It is to be hoped that such expressions favoring free and unrestricted trade with Soviet Russia will be forthcoming.

Until that time the Commercial Department is obliged to refrain from placing orders or negotiating contracts for the vast stores of products which

are held in the United States for export purposes.

Furthermore, we are obliged to discourage any attempts on the part of American firms to enter Soviet Russia in pursuit of trade. If we are correctly informed, a number of such representatives of American firms are now making attempts to get into Russia or to see the representatives of the Soviet Government at the different European capitals. The Soviet Government is not prepared to open its doors to foreign trade representatives until definite conditions of trade have been established with the countries from which they come.

STATEMENT OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU

Commercial Department

March 8th, 1920.

It is not our intention to defend the American Commercial Association to Promote Trade with Russia against criticism from the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce. But when such criticism takes the form of complete misrepresentation of conditions in Russia an answer from us is imperative.

The American-Russian Chamber of Commerce asserts "that there are no considerable stocks of raw material available for export."

An official communication from M. Litvinoff of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Government to this bureau in August last stated that the following goods were then on hand and available for immediate export: 432,000,000 lbs. of flax, 216,000,000 lbs. of hemp, large quantities of furs, bristles, hides and platinum and unlimited supplies of lumber. All reliable unofficial reports bear out this statement. For instance Thomas A. Dixon, staff correspondent of the New York Commercial, in a dispatch to that paper from London published on February 7th, says:

"Russia has more than 1,000,000 tons of wheat available for export according to an estimate made by M. Litvinoff, representative of the Soviets. Last year's harvest in Russia was the largest in 30 years. Enormous quantities of flax and hemp have also been accumulated for export and vast stocks of timber, bristles, hides, furs, cattle and platinum are ready for exportation."

The Russian-American Chamber of Commerce states that "the breakdown in transportation will for a long time preclude shipping goods to or from the interior."

The Russian railways in common with those of all the war-ruined countries of Europe are considerably demoralized. The Russian railways, however, have for over two years been transporting troops and supplies to some eighteen fighting fronts with conspicuous success. The peace which Russia desires would relieve the railways of this enormous burden. It is preposterous to assert that they could not as successfully transport goods in peace-time commerce. What deterioration the Russian railways have suffered is the strongest pos-

sible argument in favor of the resumption of trade with Russia—particularly in railroad equipment and supplies.

The Russian-American Chamber of Commerce asserts that "future interests will not be served by draining Russia of the things which the Russian people themselves imperatively need for regaining normal existence."

The slightest understanding of Russian trade shows the absurdity of this statement. Russia has always sold raw materials which lack of manufacturing facilities made useless to the Russian people and has bought manufactured articles which the people needed for their immediate use. Never in history was this condition more acute than at present. Russia for two years has been denied manufactured goods and not allowed to sell its raw materials. The Russian people can't eat furs and raw hides and they can't wear raw bristles and flax and hemp and platinum. They need and need desperately American machinery and food and clothing and medicines, and no hostile propaganda of the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce can hide this fact from the American people.

THE UNION OF THE RUSSIAN AND THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET REPUBLICS

Moscow, Feb. 2 (Radio).—The Russian and the Ukrainian Soviet Republics have just concluded a treaty with a view to the *closest cooperation* between them in the political field. National economy, food supply, social insurance, labor protection, street surface lines and railroads, post and telegraph and finances will from now on be administered for both republics by a *common commission*. Besides, a special committee has been charged by the Central Committee of Ukraine with the work of drafting as soon as possible a final basis for a *union of both Soviet republics*.

—*Die Rote Fahne*, Vienna, Feb. 3, 1920.

POLAND'S IMPRUDENCE

Poland's peace terms are to be submitted to the allies before they are sent to Moscow, and it is no doubt in their defense that Paderewski has journeyed from Switzerland to London. So much has been said of the Bolsheviki peril in Poland that the peril of reviving the old feud between Poles and Russians has perhaps had too little attention. In Poland purely nationalistic considerations have often prevailed at critical times, with disastrous results. Thus the insurrection of 1863 was at first welcomed by Russian liberals, who felt that it would be better to have in Poland a friendly neighbor than a hostile subject. But when the reactionary nationalists got the upper hand at Warsaw and refused to give the land to the serfs, Russian liberal sentiment cooled, and on the other hand the Czar was thus given a chance, of which he took full advantage, to stir up the peasants against the Polish landlords. This made suppression of the revolt easy. This temper has not altogether disappeared in Poland, which has antagonized its neighbors on all fronts without the slightest prudence; the council of premiers can do it a good service by warning it against a course which would insure Russia's enduring hostility no matter who might rule at Moscow.

—*Springfield Republican*, March 1st.

February Wireless News from Moscow

It appears from copies of Social-Demokraten, Christiania, Norway, recently received here, that that newspaper has been receiving a regular Moscow news service by wireless every day. We print below a number of these messages dated February 9, 10, and 11; in some cases there are several messages of the same date.

Moscow, February 9th

Under the heading "Peaceful Warfare," Lenin writes the following article in *Pravda*:

"The possessing and capitalist classes, whose power was overthrown by the workers and peasants of Russia, have forced a civil war lasting two years on the Russian people, with the aid of the capitalists of all countries. We are now approaching the victorious conclusion of this conflict. We have concluded peace with Esthonia, our first peace, which will soon be followed by others, and will facilitate the preparations for an exchange of goods with Europe and America. We are emerging as victors from this war that was forced upon us by the exploiters.

"In the course of these two years we have learned how to win and we *have* won. Now there will begin a new war without bloodshed. On to victory over hunger and cold, over typhus and economic collapse, over ignorance and devastation! This bloodless war has been forced upon us by the devastation which was the consequence of the three years of imperialistic warfare and two years of civil war. In order to overcome poverty, distress and hunger, as well as all that the two successive wars brought upon us, we must impress on our minds, we must take to heart completely this idea, and determine to follow consistently throughout our lives and at any cost, this principle: now that we are forced to recognize that war exists, we must wage it precisely as war is waged.

"The workers and peasants have been able, without the assistance of the capitalists and the possessing classes, to create a Red Army to oppose the capitalists and possessors. They have succeeded in defeating their exploiters. The peasants will also be able to create Red Armies for labor. They will know how to set their energies in motion, to reconstruct agricultural industry. The first and most important step in this direction consists in restoring the efficiency of transportation without delay, at any cost, with the exertion of revolutionary energy, of real will power, devotion and self-consciousness. All must fight by our side in this work: we will show that we are capable of miracles of endurance in the field of peaceful labor also, and will carry off greater victories than those we won in the war against the exploiters.

Moscow, February 10th

The meeting of the Central Executive Committee that has just closed will be a unique milestone in history. It marks the turning point from civil war and war against invasion to the new peaceful phase in economic life. Our watchword now must be: "Bread, fuel and locomotives." Our

object is to obtain foodstuffs, transportation and production.

When the peace treaty with Esthonia was still waiting for ratification by the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, the latter emphasized that this peace should be regarded as a step towards a general peace, and that the Soviet Republic had shown that peaceful and neighborly relations were possible between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois governments.

The Chairman of the Peace Delegation, Yoffe, in his report stated that Soviet Russia had now shown that it was the only true and reliable friend of the small nations. He also pointed out that the peace with Esthonia was the only "real peace of understanding that had been made in the present period. It provides neither for a victor nor for a vassal.

The chief subject of the meeting, however, was the production problem in general. The struggle against economic disorganization demands gigantic exertions, the most rigidly systematic planning, and a cast iron endurance. In the matter of the labor of social reconstruction, a heroic struggle is necessary, in which the dictatorship of the proletariat will show itself in all its power as the heroic source of production and of a new life.

Moscow, February 10th

The following item appears in *Pravda*: "We are now beginning the most serious struggle against disorganization. We are arousing the great masses of the people in this struggle. What party would be in a position to do this work, what power will be able to carry out this crusade against poverty and hunger among millions of worn out and exhausted workers,—only the Soviet power, only the Communist Party. And just as in the field of warfare, all those who have been doing the shouting must now be silent, now that they find that they have come to grief, so also will they have to be put to shame by our victories on the labor fronts. The hand of the working class is on the lever. The engine is beginning to move.

Moscow, February 10th

A series of district conferences has taken place recently for workers, peasants, Red Soldiers, and non-partisans, in which all the burning questions of Soviet reconstruction have been treated. In all these conferences, resolutions were passed, fully and unreservedly supporting the Soviet power, and also promising assistance to the Communist work in city and country.

At the first Governmental Conference of the Transport Workers' Union held at Petrograd, after the opening speech of President Tsiperovich, con-

cerning the necessity of exerting all powers, all energies in improving transportation, there was passed a resolution to the effect that the dictatorship of the proletariat can only be strengthened and completed after the restoration of transportation facilities. At the non-political conference held at Kiev, all workers were called upon to join in a united and determined adherence to their Soviet organs. The conference condemned in the most emphatic manner the agitation favoring a so-called independent existence of the trade unions. This agitation is based on the expectation that the counter-revolution will be victorious, and makes the work of the latter easier.

Moscow, February 11th

At the Economic Government Congress held at Petrograd there was discussed the question of what should be the method by which the Red Army should devote its energies to the organization of the economic life of the country. It was decided to apply the energies of the Red Army to the cutting of lumber, to the repairing of provision trains, assigning qualified soldiers to work in the repair shops, the improvement of roads and bridges, the cutting of peat, and the execution of drainage operations. The engineering troops will also be called to work.

Moscow, February 11th

The well known specialist in the field of Provisioning and Cooperatives, Chinchuk, a member of the Consumer's League of Moscow, and formerly Chairman of the Moscow Council under Kerensky, recently left the Menshevik Party in order to join the Communist Party. At the plenary session of the Moscow Soviet, held February 10th, Chinchuk presented an exhaustive report on provisioning, transportation and the erection of store houses.

In pursuance of an ordinance of the Council of Defence, the Second Army has as a whole been assigned for work associated with the reconstruction of transportation. The Seventh Red Army, which so bravely defended Petrograd, is now being utilized for obtaining and forwarding the necessary fuel.

The section for distributing special workers' clothes among the workers, which was first appointed four and a half months ago by the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions, has in the course of this time distributed an immense quantity of finished articles of clothing. About 50 per cent of the available supplies has been distributed. A number of provisions have been made to provide a possibility of hereafter distributing an even greater percentage of clothes and shoes. The plan for further work includes also the providing of hygienic and technical utensils.

DENMARK ARRESTS DENIKIN'S OFFICER

Copenhagen, January 11: (From the correspondent of Stockholms *Dagblad*).

The only remaining employee in Copenhagen of

the formerly much spoken of recruiting office for Denikin's army has now been arrested. The order to arrest was also drawn up for the other persons concerned in this business but they are already on their way to Russia and therefore will probably escape arrest.

—From Stockholms *Dagblad*, January 12.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE WITH THE RUSSIAN REFUGEES?

Apparently, with the seizure of power in Vladivostok by the zemstvos, a number of adherents of the reactionary government that had been overthrown fled on two warships to Japan. We reprint below an editorial from a Japanese daily, suggesting that the refugees be favorably treated until such time as a "stable government" in Russia—which can mean only a Soviet Government—may demand their return.

THE converted Russian cruiser *Oriyuru* and the converted gunboat *Yakutsk*, which sailed from Vladivostok on January 31st have arrived at Tsuruga, Japan. The *Oriyuru* carried the supporters of Rozanov,—officers, soldiers and their families, about 450 in number; the *Yakutsk* had about 90 refugees. The Home and Foreign Departments have been in consultation on the matter of their landing since these refugees are not supplied with passports.

Neither Japan nor any other nation has declared war on Russia, so it would be well to allow the warships to remain in Japan and to supply them with necessities. But should Russia establish a stable government and declare that these warships are in rebellion against this government, Japan must then order the ships to leave. These 550 or more refugees have no passports, and moreover most of them are officers and soldiers, so that if they land they might establish here their military headquarters. Many of them are poor and must be supported by charity extended by our nation. But in any case, individuals arriving as political refugees will be allowed to land, as has always been our custom with Chinese refugees. At the time of the great French Revolution, many people fled to England and were permitted to remain there in spite of demands on the part of the French Revolutionary Government that they be returned. It is therefore not necessary to refuse to permit them to land, for Japan is in a position to guard against any action on their part that might complicate Japan's relations with Russia. Unfortunately their number is not small, and since Japan has already received criticism on the score that she has helped the Rozanov Army, we must be very careful. But many of them are in a very needy condition and it would be morally unjust and inhumane to desert them in their difficulties. The problem is therefore quite complex, and the Government will have to consult with Russian Ambassador Klpensky when the latter has called on the Foreign Department.

—Editorial in *Asahi*, Tokyo, Japan.

A. N. Ostrovsky (1823-1886)

A DRAMATIST OF THE DARKNESS THAT HAS PASSED

By GREGORY ZILBOORG

OBVIOUSLY things are beginning to take a more human, if not a more normal, turn. After having calculated how many millions of Russians were shot by Trotzky and how many roasted babies were served to Lenin for breakfast, luncheon and dinner, the popular credulity has been worn out and no general hatred of Russia has been created: the success of Gorky's "Night Refuge", lately produced in New York by Arthur Hopkins, the great success of S. Borovsky's "Russian Izba", the creation of a Russian theatre in New York, are very suggestive events, which indicate that after all Russia remains within the scope of the contemporary man's sympathy, despite the hatred simulated by a hostile press and despite, to use a mild expression, inaccurate information. They are especially suggestive if we remember that most of these successes are created by the American press and an almost non-Russian audience.

1. It was and to a certain extent it still is considered very patriotic to hate all that is Russian: At the end of the XVIII Century Edmund Burke and William Pitt, Jr., created in England against things French a state of mind similar to that of the world to day: It was considered patriotic to disapprove of the French Revolution, very patriotic to hate all that was French, exceedingly patriotic to be in favor of fighting materially and spiritually, at home and abroad, all that suggested revolutionary France. The same has happened now with regard to Russia, and, despite this fact, interest in the Russian spirit, in Russian culture has not been suppressed!

2. When the Czar was still a ruler commanding over the Russian People with iron and blood, one used to admire Russia and discussed with delight Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky and Gorky. When he and his order passed away, Tolstoy, Andreyev, Dostoyevsky, Gorky, were forgotten for a while, as if they belonged to the Czar and not to Russia, not to anti-czarist, revolutionary Russia. But, significant enough, the world has begun to understand its blunder.

3. Despite blood and hunger, the life of Russian art and its aspirations did not stop. And yet, to stop would have been the most natural thing: *inter arma silent musae*; but in this land of heroic paradoxes something different took place; the Russian Revolution continued its progressive activities. The Soviet Government (to the astonishment of our haters everywhere) did not banish any of our old writers from the stage; Leonid Andreyev's dramas are acted now in Moscow or in Kiev as before; Pushkin, although a *hammerjunker of his majesty Czar Nicholas the First*, is still recognized as a great poet, and the most hide-bound reactionary Dostoyevsky as a novelist, a philosopher of great

genius; the famous Moscow Art Theatre of Stanislavsky is even now performing his Nicholas Stavrogin from the novel *The Obsessed*, which is a well known reactionary satire and an expression of the contempt Dostoyevsky felt for the liberals of the later seventies; and Ostrovsky, the oldest Russian realistic dramatist is still a big success on the stage in Soviet Russia. His pictures of old Russia are even now being presented to Russian audiences. Many workers' theatres are producing his plays throughout central Russia. Therefore it is of interest to note that the Russian Theatre of New York (The Bramhall Playhouse, East Twenty-Seventh Street), after having began with Kosorotov's "Dream of Love", is continuing with some of Ostrovsky's comedies.

It would be a mistake to understand the word comedy, when applied to Ostrovsky, in the sense in which it is used by the European or American public. He is not burlesque, neither is he a vaudeville maker. His comedies are realistic dramas, sometimes moral tragedies, of old Russia, of old Moscow, of the Volga district during the third quarter of the past century. There are almost no intellectuals to be found in his plays; he deals with the old, dark, somewhat cruel Russia of the merchants and the rich peasants, uncovering before us the despotic and brutal darkness of the time when autocratic czarism did its best to maintain this darkness of the heart and mind, in order to keep Russia remote from any advanced thought. The traditions of the XVI and XVII centuries were still alive 60-70 years ago in those very places where the new Russia now waves her flag of a new life, and Ostrovsky has registered with the exactness of a photographer and the brilliancy of a dramatic genius the normal suppression and oppression of those who suffered under the despotism and sometimes the savage whims of the "elders", which meant the most hypocritical monks, or nuns, the drunken "fathers" called by all the members of their family Himself. Things changed very little between those remote times and the time of the last Czar; the old-time merchant family had weakened apparently, but the idea, or rather the moral substance of it still persisted in Russian life. As before, Russia's youth was suffering in its aspirations for freedom and creation just as did the unlucky Kuligin in Ostrovsky's "Storm": He believed he had invented a *perpetuum mobile*, but nobody was interested, nobody believed him, nobody would help him; moreover, he was considered an Antichrist; as before, the woman, the average Russian woman, was under the iron heel of the theocratic and autocratic traditions—Love? Free work and cooperation? The sharing of dreams and pains with friends?

All these were considered immoral and seditious and were covered with a woof of lies and hypocrisy. The extraordinary suffering of the woman, and of all those who dared to think otherwise than the 'elders' in the Ostrovsky dramas ('The Storm', 'The Hot Heart', 'The Guiltless Guilty', 'The Girl without a Dowry') we found later to be illustrations and symbols of what was happening on a larger scale in all Russia up to the last decade with the czar as the 'oldest elder'. We must not look to Ostrovsky for specific ideas or philosophy; with these Ostrovsky was not especially concerned, as were Chekhov, or Gorky or Merezhkovsky, whose names are now familiar to the American public. Ostrovsky was one of the pioneers of the modern Russian theatre and its first dramatic genius. He lived at a time when it was too early to apply philosophies or esthetic theories to the art of stage; his task was to portray Russia, old Russia.

Ethnologists and historians are familiar with the type of the *clan* in ancient, rather primitive society, where the head of the family was an autocrat with almost unlimited power and jurisdiction; some of these traditions are still alive in the islands of the Dutch East Indies now. This same type of life Ostrovsky found in Russia despite the fact that Russia had dressed herself in a European or rather europeanized fashion. It is true that Peter the Great introduced European culture into Russia at the end of the XVIII century; his reforms, however, were mainly concerned with the creation of an aristocratic caste, with the remodeling of the old Russian privileged classes into a feudal aristocracy similar to those he had met in the courts of the European monarchs. Therefore from the moral and spiritual point of view the old semi-Asiatic moral level remained combined with the monarchical and feudalistic tendencies of Europe. Therefore again a drama of Ostrovsky is a picture condensing within the frame of a family what was characteristic of the country: A father—a czar, a crazy cruel monk—something like the official saints of the court, something like a Rasputin; Lubim—Torzov (the main character in 'Poverty is not a Vice')—like the large masses of the Russian people working day and night for those who have power and wealth and who do not care about the rest of the world.

Ostrovsky was so great an artist, with such a deep and keen intuition of truth, that he could not help seeing Russia and her old forces as they were, even had he had a social bias of his own. But it would mean to create an incomplete impression of Ostrovsky, should we limit ourselves to what has been said above.

He was not only a master when painting the darkness of old Russia which has passed away. He paints also, with a masterful penetration into the depth of one's soul, powerful figures of protest. There is Neznamov (The Guiltless Guilty) an unrecognized member of a society of old merchants, an artist, a fine spirit, but considered an outcast. He fights their prejudices, denounces their stupidity and darkness. There are Kudriash and Varvara, a

cheerful couple from *The Storm*, who laugh in the face of the old life while playing on a *balalaika* and singing songs of love and freedom in the darkness of the night, in a shadowy orchard full of the ghosts of the dying forest of the past. It is worthy of note that Ostrovsky's protestants, his fighters, victors of the future are sympathetic, honest young people, "people from the soil", according to a Russian saying: the poor man from the city, the worker in a factory, and other such. Common people, not the lazy drunkards who "give orders", who require obedience to the "will of their left foot," as Ostrovsky says in one of his dramas.

It may seem to many to be an historical paradox to find Red Russia established in the very Moscow of Ostrovsky's plays. The change came sooner than many expected—but it came.

And the importance of Ostrovsky, aside from his wonderful artistic achievements, is that of an immortal picture of the recent past to which there is no return.

The Russian Theatre in New York did well to play Ostrovsky; Kolchak, Denikin, "loyal Russia", all these curious incidents would be better and sooner appreciated if the large public were acquainted with Ostrovsky. What and how is the theatre doing its work—that is a thing that still remains to be seen. He must be played in the most careful and accurate manner. Ostrovsky must be considered as the most difficult dramatist to play now. In Russia there were only two or three actors and one or two theatres who were able to play his comedies adequately. Of these only the old Davidov still survives, together with some of the cast of the Moscow Little Theatre, which is until now the best theatre in Russia, after Stanislavsky's. It is now directed by a committee of actors and carries on its shoulders the burden of presenting to the new social order the old scenes of the past.

22ND OF JANUARY CELEBRATED

The anniversary of the murder of unarmed workers on January 22, 1905, was observed at Petrograd. At the Alexander Column in the market place in front of the Winter Palace, a speaker's stand had been erected, decorated with flowers and foliage as well as with flags. At 11 o'clock the combined Proletkult and Archangel choruses sang a song in memory of the victims as well as a cantata specially prepared for this day. After a speech by Zinoviev, the participants marched to the Nikolai railroad station. At the head of this procession was a detachment of students in the courses given at the Cavalry School. Some of those taking part went to the Churchyard of the Transfiguration, where Zinoviev delivered another speech in memory of the victims.

—*Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, Feb. 9, 1920.

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Nationalization of Agriculture

By N. BOGDANOV

"Economic Life," November 7, 1919.

THE nationalization of agriculture is one of the most complicated problems of the Socialist Revolution, and perhaps in no other country is this problem as complex as in Soviet Russia.

At the time when the decree on Socialist land management was made public, the fundamental elements of nationalization had hardly begun to take shape: the territory affected by nationalization was by no means defined; there was not the personnel necessary for the creation and enforcement of any plan concerning production; the large masses of laborers hardly understood the idea of nationalization and in some instances were hostile to the measures by means of which the Soviet power was carrying out the program of nationalization.

In order to summarize the results of the work, which began on a nation-wide scale in March, 1919, and to estimate these results, one must first realize the conditions which formed the starting point for the work of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture at the time when it began carrying out the nationalization of agriculture.

The extent of the capitalist heritage which our organized Soviet estates now have at their disposal amounts to 615,503 desyatins of arable land, situated in the Soviet provinces, and formerly in the hands of private owners; 85 per cent. of the arable land, which formerly belonged to the landed aristocracy was taken over for the purpose of both organized and non-organized distribution, — chiefly the latter.

The equipment of the various estates was diminished and destroyed to no less an extent. Instead of the 386,672 privately owned horses registered in the Soviet provinces according to the census of 1916, the Soviet estates in the hands of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture received 23,149 horses — a number hardly sufficient for one-third of the area under cultivation belonging to the Soviet estates.

Of the 290,969 cows, only 43,361 came into the possession of the Soviet estates.

The entire number of horses and cows will yield sufficient fertilizer for only 13,000 desyatins of fallow land, i. e., about 10 per cent. of the area intended to be converted into arable land.

The supply of agricultural machinery and implements was in the same condition.

The Soviet estates had almost no stock of provisions. The workers were either compelled to steal or to desert for places where bread was more abundant.

The winter-corn was sown in the fall of 1918 on very limited areas (not over 25 per cent. of the fallow land), very often without fertilizer, with a very small quantity of seeds to each desyatin. In

13 out of 36 Soviet¹ provinces (governments) no winter-corn has been sown at all.

A considerable portion of the estates taken over by the People's Commissariat of Agriculture could not be utilized due to the lack of various accessories, such as harness, horseshoes, rope, small instruments, etc.

The workers were very fluctuating, entirely unorganized, politically inert—all this due to the shortage of provisions and organization. The technical forces could not get used to the village; besides, we did not have sufficient numbers of agronomists (agricultural experts) familiar with the practical organization of large estates. The regulations governing the social management of land charged the representatives of the industrial proletariat with a leading part in the work of the Soviet estates. But, torn between meeting the various requirements of the Republic, of prime importance, the proletariat could not with sufficient speed furnish the number of organizers necessary for agricultural management.

The idea of centralized management on the Soviet estates has not been properly understood by the local authorities, and the work of organization from the very beginning had to progress amid bitter fighting between the provincial Soviet estates and the provincial offices of the Department of Agriculture. This struggle has not as yet ceased.

Thus, the work of nationalizing the country's agriculture began in the spring, i. e. a half a year later than it should have, and without any definite territory (every inch of it had to be taken after a long and strenuous siege on the part of the surrounding population); with insufficient and semi-ruined equipment; without provisions; without an apparatus for organization and without the necessary experience for such work; with the agricultural workers engaged in the Soviet estates lacking any organization whatever.

Naturally, the results of this work are not impressive.

According to our preliminary calculations, we are to gather in the fall of this year a crop of produce totaling in the 2,524 Soviet estates as follows.

	Poods	Area in Desyatins
Winter crop	1,798,711	----- 34,000
Spring corn	4,765,790	----- 97,720
Potatoes	16,754,900	----- 23,754
Vegetables, approximately	4,500,000	poods
(area under cultivation 4,659 desyatins).		

In a number of provinces the crops are insufficient. Of the winter corn we received only a little over what was required for seed; (for the consumption of the workers of the Soviet estates).

The Soviet estates are almost everywhere suffi-

ciently supplied with seeds for the spring-crops.

The number of horses used on the Soviet estates has been increased through the additional purchase of 12,000 to 15,000.

The number of cattle has also been somewhat increased.

The Soviet estates are almost completely supplied with agricultural implements and accessories, both by having procured new outfits from the People's Commissariat for Provisioning and by means of energetic repair work on the old ones.

The foundation has been laid (in one-half of the provinces sufficiently stable foundations) for the formation of an organizational machinery for the administration of the Soviet estates.

Within the limits of the Soviet estates the labor union of agricultural proletariat has developed into a large organization.

In a number of provinces the leading part in the work of the Soviet estates has been practically assumed by the industrial proletariat, which has furnished a number of organizers, whose reputation has been sufficiently established.

Estimating the results of the work accomplished, we must admit that we have not as yet any fully nationalized rural economy. But during the eight months of work in this direction, all the elements for its organization have been accumulated.

We have strengthened our position in regard to supplies, having been enabled not only to equip more efficiently the Soviet estates (2524) already included in our system of organization, but also to nationalize, during the season of 1920, 1012 additional Soviet estates, with an area of 972,674 desyatins. The combined area of the nationalized enterprises will probably amount in 1920 to about 2,000,000 desyatins within the boundaries of the present Soviet territory.

A preliminary familiarity with individual estates and with agricultural regions makes it possible to begin the preparation of a national plan for production on the Soviet estates and for a systematic attempt to meet the manifold demands made on the nationalized estates by the agricultural industries: sugar, distilling, chemical, etc., as well as by the country's need for stock breeding, seeds, planting and other raw materials.

The greatest difficulties arise in the creation of the machinery of organization. The shortage of agricultural experts is being replenished with great difficulty, for the position of the technical personnel of the Soviet estates, due to their weak political organization, is extremely unstable. The mobilization of the proletarian forces for the work in the Soviet estates gives us ground to believe that in this respect the spring of 1920 will find us sufficiently prepared.

The ranks of proletarian workers in the Soviet estates are drawing together. True, the level of their enlightenment is by no means high, but "in union there is strength" and this force if properly utilized will rapidly yield positive results.

In order to complete the picture of the agricultural work for the past year we are citing the

following figures: the total expenditures incurred on the Soviet estates and on account of their administration up to January 1st, 1920, is estimated to amount to 924,347,500 roubles. The income, if the products of the Soviet estates are considered at firm prices, amounts to 843,372,343 roubles.

Thus, the first, the most difficult year has ended without a deficit if one excludes a part of the liabilities which are to be met during a number of years (the horses and implements).

Of course, it is not the particular experience which the workers possess that has caused the favorable balance of the Soviet estates, this being mainly due to the fact that the productive work in the realm of agriculture under modern conditions is a business not liable to loss.

And this is natural: industry in all its forms depends upon the supply of fuel, raw material and food. Nationalized rural economy has an inexhaustible supply of solar energy—a fuel supply independent of transportation or the blockade.

The fundamental element of production—land—does not demand any "colonial" means of restoration of its productivity. And as to provisions. This we get from the earth under the sun!

After 8 months of work on the nationalization of our rural economy, as a result of two years of titanic struggle on the part of the proletariat for the right to organize the Socialist industries with its own hands,—is it not high time to admit that the most expedient, most far-sighted, and correct method to stabilize the Soviet power would be to use the greatest number of organized proletarian forces for the work of nationalizing our agriculture?

LIFE OF THE WORKERS IN THE URALS

The *Economic Life* publishes full and exact data of the workers' life in the Urals. Although the bourgeoisie, when they fled, attempted to paralyze the production of all industries, they succeeded only partially, owing to resistance on the part of the workers. The endeavor of the workers to increase production is so great that in many industries the production surpasses that of 1914. Also, the communist settlements already flourish in the Urals and many bridges destroyed by the bourgeoisie are all repaired now. The enthusiasm with which the workers undertook to reconstruct the destroyed economic life is a good guarantee for the future.

A DANISH COMMISSION GOES TO SOVIET RUSSIA

Taking advantage of the journey of the Danish Red Cross to Soviet Russia, it is reported from Copenhagen that a Commercial Commission is also to be sent to Russia, with the consent of the Soviet Government, in order to examine into the possibility of resumption of the Danish-Russian trade by investigations on the spot. The Danish steamship companies are particularly anxious to undertake a regular freight service to Reval and later to Petrograd, utilizing Danish bottoms.

The Mensheviki and the Soviet Government

The Moscow Committee of the Russian Socialist International Labor Party of Which Martov is the Head, Has Issued the Following Appeal:

Workers and Laborers of Moscow!

For two years Soviet Russia has been struggling with innumerable enemies, who are falling upon Russia from all sides. It is a life-and-death struggle between World Imperialism, which sees its end approaching, and Soviet Russia, arisen out of the first of the World War. And difficult though our position may be at this moment, weary of the struggle though our workers may be, we can openly say that we are *stronger* than the enemy, we shall *not* surrender our positions, the workers will *not* renounce their achievements.

The Russian workers and peasants, who went through the Revolution of 1905, which they brought to a successful conclusion in February 1917, and who finally, two years ago, were the first people of the world to break the power of the bourgeoisie and became the permanent masters of their fate, will not care to return to the dark past, they will not relinquish the political power, now that they have won it, they will not permit the old lackeys of the Czarist regime again to become slaveholders.

Every class-conscious worker knows what terror the victory of Denikin, Yudenich, Von der Goltz, and all the other native and foreign counter-revolutionaries would bring upon us—thousands upon thousands of corpses, thousands of violated women, the senseless slaughter of the entire Jewish population, thousands of gallows, upon which would hang all those who have served the interests of the workers and peasants. And, behind these wild, blood-thirsty hordes march the manufacturers and landowners. They would once more seize possession of the factories and the land. They will drive the workers who are left alive back to the dark and damp cellar dwellings, they will bring back the old times of the Czar. They, these slaves, who formerly called themselves patriots, will take from the workers and peasants the last they have, take their goods to pay their foreign benefactors, the French and English capitalists, for their favors.

The Entente, forced to withdraw the troops they had sent against us, because the workers of its lands demanded it, now place their hopes upon Denikin, Yudenich, and those Social-traitors who, like Burtzev, Savinkov, and Alexinski, are in their service. The Entente imperialists feed our counter-revolution with war-material and money, and in payment they take away Ukraine's grain and buy up coal and metal mines, forests, and raw materials. Denikin is selling this property of the people for decades to come, in gratitude for the services rendered him.

Can a worker, can an honest citizen place faith in the deception our enemies are sowing? *No, in these days there must be none that stand aside. Everyone must take part with all his strength in*

the defense of Soviet Russia, for in defending it he is defending *himself*. In these days there must be no doubtings, in the ranks of the workers harmony must rule.

Great though mistakes of those may be who stand at the head of our Soviet Republic, we must all unite and form a unified Soviet front against bourgeois reaction. The enemy stands before the gates, and therefore all, despite their differences of opinion must *stand together with the Communists* and materially and morally support the Soviet Government and the Red Army. For the victory of Denikin would mean our downfall, the strengthening of world reaction, and the re-establishment of all that has been overthrown with the Czarism.

The end of world imperialism is near. The Entente countries are no longer agreed among themselves. The ring of the blockade will soon be broken that is now strangling us. In our own hands lies our fate. We must fight for it and win it!

The Moscow Committee of the Russian Socialist International Labor Party.

ON THE PEACE WITH ESTHONIA

The following interesting data concerning the peace that has just been concluded between Soviet Russia and Esthonia was recently telegraphed from Moscow to Vienna:

A leading article in *Izvestia* by Steklov deals with the peace treaty signed with Esthonia and says that this means the first breach that has been cut in the diplomatic blockade-ring with which the bourgeoisie of the whole world has tried to surround the Soviet power. Now our task has become easier, for the other powers, now that this has been accomplished, already show greater inclination to inaugurate amicable relations with the Soviet Government, which has always expressed its peaceful intentions and its readiness for peace with all peoples, simultaneously recognizing their right to self-determination. As even the Entente has a proletariat, and as this proletariat is sympathetic to Soviet Russia, the Entente will manifestly not be able for long to oppose the desire of its peoples for a realization of peace with Soviet Russia.

Among the small states, only the aristocratic Government of Poland cherishes any special hostility to the Soviet power. The liberal press in London, to be sure, rightfully emphasizes that the Poles would be ready to make peace with the Soviet Republic if their Government had not fallen into the hands of imperialists friendly to the Entente. The peace with Esthonia deals a mortal blow to the contention of the Entente agents that the Soviet Government plans to make foreign conquests.

Folkets Dagblad Politiken, Feb. 9, 1920.

Scandinavian Workers Acting for Russia

A Week of Agitation Declared for February 15-22, by the Scandinavian Central Committee.

To the Revolutionary and Socialist Workers of Scandinavia:

The Russian proletariat has victoriously thrown back the onslaught of the world reaction against the Soviet republic. Neither through military might nor through the hunger blockade have the Entente Powers succeeded in crushing the Russian Workers' Revolution. In view of the hopelessness of attaining their ends by such base and criminal means, the Entente has been obliged to seek a new path, and the decision of the Supreme Council reported a few weeks ago, to raise the blockade, is evidence that world capitalism, whose inevitable collapse is now proceeding at a rapid pace, is finding itself obliged to seek a peaceful settlement with Soviet Russia.

The policy of the Entente however has displayed such unclarity and treachery that it may well be assumed that such a measure, proceeding from such a quarter, is a mere camouflage, calculated to allay dissatisfaction among their own working classes. In order to force capitalistic Europe to advance further on the path it has now entered, the proletariat of all countries must therefore exert all its powers to emphasize the demand for general peace and for a resumption of political as well as commercial relations with Soviet Russia.

The workers of Scandinavia in carrying out this action are not only discharging an inexorable duty of international solidarity with the Russian proletariat, whose heroic struggle has been and still remains a struggle for the common cause of the working class of all the world, but they are also deeply interested, from an economic standpoint, in pressing the demand for a reopening of the relations. Russia offers an immense market for Scandinavian industrial products and from this land we can acquire raw materials for our industries. Just at this moment, when the general European crisis has had such a serious reaction even on the economic situation of the northern countries, an exchange of goods with Russia would be likely to better conditions to a very great degree, and not the less within the metal industry where a very serious conflict is about to ensue in Sweden.

In view of these facts, we herewith admonish the Socialistic and revolutionary workers of Scandinavia to inaugurate at once an energetic campaign in favor of Soviet Russia. We suggest that the week of February 15-22 be devoted to meetings, demonstrations and other means of exerting pressure in this direction. The following things must be demanded:

1. General peace;
2. Complete lifting of the blockade;
3. Resumption of diplomatic and commercial relations; and also
4. Collections must be taken up to increase the subscriptions that have already been gath-

ered for the purchase of medicine for Soviet Russia.

Comrades! Let the Scandinavian working class make its voice heard and make its will felt so emphatically, that the Governments of other countries will have to yield and thus remove the stain which has marred our peoples because of their participation in the dishonorable struggle against the liberated Russian nation.

Central Committee for the Revolutionary and Socialist Workers
Organizations of Scandinavia.

WORKERS COMMITTEE.

—*Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, Jan. 31.

PETROGRAD'S STRENGTH NOT EXTINGUISHED IN THE REVOLUTION.

(A letter of the Finnish Comrade Yrjö Sirola from Petrograd)

I write you with a feeling of relief. Petrograd's salvation from imminent disaster resembles a miracle. But the miracles of the Revolution are not divine, they are cruelly realistic. Thousands of the best, of those indispensable to the future, have had to give their lives for Socialism. Never during the civil war had the fighting been as hard. True, the best on both sides fell. But what a difference! The counts and princes waged the last fight in the officers' battalions with desperate class-consciousness. Against the wall of the Communist battalions their attack with automatic rifles, machine guns, and tanks broke down. On the height of Pulkovo, the entrance to the red metropolis, the tide was turned. Now they have been driven off in wild flight.

Petrograd breathes more easily. Yet the work of defense is not held up for a moment. You ought to see the fortress! The squares and streets have been transformed into trenches, into walls with barbed-wire fences. The "cradle of the Revolution" may fall, but it will not surrender. For us who were brought up under petty-bourgeois conditions, all this is a dark terror. The psychology of struggle is not innate with us, it has to be taught us. For the modern man death holds no terror; the difficult art of dying consists in selling one's life as dearly as possible.

There is nothing wonderful about victory. The question of victory or defeat is a question of *power*, is not least of all a question of technique. But *never* can a whole land be destroyed root and branch. The wonderful thing is the social sense of duty of the working class, which constantly produces new forces out of itself. In fact, some time ago the workers of Petrograd were ready to believe that they were at the end of their strength. And just recall all that they gave: The signal consisted in the street fighting at Petrograd; then, despite the contrary advice of the Mensheviks and the

Social-Revolutionaries, they created a Red Army, in the summer of 1918. They themselves were its nucleus. How many men were sent by Petrograd as workers' battalions to the Ural, the Don, etc. The Petrograd workers are the backbone of the Soviet organization of the land, and with those extremely limited abilities that capital under the slave-whip of the Czar had given the workers—often no more than the directing sense of class instinct, these emissaries perform their difficult task in the most backward regions of European Russia. How often are they misunderstood, how often opposed by reactionary peasant masses!

But already from this seed the fruit is shooting up. The advance of the counter revolution has opened the eyes of the peasants. They now offer voluntarily what is required, arrest deserters, and see to it that the latter return to the front. Characteristic is the story of a regiment that I became acquainted with this summer. First the men were counter-revolutionary in sentiment, now they are the best regiment. Without fear they face the fire; enthusiastically the commissary reports their valiant behavior. While still in the heat of battle they already try to convince their captured class-comrades of their foolishness.

I need hardly mention the Finnish comrades here, for Mr. Yudenich has no doubt advertised them enough. They go into it with all their spirit.

With joy we note the beginnings of dissolution in "white" Finland. Conscious of the fact that Russia is sacrificing her best powers, while in the west the Revolution is moving at a snail's pace, I close with this admonition to you: Never forget that *Marxism is not just a doctrine or theory*, that it never was a policy of standing by and looking on. For us who have found a home and hearth within the working class there is but one watchword: Passivity is death; life is only in struggle.

Greeting from the battlefield to you, the coming fighters for the Revolution for Communism!

Yours,
YRJO SIROLA.

FOR THE RUSSIAN PRISONERS IN FRANCE

PRISONERS! This word, already sad enough in itself becomes all the more tragic when it is used to refer to soldiers from a country on which war has never been declared.

Thus, the appeal for the "Russian Prisoners," published by *Le Populaire*, has had the effect of all moving manifestations, which prove that one never appeals in vain to the heart of the people. Is it possible to read the following letter without emotion:

Having read in your issue of Tuesday, the 6th, that you intend to open a subscription in favor of the Russian prisoners in France, kindly permit two little girls, who have adopted a Russian as a big brother, to offer you the amount of their Christmas presents, equal to ten francs.

I hope that our little mite will provide some comfort for

all those poor unfortunates who are awaiting the liberation of their dear country.

With the hope that you will not think ill of our little offering, kindly accept, Sir, our respectful salutations.

JEANNE ET LUCETTE BALBLANC.

P. S.—I also am asking you whether you can send us any books printed in Russian. They are for my big brother who is indoors and who is bored in the evenings because he has nothing to read in his mother tongue.

We shall send to Jeanne and Lucette Balblanc all that they have asked for their big brother.

With all our heart we thank our two little friends for their charming gift.

"A Widow," whose subscription of five francs has come to this office, asks us whether we also will receive gifts of materials.

Le Populaire will eagerly receive such gifts and will forward them to the parties concerned.

And, once more, thank you all.

—FANNY CLAR.

THE YUDENICH ATROCITIES

UTRO writes the following about the advance on Gatchina:

The generals of Yudenich were hanging, shooting and persecuting people without limit.

For instance, the commander of the Lieven regiment—Diderov, amused himself by hanging soldiers of the Red Guard on birch trees.

Commander Balakhowitz acted in the same way.

There is not to be found a birch tree in the forests to the North without a Red Guard soldier in a night-shirt hanging from it.

At the time of the advance, in October, 800 sailors—communists were taken out from the Red Army.

The Soviet authorities were notified and they are of course making use of these facts to incite the people against the "whites."

SUBSCRIPTION BLANK

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The undersigned herewith sends { check
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Signature-----

Address-----

Litvinov's Appointment as Chief Representative of the Co-operatives

A Telegram Which Confirms the Election of the Representative for the Russian Co-operative Organizations

The following wireless telegram was forwarded on February 2nd by the Central Executive Committee of the Co-operative Organizations at Moscow, to its representatives Berkuchev and Morozov in London:

The Central Executive Committee of the Co-operative Organizations has received from the Soviet Government full power and authorization to export raw materials in exchange for tools absolutely necessary for Russia. The Central Executive of the Co-operative Organization unites with itself all the co-operative organizations in Russia and constitutes their business center. In accordance with the communication of the Soviet Government to the Central Executive Committee of the Co-operative Organizations, your representatives will obtain permission to enter Russia and receive instructions as to the route they are to follow, which will be given after application is made to Litvinov in Copenhagen. The Administrative Section of the Central Executive Committee of the Co-operative Organizations is in doubt whether the insufficiently authorized cooperators whom you have proposed will be able to advance the organization of commercial relations. The Central Executive Committee of the Cooperative Organizations therefore con-

siders it to be more practical to send out its own representatives, independently of your delegation, and provided with the necessary instructions as well as with very broad discretionary powers. The Central Executive Committee of the Cooperative Organizations is of the opinion that its delegation must obtain permission to leave Russia as well as guarantees for an unimpeded return to that country. Simultaneously with forwarding your answer by wireless please forward it also to Litvinov in Copenhagen, who has been appointed by the Central Executive Committee of the Cooperative Organizations to be chairman of the delegation above mentioned. In appointing Litvinov as its representative, who is at present in Copenhagen, the Administrative Section had in view the beginning of exchanges of Russian raw materials for foreign goods as soon as possible, without waiting for the delegation and avoiding all delays based upon negotiations by wireless, and meetings of the Administrative Section after receiving such wireless messages. (Signed)

ALEZHAVA, *Chairman of the Administrative Section.*

KOROBV, *Vice-chairman of the Section.*

The Next Number of "Soviet Russia"

WILL APPEAR

Next Saturday, March 27, 1920

and will contain among other items the following:

1. MOTHER AND CHILD IN SOVIET RUSSIA. (A Discussion of an Important Phase of Social Welfare Work.)
2. G. ZINOVIEV: The Cradle of the Revolution (a glowing tribute to the city of Petrograd and to its men and women workers, who have done so much for the saving of the Russian Soviet Republic).
3. February Wireless Messages from Moscow (of which the specimen in the present issue will give the reader some idea).
4. Interesting material from recent Japanese, French, German and Swedish newspapers, on Russia.
5. POLAND AND RUSSIA (items of interest on this important problem).
6. G. ZILBOORG: Constantinople and the Allies.

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The Cradle of the Revolution

By G. ZINOVIEV

IN Petrograd the banner of insurrection was first raised, both in 1905 and again in March and November 1917. In all three revolutions the first place is due to Petrograd.

Nowhere in Russia was the pulse of the proletarian struggle so strong as in Petrograd. I remember my first impression on returning to Petrograd in the Spring of 1917 after eight years of exile. I felt as if I had just fallen into a boiling cauldron, situated in the very center of the class struggle. All around me the proletarian was raging; passions ran high and I felt the hour approach when the class struggle would blaze up in its sharpest form—as a civil war.

Through all these periods Petrograd has stood at the head of all Russia; it has always had a lead of several months. And it has happened to—that the Petrograd of the proletariat has had to retard its steps in order that the more sluggish reserves should have time to catch up with it. This was the case both before and after the November revolution. Tell me a single city in all of Russia, yes, in all the world, that has suffered so much, has borne so many trials as did Red Petrograd in the years 1917-1919. Famine, three evacuations, thrice repeated onslaughts by the butchers of the revolution, assassinations of the leaders of the workers (Volodarsky, Uritsky), conspiracies of social revolutions both of the right and of the left variety, the treason at Krasnya-Gorka—so many misfortunes that it is impossible even to begin to enumerate them!

And yet, in spite of all, Petrograd held out even on that last occasion when the city was threatened by Yudenich; and on the second anniversary

of the proletarian revolution Petrograd stands stronger than ever before. Death, hunger, misfortunes, all these things have merely hardened the heroic proletarian spirit of the people of Petrograd.

Petrograd has a Providence of its own. For 25 years great masses of workers have been gathering in this city. Here they have been boiled in the cauldron of the workshop, they have steeled their spirit and proclaimed themselves as the advance guard of the workers' Russia.

But, on the other hand, it was in Petrograd also that for many, many decades there was trained a bureaucracy, there were gathered whole camps of bourgeois and semi-bourgeois persons. Nowhere in the world was there such a gathering of old bureaucratic elements to be found. Nowhere were there so much of the cream of the bourgeoisie, the landed proprietors, and the plutocracy. And of these bourgeois bureaucratic elements there still remain occasional traces even after the two year period of the proletarian revolution. The iron mill of the revolution has done exceedingly good work.

In general we may say that the proletarian revolution has been victorious and that the proletarian spirit hovers over this suffering city, which is imposing even in spite of its suffering.

The proletarian genius has carried off its greatest moral victory. The harder, the more gloomy were the times through which Petrograd was obliged to live, the greater was the moral energy displayed by the Petrograd proletariat. As if they had sprung from nowhere, new forces constantly appeared, and the workers of Petrograd emerged victorious from all their accumulated difficulties

and misfortunes. Petrograd is a remarkable city. It is really a city that stands high on the hill. Like a beacon, Petrograd sheds its light over all the thinking workers and peasants of Russia.

Take a walk through the streets and market places of Petrograd and you can really see that every stone is a piece of Russian revolutionary history.

Just look here at the courtyard of the Winter Palace where the events of the Bloody Sunday took place in January, 1905. And then—the Winter Palace itself, against which tens of thousands of Petrograd's noblest proletarians advanced to the attack in November, 1917. Look also at the Tauride Palace and now the Uritzky Palace—formerly the seat of the Black Hundred Duma, from which the Constituent Assembly of melancholy memory was cast out. Here it was also that on July 3, 1917, the first Bolshevik majority was formed among the Workers' Delegates to the Soviet Congress. And here, behind the Narva Custom House, is the building in which the Communist Party of Russia in August, 1917, held its six semi-legal meetings. Here are the junkers' schools (in Russia the word junker means young military cadet, and not as in Germany an agrarian reactionary), from which as a base, the young cadets, in hiding, attempted to assassinate the revolution. And behold, here at last is Smolny Institute, the world's most important headquarters staff of the proletarian revolution. And it seems as if in its great hall still can be clearly heard the echo of the historical speeches that once were held there. . . .

How many times have our enemies not "conquered" Red Petrograd! A score of times the English and French wireless stations announced to the world that the Finnish butchers had already conquered Petrograd. A score of times the world's greatest geniuses, within the bourgeoisie, elaborated the most brilliant plans to occupy Petrograd. Twice the enemy's hordes had approached to within 30 versts of Petrograd and each time there emerged from the gigantic struggle against these great masses of enemies the indomitable, proud, red sons of Petrograd, who had devoted the last energy of their muscles to secure the victory.

Two hundred and eighty thousand workers have left Petrograd within the year after following the November revolution. Where did they go? The overwhelming majority went to the numerous fronts. Thousands and thousands of warriors, Petrograd's workers, have lowered their heads in defiance on the various fronts in the struggle for Communism. Tens of thousands of other Petrograd workers have traveled out to the provinces. They are there carrying out a great cultural and educational labor. Among the chairmen of the average committees, among the leaders of the executive committees of the communes, you will most often find a worker from Petrograd. It is he who has brought light to the provinces, he who became the leader of the remote Russian towns buried in

their snow drifts, towns that are to be wakened to a new life; and it is to these that Petrograd owes the affection with which all Soviet Russia looks to it. We may say without exaggeration: "Petrograd is the beloved bride of the Workers' and Peasants' Russia."

For two years the cars loaded with grain have not ceased their journeys to Petrograd. Grain has been gathered by the teaspoon in far off Siberia along the Volga and in central Russia. To the children of the workers of Petrograd gifts have been sent from all the other regions of Russia; often the senders of these gifts are surrendering their last few crumbs. The word: "For the Workers of Petrograd" works like a charm. Whenever a man of the first rank among the Petrograd workers appears anywhere in the country—on the front, on the railroad line, anywhere where a question that has any importance for Soviet Russia must be disposed of, a sudden energy is immediately imparted into the proceedings.

Surrounded on all sides by enemies, the hungry and harassed Petrograd with one hand waves aside all onslaughts, while with the other it continues its labor of constructing the new life of the country. It was Petrograd which was the first city which set up a gigantic mechanism for social provisioning, which now already serves 1,000,000 persons. The dinner portions which are distributed are poor and dreadfully small, but it will not always be thus. To have achieved a daily distribution of one million dinners is already a fine piece of practical socialism. It was Petrograd which first enrolled women in masses in administrative life. The heroic struggle of the Petrograd workers has profoundly stirred up the broadest sections of the female proletariat. Tens of thousands of proletarian women are struggling consciously in our ranks. Tens of hundreds of excellent administrators have already been drawn from the lowest ranks of the working women of Petrograd. There is not a branch of the life of the state in which the Petrograd women have not taken part. It was Petrograd that first armed nearly a thousand women and placed them as militia for the protection of the great city.

It was Petrograd that first assigned hundreds and hundreds of working women to the hospitals to take care of the wounded soldiers, and that appointed them to control the most important institutions of social welfare, etc.

It was against our city of insurrection that our enemies therefore directed their most savage attacks. Korniloff led his troops against Petrograd; Kerensky gathered his divisions to conquer Petrograd. In September, 1917, the social traitors were already shouting through the mouth of their leader, the sadly notorious A. Potresov, in wild and vehement articles that "an end must be put to Petrograd."

The revolutionary workers of Petrograd frustrated this infernal plan of their enemies.

In an English newspaper I recently read an article in which it was stated that Petrograd "was to a certain extent a fetish for the Bolsheviks." The conquest of Petrograd would, the article said, decapitate the Bolsheviks.

This English bourgeois paper was not entirely wrong. Of course Petrograd is not exactly a "fetish" for us; of course the revolutionary proletarians have not and cannot have any fetishes. But Red Petrograd, the great producer of insurrection, the first city of the proletarian revolution, cradle of the third international, is truly the most precious city for us.

And Petrograd is by no means a "relic" for us as was written some time ago by one of the less far sighted adherents of the Soviet power. We defend Petrograd and we must defend it, not only as a historical monument to the revolution, as a city to which we owe much for what it has done in the past. No, Petrograd even now remains the flaming heart of Soviet Russia. Petrograd is still the inexhaustible fountain for the most skilled representatives of the proletarian advance guard; Petrograd at this moment is the center of the proletarian struggle. Petrograd is still supplying Soviet Russia with the most able leaders for the working class. Even now, in the poorest period of its industrial life Petrograd must still be considered as the most important furnisher to the Red Army.

Petrograd approaches the second anniversary of dream may become a reality.

the proletarian revolution in a particularly difficult position. But the Petrograd proletarian has not yet lost, and will not lose his brisk spirit. The wild gusts of storm have not cast us down, nor will the cold autumn extinguish our courage—that is what the workers—men and women—of Petrograd say to themselves.

On the Southern front the situation is grave (this danger has now been past for three months). What must we do? Let us be the first to rush forward there where the danger is greatest; let us be the first to rush forward and with our breasts defend the dictatorship of the proletariat and thus carry with us and lead on in our advance the workers of the other cities and admonish the whole Russia of the peasants and workers to wage these hard fights with us and press them to a brilliant victory.

There are no better proletarians than the workers of Petrograd! There is not a finer city than Red Petrograd! I know scores of worn out proletarians who literally are in love with Petrograd, and several to whom a separation from Petrograd would be as hard as a separation from one's beloved. These old proletarian men and their young brothers in arms have a secret dream: once we have come out victorious from the civil war, we will move back the capital of Russia to Petrograd.

Let us hope that when we celebrate the *third* anniversary of the workers' revolution that this

Military Review

Political and Strategical Reflections

By LT. COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

Washington, D. C., March 18, 1920.

THE sudden outburst of revolution in Germany naturally has greatly affected the military situation in Russia. First of all the success of the German proletariat will necessarily make a great impression on the proletarian masses in Poland, thus confusing the general military situation of the Polish army. According to the recent dispatches from Poland a general strike is spreading throughout the country, and the news from upper Silesia of March 17th, says that a rising of a Bolshevik character at Warsaw and other parts of Poland is in full progress, (*N. Y. Times*, March 18, 1920).

Therefore, we can accept without any hesitation the fact that the rear of the Polish army in Russia is disorganized and consequently Polish strategy is paralyzed and unable to carry out its original plan. Henceforth the Russian general staff has a free hand for action against the Polish army to force it to fall back beyond its frontier line. From a purely military point of view there is no probability that the Poles in view of the present military and political situation in Europe, will be able to remain in Russia or even to offer normal resistance to the advancing Red Army.

It is doubtful whether the Allies will succeed in supporting the Polish reactionaries, and I venture to say that the Allies will not be able to save Pilsudsky's armies from disaster.

I have always maintained that Poland must make peace with Russia in order to prevent useless bloodshed, but now the situation has changed and peace will be concluded, however, not with Pilsudsky's Poland, but with the real Poland—Soviet Poland. In the *New York Call* of March 17th, I expressed my conviction that a revolution was already under way in Poland* and that the salvation of that country lay only in the adoption of a Soviet Government and a defensive alliance with Russia.

The latest message from Warsaw, five days delayed, contains only a rehash of an earlier alleged victory of the Poles in the region of Mozir. The Moscow wireless has never suppressed defeats sustained by the Red Army, yet no such defeats have been reported. On the contrary, we are permitted to read a flash from Moscow, saying "The advance of our troops continues on the Mogilev-Podolsk front," and this was as early as March 12th. This proves

* The *New York Call* of March 18, 1920.

that the Polish army has been thrown back in a disastrous rout somewhere between the Pripet marshes and the Lithuanian frontier, following a battle fought in the vicinity of Bobruisk. And such was the situation even when Germany did not show any signs of military uprising, and when there was still fear that imperialistic Germany might support the Poles in their fight against the Soviet.

If Prussian militarism had won in Germany then Poland would have been in great danger. Under the pretext of supporting the Polish army against the Reds, Germany would have invaded Poland, thus creating new complications for the Allies. In that case Soviet Russia would never have come to the aid of the present Polish Government, but now the situation has entirely changed, and it will be the sacred duty of the Soviet Government to support the Polish proletariat in its struggle against the hydra of reaction.

I just received a copy of *Le Matin*, dated Paris, March 4, 1920, in which General Massenot, who recently returned from Germany and Poland, gives his report in regard to the German and Polish armies. This experienced French general said that the German army is in a perfect state. The men are physically sound, well drilled and well officered. Their discipline is on a very high level. Everywhere these troops show a desire to take revenge on France. They do not consider themselves vanquished and are willing to fight.

Quite different is the impression produced on General Massenot by the Polish army. The Polish troops are recruited from Russian Poland, German Poland and Austrian Poland. These elements cannot be brought together even by discipline, and frequent friction can be observed amongst these heterogeneous elements. They are very poorly officered by men of different nationalities, different training and often lacking the knowledge of the Polish language. Many officers in the Polish army are strangers not only to the Polish nation, but to the country in general—they are English, French, American, etc. In the event of German aggression against Poland, General Massenot said that the Poles have slight chance of resistance. Such an army cannot be considered an obstacle to the armies of Soviet Russia bound together by solidarity and conscious discipline and inspired by the highest ideals of universal brotherhood.

With the triumph of the German revolution naturally a military invasion of Poland by Germany is out of the question. Invasion was never a military aim of the Soviet Government. Therefore the victorious advance of the Russian armies towards the Polish frontier could be considered as a support to the Polish proletariat, a movement which is diametrically opposite to all the foreign movements known in the history towards any country which is in the throes of revolution.

Now let us consider what is happening in Germany. It was said by certain military critics, certain statesmen, that the movement of the German militarists on Berlin could be compared to the Kor-

niloff revolt against Kerensky in the summer of 1917. I protested:

"Korniloff was on the outside of a ring trying to break into the seat of power—Petrograd and Moscow. The German reactionaries have seized the central organism of government and it is the radical forces that must begin on the outskirts and fight toward the center. A general strike of the Russian workers against Korniloff paralyzed the outlying opposition and made it unite with the loyal center. A general strike by the German workers would paralyze Berlin and make its population go over to the encircling rebels. Nothing else will accomplish that end quickly. Civil war will surely be the portion of Germany for some time to come unless a general strike comes to wipe out the militarists and if the Allies attempt military intervention they will only accomplish in Germany what they did in the case of Russia. They will solidify all German factions and strengthen whichever group happens to be in office."*

We must not forget that a German soldier is a man like any other man. He has been taken from the people and will remain with the people. There is a limit to his patience and finally he will follow the people rather than individuals to whose selfish aims he has at last awakened. He is obedient to their orders only under certain circumstances and up to a certain point. But when he is approached by the revolting masses at the opportune moment he deserts his military leaders. This is inevitable at the present phase of development.

We must bear in mind that German capitalism has been destroyed by the war, that the petit bourgeoisie has been converted into unemployed proletariat, that the influence of capital—this powerful weapon in old Germany, has been nullified and that imperialistic Germany has lost her most important weapon.

The last effort to support militarism in Germany was attempted by the Allies during the famous movement of the Von der Goltz army known as the Avaloff-Bermondts adventure in the Baltic provinces. The same army sprung the recent coup d'état in Berlin.

The average German bourgeois took but little interest in the political situation of his country. He was far more interested in its economic development and in preserving the greatness and unity of his fatherland. He was educated to believe in the military power of the German army. The war opened his eyes. He saw the national economic life destroyed and the country bankrupt. The military power on which he relied for his protection failed to justify his hopes, and he pulled it down together with kaiserism. But being afraid of the growth of Communism in Soviet Russia he resorted to half-measures of bourgeois democracy. The temporary success of Ebert and his accomplices can be explained by the survival of faith in the possibility of a restoration of Germany's military power on

* Interview with Lt. Col. B. Roustam Bek by Paul Wallace Hanna in the *New York Call* of March 18, 1920.

a new basis for the defense of impoverished Germany against aggression of Franco-English imperialistic capitalism.

The hopes of the German people were not realized. The workers and peasants of Germany soon discovered that their new democratic leaders were guiding them to disaster in the same way in which the Russian Provisional Government and Kerensky had driven the Russian people to sacrifice themselves to western capitalism. The first outburst of the proletarian revolution in Germany met with failure just as in Russia. This, however, did not mean that the German revolution suffered a decisive defeat. It merely signified that the atmosphere was still too much permeated with the influence of the old regime and was not favorable to the revolution.

The majority of the German people leaned toward democracy, to which they looked for real protection. But whither has this capitalist democracy brought Germany? It brought the war-torn country to still greater humiliation beneath the western imperialist capitalism and would have ended in complete economic slavery of the German people. There is nothing surprising in the fact that the Russian revolution and the complete defeat of reaction backed by the international imperialism has produced great impression upon the German masses. The expulsion of the Allies from Russian soil and the complete triumph of the Russian Soviet policy over the international political intriguers was understood in Germany. The German nation theoretically was more prepared for Socialism than any other nation. The doctrine of Socialism was widely spread among all strata of German society and had even penetrated into the army. The country of Marx, Engels, Bebel, Lassalle, Liebknecht, and Rosa Luxemburg could not remain indifferent to the Marxian program being carried out in Russia, and it is quite natural that the German people have taken to arms in order to crush forever the dark power of the imperialistic reaction. Those who know Germany will certainly agree that the German

proletariat will be able to do its part in the international proletarian program.

Theoretically the proletariat of Germany was long ready for its realization, but it was not sufficiently strong and the circumstances were not favorable for the achievement of the social revolution. Now when such circumstances and economic conditions are suitable for the revolution it develops automatically. Like a gigantic stream, the revolutionary movement sweeps the country, bringing to the surface leaders who are not driving the masses, but who are themselves driven by the masses.

I consider that the German masses from a military standpoint are quite prepared to overthrow the military forces of imperialistic Germany. During the period of the Great War almost all the male population of Germany not only received military training but also had the opportunity to apply this training in practice. Even German women were trained for the defense of the country. The great majority of the officers and non-commissioned officers when disbanded reached their homes disgusted with the militaristic regime. Morally and economically depressed, these Germans cannot remain indifferent to the fact that German imperialism camouflaged as democracy and supported by international capitalism, is again trying to rise to power. Amongst these veterans there are many skilful tacticians and even strategists, more highly educated than those of the band of adventurers who planned the unrealizable plot for the restoration of imperialism in Germany.

As people of military education, the Germans followed with interest the development of the Red Army in Russia and they have naturally understood that only by means of such an army will they be able to free themselves from the foreign invaders imposing upon them the drastic terms of a barbarous peace. They know that in order to create such an army they must first of all establish the same regime that was established in Russia—the Soviets.

Exit Politics—Enter Economics

(From Our Paris Correspondent)

PARIS, Feb. 20.—After nearly two and a half years of existence of the Russian Soviet Republic, the air is finally beginning to clear. The governments have come to realize that this new Socialist commonwealth has come to stay, and that no amount of plotting and “cussing” can help the situation. With this sobering realization on the part of the governments, the various currents of newspaper opinion throughout the world which are directly or indirectly controlled by them are becoming saner and more in touch with realities. The attempts of isolated groups, like the Northcliffe press in England, to revive atrocity tales and to conjure up tales of Bolshevik monsters striding across the Himalayas and seizing India have failed miserably. A new epoch has been reached

in the relations between Russia and the outside world, and atrocities and menaces belong to the epoch that has passed—the epoch of political warfare.

One of Mr. Lloyd George's few virtues is that he usually scents the drift of the times just a wee bit ahead of others. This accounts for the fact that England has taken the lead in inaugurating the new policy toward Soviet Russia. While the armed political warfare between the Allies and the Republic of Soviets was still raging fiercely last November, Lloyd George was the first minister on the Allied side to recognize that that stage was soon to end, and that it was necessary to prepare for new times. He dispatched the O'Grady mission to Copenhagen, and directly or indirectly from the

Litvinoff-O'Grady negotiations have come all the steps that are ushering in the era of economic intercourse between Soviet Russia and the outside world. His recent speech of February 10, in which he seems to confide the care of Russo-Allied relations to business men is an astute recognition of the necessities of the situation. To be sure, he expects economic intercourse with the outside world to "reform" the Soviet Government and to force it to abandon its "barbarisms." But the time for trying to reform the Russian Revolution is long past, and Mr. Lloyd George knows it is.

The Allies tried to "reform" the government of the Russian people, when they undertook in 1918, through their consular agents, to blow up railroads and bridges and to starve the people of Petrograd and Moscow into submission. They also tried to "reform" the Soviet system by the Czecho-Slovak adventures, by armed intervention at Vladivostok and Murmansk, by the various All-Russian Governments, by Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich—they tried and failed. And now it is time to conclude a protocol.

Perhaps the significance of the present stage in the Russian situation may be better understood if we regard the Russian Revolution as a strike of a whole people against the capitalistic governments of the Entente. The strike has lasted twenty-eight months, and has been marked by all the suffering and misery that attend all strikes, except that in this case they were multiplied enormously by the unusual immensity of the forces at play on both sides. But now the Russian people have won their strike; they have won the right to organize a government and a system of economic administration of their own choosing.

And now back to work. The Russian people is more than anxious to resume its proper place in world production, provided of course that no attempt is made to break down their union organization. For these purposes we need a protocol, to be drawn up between the bosses of the Entente and the representatives of the Russian people. And we need more than that. We need to elaborate a code to govern the exchanges between Russia and the outside powers. In other words we need to recognize the new conditions produced by the existence of the Soviet organization. As Radek stated in his articles in the *Zukunft** of Berlin, we need to have expert economists sent to Russia to establish exchange values between various products, and to make the necessary special adjustments between the Soviet system and the prevailing capitalistic system of commerce and exchange. Many people have thoughtlessly said that the Soviet system and the capitalistic system cannot exist side by side. The answer is that they do exist, and that they will continue to exist for a long time, until one or the other finally disappears from history. As long as they do exist side by side, mutual concessions are necessary.

*We intend to reprint this article by Radek in the next issue of *Soviet Russia*.

But there is no hindrance in the way of reasonable concessions from the Soviet Government. It has long ago manifested its desire to do business with the capitalistic states and the capitalistic systems in order to further its own and the world's economic reconstructions. The peace treaty with Esthonia is a concrete manifestation of this desire, and in the approaching peace conferences between Poland and Russia, and between Russia and the Allies, the same spirit will govern the Soviet delegates as during the negotiations at Dorpat.

Every recent event tends to show that the Russian situation is passing from the political stage to the economic. But of course it would be a mistake to assume a hard and fast line between politics and economics. The intervention of the Allies in Russia was both political and economic, for it had for its purpose the division of the country into diverse economic concessions, to be distributed among the various powers and protected by a puppet All-Russian government that would be subservient to the economic interests of foreigners. The soundness of this economics is perhaps open to question, for had the plan been realized, it would have undoubtedly perpetuated guerilla warfare and disorganized uprisings that would have made the gathering of capitalistic profits impossible.

But now that the capitalistic interests have been thwarted in their attempts to Mexicanize and Chinafy Russia, and will have to be content with the smaller but more secure profits of legitimate foreign trade, it will no longer serve their purpose to exploit atrocity tales, to paint Russia as a hellish chaos and the leaders of the Soviet Government as monsters of iniquity. In Paris the rain has not yet completely effaced the election posters of the *Bloc National*, with the red head of Bolshevism bearing a knife between its teeth, but already it appears as an anomaly, with the rapid change of events that has come since November. One of the reactionary papers of Paris is led to point a warning to French politicians that the Soviet Government, "despotic" and "barbarous" though it may be, has shown itself much superior to the old-style democracies in manifestations of efficiency. A welcome change of the times.

Meanwhile the new yarn of the militarization of labor in Russia—a sort of transitional falsehood to bridge the descent from atrocities to truth—has fallen flat. A despatch from Lansbury in Moscow gives the true version of the situation. So far from the government forcing men into the army of labor, the latter grew out of a realization on the part of the soldiers that with the present international situation and internal transportation difficulties, it is too soon to think of demobilizing the army. They therefore asked to be organized into an industrial army. Lansbury quotes the opinion of Melnichansky, the secretary of the Russian Syndicates, as to the future:

"Later, when the general peace will be signed, there will be no regular army in Russia. Her soldiers will not fight except for self-defense. There

will be, however, a territorial militia, which will not be trained in the barracks, but in the municipalities."

THE TRIUMPH OF BOLSHEVISM

[The following article clearly does not emanate from a "Bolshevik" source, but it is reproduced from *The New Statesman*, London, as an expression of liberal opinion much different from that usually met with, even a few months ago.]

The Allied Governments have made fools of themselves over Russia because they feared the Bolsheviks too much and respected them too little. Our own Government has spent more than a hundred millions of perfectly good British Bradburys in learning what it ought to have known at least a year ago; that unless it was prepared to conquer Russia and administer it as a British protectorate intervention was bound to end in disaster. Even now it appears to have learned only half its lesson. It has realized that the Soviet Government must be respected, but not that it need not be feared. The decision of the Supreme Council to permit trade with Russia on a limited scale, welcome as it is, seems to have been dictated by considerations of temporary expediency rather than by anything that can be called statesmanship. Our commercial policy towards Russia seems to be as half-hearted as our military policy has been. Trade is not to be permitted, not officially encouraged. The Supreme Council in its wisdom has devised a means by which we may enjoy the best of both worlds; without soiling the hem of our garment by contact with bloody murderers, we are to obtain from them food and the flax that we want.

But, of course, the thing will not stop there. Assuming that the decision is serious, once trade begins to flow across the borders of Soviet Russia no government will have power to set limits to it. Undoubtedly, it will be very profitable trade, easier in many ways to finance and to develop than that with Germany or Austria, and it will probably not take long to assume quite considerable proportions. Recognition of Lenin and his colleagues as, at any rate, the de facto Government of Russia will then become unavoidable. Unless we are to hand Russia over commercially to Germany and the neutrals, we shall be obliged to make peace; and peace implies recognition. Recognition is, therefore, what the decision of the Supreme Council really means, and the sooner that is frankly admitted and its consequences faced, the better for us all. The only result of a continued refusal to face the facts of the Russian situation will be to tie our own hands as against the Bolshevik Government and yield to it the advantages both of initiative and of decision in all that concerns our mutual relations.

It is important to observe that the position in Russia has been fundamentally modified during recent months. In the early part of last year we frequently expressed in these columns the view that peace with the Bolsheviks would be followed pretty quickly by their overthrow through the action of internal forces. It seems impossible now to entertain any such expectation. All recent information from public and other sources indicates that the Soviet Government has been gaining enormously in prestige and in popularity. The Allies gave it its chance of finding its feet and it has found them; and whether we make war or whether we make peace there is nothing we can do now which is likely seriously to shake its authority. Between its position today and its position twelve months ago there is no comparison. The sweeping victories of the Red Army have naturally had a tremendous effect, but that is not the only, or even perhaps the most important, factor in the change which has taken place. The Soviet Government has succeeded not only in its military but in its economic organization of Russia. It has abandoned in many respects its own principles, but it has provided the people with work and food. The transport system has been completely reorganized; a harvest richer than any that has been known in Russia for a generation has eliminated all fear of starvation; and whilst there is still a great shortage of manu-

factured goods, the situation even in this respect is vastly easier than it was a year ago, owing to the successful restarting and development of factories throughout the area which has been untouched by the civil war. It would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to overestimate the moral effect of these achievements. From the point of view of the Russian workman the Soviet Government has justified itself. It may not be popular, but it has made good; and there is ample ground for supposing—and this is the essential point—that a change might be a change for the worse.

In a word, the Soviet Government has shown that it can govern. Herein lies the secret of the great accessions of strength and support which it is known to have obtained during the past year from amongst the educated classes. To suppose that this support is merely the result of terrorism and the fear of starvation is no more a tenable theory than it is to suppose that Trotsky's overwhelming victories have been won by troops which only took the field because there were Chinese with machine-guns in their rear. Men may be forced by terrorism to conform to a rule, but no such motive can explain the energy and the efficient activity which have become more and more apparent during the past year not only in the Army but in every branch of Russian industry and administration. It is manifest that the brain-workers are not only working for Lenin but, with few exceptions, are putting their hearts into their work. On any other supposition what the Soviet Government has achieved would be a sheer miracle.

Moreover, there is plenty of evidence to the same effect. In the negotiations which are going on between the Russian and Estonian Governments at Dorpat, the naval representative of the former is Count Benckendorff, son of the late Russian Ambassador in London. He does not profess to share the social and economic creed of the Communists but holds that in serving the Soviet Government he is serving Russia. Asked whether that Government was really popular in Russia, he replied that it was not, but that it knew its own mind more and was less unpopular and far more efficient than any other Government Russia had ever had; that its achievements with regard to education and the care of children were very remarkable; and that with regard to the reorganization of industry it was showing a degree of capacity and energy far in advance of anything that was known in Russia of the old regime. Such appears now to be the general verdict in Russia itself. The chief difficulty which Lenin had to face, namely, the active opposition or passive resistance of those brain-workers who alone could make his administration a success has been overcome; and it is the Allies who have given him a chance to overcome it. We supplied Denikin with British guns and British tanks manned by British soldiers, and thus made a present to the Bolsheviks of whatever democratic or patriotic sentiment existed in Russia. Lenin got the help he wanted and has known how to use it so as to keep it.

We suppose that in all modern history there has never been a case of the suppression of the truth so general and so successful as the suppression of the truth about Bolshevism. Economically, it is a crude and probably unworkable creed. Politically, it is undemocratic and inevitably unpopular. In practice it has been responsible for infinite disorganization, suffering, and brutality. But the fundamental facts remain that essentially it is an idealistic doctrine, that the mass of the Russian proletariat see it as such, and that its leading exponents—Lenin, Chicherin, Lunacharsky, Litvinoff, Krassin—are men whose personal idealism is above question or criticism. They are fanatics, if you please, but their disinterested sincerity is apparent in everything that they have done. And that is the basis of their power. In this country, deprived as it is of almost all but "propagandist" information, they are regarded as blood-thirsty murderers. It has not been suggested that any of the men we have named have been directly or personally responsible for the cruelties that have been practiced by bands of Red Guards, any more than General Denikin is held responsible for the wholesale orgy of tor-

ture, rape, and murder of which his troops were guilty in Kieff; but the attempt to tar all Bolsheviks with the same brush has been on the whole successful, with the result that Western public opinion has scarcely any conception of the position which the leaders of Bolshevism have in their own country. Everyone there knows that they have no private ends to serve—a fact which in Russia, the home of idealism, covers, perhaps, a greater multitude of sins than it ever could in England. The Bolsheviks may be tyrants, but they are disinterested tyrants. No one has ever accused the Bolshevik leaders of making money out of their positions. It is well known that Lenin himself lives upon the rations of a sedentary worker, which are substantially less than those of a manual laborer. And the moral strength which the Bolshevik Government has derived from that single fact is beyond all calculation.

Moreover, paradoxical as it may seem, Bolshevism has meant freedom in a sense which has become more and more clear and important in Russian eyes as the months and years of Bolshevik tyranny have rolled by. Bolshevik tyranny may be as stern and as cruel as the tyranny of the Tsar—but with a difference. It is not inevitable; it is founded on force, not on convention or religion; it is not a class tyranny—except for the drones of society; it does not prevent the workman or the peasant from holding up his head; it may be in effect an oligarchy, and if it is not freedom it is at least the prelude to freedom; it contains no threat of hereditary or plutocratic domination; it is democratic in essence if not in form, because it has no ultimate sanction save that of popular consent, and no power save that which it derives from the support of common men—even if they be a minority; to English eyes it may appear as reaction, but for Russians it is the most democratic Government that they have ever known. Even

the peasant who profoundly resents the forcible commandeering of his produce knows that his milk goes first to the children, and that his own sons have now educational opportunities undreamt of in the days of the Tsar.

We do not defend Bolshevism. We merely attempt to describe and explain its position in Russia today, without reference to the blinding prejudice which the atrocity-mongers have created. It is a passing phase of the revolution. But probably it is a necessary phase. At all events, it is in the legitimate line of the revolutionary succession; its triumphs are unmistakably the triumphs of the revolution, just as the triumphs of Denikin or Kolchak—however democratic their professions and even their sincere intentions—would have been the triumphs of counter-revolution. Denikin might or might not have attempted to recreate the Tsardom, but his rule would have been the rule of the class which ruled when there was a Tsar. The Russian people knew that, and that is why his efforts were doomed to failure from the outset. For the Russian revolution is a real thing. The spirit of it is in every peasant and every workman, and two years of Bolshevik rule have only intensified the conviction of freedom as something that has been won and must be held. It would be absurd to suggest that under Soviet Rule the Russian People has found itself. Clearly enough it is still puzzled and dissatisfied, largely disappointed in the great hopes which the revolution created. But it knows that it wants nothing that it has had in the past, and that it had better die than go back. The Bolsheviks, aided by the policy of the Allies, have been able to turn that universal conviction to their own account—and through it they have triumphed.

—*Industrial News*, Detroit, Mich., March 6, 1920.

A New Blockade of Russia?

By GREGORY ZILBOORG

THERE is no longer an armed interference in Russian internal affairs on the part of the Allies. So at least say London and Paris. It has even been reported that the Soviet representatives Nogin, Litvinov and Krassin will go to London to confer about the resumption of trade with Russia.

It seems to me that there is no necessity any more to use the adjectives *Soviet* or "*Loyal*" Russia, because the latter was synonymous with Kolchak and Denikin, who have passed away, and it has become evident even to the blind that there is only one Russia: Moscow, Soviet Russia. It is true that Russia has had to furnish this evidence in the form of a few scores of thousands of Russian lives, in Siberia, on the Baltic border and in the South. States, like private persons, nowadays pay very high prices.

However it may be, Russia is now not interfered with. But in the recent Polish attacks on the Pripet river, it was reported French gunboats played an important part. So read both the Warsaw and the London dispatches. Under these circumstances, it is natural that the Red armies should be kept in full preparedness, and it is not less natural to hear that the Soviet Government, as far as Poland is concerned, feels that the country is still faced with an armed menace. Perhaps there are different and very subtle shades in the terminology of interference with a nation's right for revolution and freedom, but to my belief the unfounded Polish grudge against Soviet Russia is an

intervention stimulated by a few of the Allies, and especially by France; and the French gunboats on the Pripet river are an armed intervention just as much as that of Japan or England in Siberia, Archangel or Southern Russia. . . . In the atmosphere of such pleasing notes as: resumption of trade, a commission for investigation, and so forth, France hopes that a gunboat on a Russian river will be overlooked; but these gunboats later will not overlook any Red detachments, but will try to shoot them.

Obviously the same can now be said about France that Napoleon the First said about the French Kings, when they were beaten down: "The Bourbons have forgotten nothing and learned nothing in their exile." In 1848 the Russian Czar Nicholas the First invaded the Hungarian Valley in order to suppress the revolution; for this exploit he was called the *international gendarme*; three-quarters of a century of civilization do not amount to very much for contemporary diplomats.

Yet these Pripet gunboats would not be worth special attention, if other events in the meantime had not emphasized that the international, or rather the British policy towards Russia, although clothed in new words, remains substantially unchanged.

About two months ago it was reported that British troops had occupied Baku, the well known Caucasian port on the Caspian Sea; as a reason of this occupation it was intimated that the aggressiveness of the Turks had become too dangerous.

After the unfortunate experience of Germany and Austria at Versailles, it is easy to understand that Turkey is waiting her Versailles fate with a good deal of fear, and it is impossible to imagine that Turkey would dare to undertake any kind of aggression. But suppose for a moment that this alleged aggressiveness be a fact. Why then Baku? This port is in the northeastern part of the Caspian Sea, a closed sea without any outlet; the Anglo-Persian agreement, the occupation of Mesopotamia by England leaves for Turkish aggressiveness only the old route through Erzerum, Turkish Armenia, Georgia; briefly, the route along the diagonal of the Caucasus, a way it was impossible to pass through during the five years of war, and is still less possible now because of the new Caucasian states, all of which are anti-Turkish. Then why Baku, if England has every reason to consider herself absolutely safe as far as the impotent Turkish imperialism is concerned? This will be easy to understand, if we recall the following fact: The victory of the Red armies has opened for the Soviet Government free communication with the Caucasus, the railroad lines of Tsaritsin-Tikhorietskaya and Rostov-Tikhorietskaya having been taken away from Denikin. The Georgian Republic, philosophically opposed to Communism, declared more than a year ago, when Tseretelli and Tsheidze were in Paris, that they were willing to be and were at peace with Soviet Russia, but were too weak and are unable to prevent the march of the Entente armies through their country against Russia. Now, when there is a possibility for Russia to get the Baku oil, without which it would be just as impossible to build up Russia's industry as without coal, Great Britain remembered that she must protect herself from the Turks in Baku. How important this center now is for Russia, can be seen from Trotsky's stand in an incident that followed the peace of Brest-Litovsk. Turkey, being an ally of Germany sought also at that time some "security," and occupied Baku. Trotsky sent a very drastic note to Berlin urging the evacuation of Baku, and threatening to consider the Brest-Litovsk treaty annulled and to resume hostilities. Germany was at that time on the verge of military collapse on the western front, had she been compelled to reestablish the eastern front (these facts were revealed soon after the armistice by the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna, in November-December, 1918; this organ of the Austrian conservatives has published a series of documents showing that the peace of Brest-Litovsk and Bukharest were persistently urged by Hindenburg, while the diplomats and Von Kuhlman were ashamed to sign treaties). Baku was then instantly evacuated.

At present, in the light of later events, the British military control of Baku seems to be a small link in a new chain; Great Britain wants to encircle Russia under the banner of the reestablishment of trade relation. . . . The other link is Poland, the third the Baltic States, where a consortium of British bankers was organized in Yudenich days

in order to control Russian foreign trade by means of a financial control of the Baltic border; the fourth link was Denikin's area, where a Russian-British bank was established, i. e., a financial alliance of British bankers with the big landlords and owners of the sugar industry and coal mines of Southern Russia and the Donietz Basin! The downfall of Denikin marked the reopening for Russia of the Black Sea ports, because it could hardly be expected that the Ukrainians would continue or even be able or desirous to fight Russia any more. Just at the moment when Odessa and Novorossiysk are coming back into the hands of Soviet Russia, England has occupied Constantinople, and thus shut off Russia from direct communication with the outside world, from America, from the French ports of the Mediterranean, from Italy, which seems to be under the strong pressure of the Italian Socialists and which is apparently inclined to open direct relations with Russia.

When the old Russian Empire was still a militaristic force and an indefinite international source of cannon fodder (as was proved in 1914-1916), the two imperialisms, the Russian and the British, competed in their aspirations for Constantinople. Russia would never have gotten it, had it not been for the misfortune of the Allies on their fronts in 1915, when they were compelled to yield and to pledge Constantinople to the Czar. Czardom passed away both as competitor and source of human flesh and England does not fail to assert her rights to control Russia economically. It is evident that France must be, as she is, very nervous and fearful because: (1) her chances to control Russia's trade from the southwest are weakened by the British move which transfers the center of attention to the east, and (2) having a foothold in Syria, she would rather desire to be at least as strong a controlling power of Eastern Europe (Russia included) as Great Britain. But she is probably losing her game: it was reported that Greek troops are going to help the British to protect the Armenians in Constantinople. The Greek nationalists, their stubborn imperialism, their tenacious aspirations for Constantinople, are well known throughout the bloody history of the Balkans for the last 40 or 45 years. Greece did not dare to be very insistent before the "white Russian Czar"; the obstacle is now removed. New Russia does not know and does not want to know any international gambling of "Constantinople dreams," and Venizelos, the Greek pro-Ally hero, and undoubtedly one of the ablest statesmen of the old Europe, is not far from his triumph. It is only natural that England should prefer a weak cooperator like Greece to a strong ally like France, as far as the Near East is concerned.

Thus the apparent insignificance of the reasons for the postponement in the resumption of trade with Russia, so badly needed by the world, yields to clarity in the light of the above stated considerations.

Great Britain is not yet ready. A new type of *cordon sanitaire*, a strong *cordon économique* is conceived and must be completed before the actual resumption of trade relations.

When the Czar wanted Constantinople, he explained his wishes not in terms of capitalist domination but in ideological terms: he simply wanted to reestablish the Cross of the Orthodox Church on the Cathedral of St. Sophia, and thus protect the Christian world. The same thing is now being performed: the real nature of the Constantinople enterprise is not talked about; the question revolves around the problem of protecting the Armenians and one is bound to wonder whether they will be protected as well as were the Jews in Russia under the Denikin-British rule.

But a kind of a monopolization of the world market and especially of the Russian market is almost unavoidable, if America comes too late.

It would be a mistake to think that Moscow is so naive as not to understand the situation. Moscow of today will never fight for Constantinople, but it warned the world, and especially America, many times in an indirect way, of the danger of economic world domination which seems about to be realized. Despite the scant news which comes via London, obviously after a careful "revision," we are able to see that Moscow sees clearly: the Soviet Government extended a peace offer to the United States apart from the European governments, em-

phasizing thus that Russia is most interested in commercial interchange with the United States; Krassin, the Commissary of Industry, in an interview given to a London paper, states plainly that Russia wants first of all to trade with America, but if the latter will not be the first, French and English articles will be taken!

Unfortunately the situation of this problem in America is still very vague, despite the new complimentary attitude recently taken by the New York press, heretofore so hostile to the idea of resuming relations with Russia. In the meantime, a new economic blockade of Russia is being organized. It will be called "trade relations on the basis of certain economic concessions," but it will be a disguised monopolization of Russian trade by Great Britain. It is hard to say whether it will be worse than a regular blockade or just as bad. At any rate it will affect disadvantageously the rest of the world, perhaps more than did the economic disintegration of central Europe by France; moreover, the exclusive control of Russia by England involves the elimination of America from the Russian market, if not entirely, then to a great extent, in other words, if the actions at Versailles affected the United States only a little and indirectly, the results of the Russian situation in the light of the recent Near East events will affect the United States directly, cutting down the export of this country very noticeably.

Lansbury's Message from Moscow

Russia at Peace within: Desires Friendship with All Abroad.

Bolsheviks Rallying to the "Bloodless Front"

We print below a message of the first importance, dispatched by George Lansbury from Moscow on Sunday, February 8, by wireless.

Arrived here today. The churches are all open, and people going in and out. The magnificent shrine in the Kremlin was being visited as of old. All classes are in the streets. All suffer hunger, cold and sickness, due entirely to civil war, aided by foreign gold and arms.

The whole nation needs peace. Organized labor in Britain and America must secure for the workers here a chance to reorganize their society. There is great hope, great faith and idealism, but all here want to know if the Allies will now leave Russia free to work out her own salvation. Everybody I have spoken to would welcome our honest cooperation. The feeling is that we all need each other. I never met people so determined to win their fight for economic freedom. I interviewed Chicherin, who said the Russian co-operative societies were willing and anxious for trade, and had appointed Litvinoff their agent. They would send delegates from Russia to act with him. Russia, he said, must be allowed to determine what she will buy and sell. The co-operative societies are part of the

Soviet Government. That means that every Russian citizen is de facto a member of the Co-operative Society.

Bloodless Front

Asked what was the task for the immediate future, he said the people of Russia under Trotsky cheerfully allowed themselves to be organized, trained and disciplined to repel foreign and internal enemies. Now they will all be organized, trained and disciplined for the purpose of production. The most serious work of today was to recreate Russia from the wreck caused by the ceaseless war of five years. This means great exertion, great sacrifice, much central organization and much discipline. The other day the call was for every man to the front. Now the call is for everybody to come and labor—all to the bloodless front.

Food, clothes, everything depended on work. Without food men could not work, but even food cannot be obtained without transport, and this can only be supplied by labor. So a great industrial army, including all the able-bodied, was being formed. This, however, was a passing phase, leading on to the day when men and women, learning from the mistakes and sacrifices of the past, will

freely give the best service to the common weal.

As to peace with our neighbors, there is no obstacle on this side. All Russia demands from her neighbors is friendship. Poles, Ukrainians—in fact all peoples—can have peace if they will treat Russia as a free nation.

I am struck with the calm confidence with which all officials face the future. It is their faith which keeps the masses with them. There is suffering, plenty of it, but the scenes outside the station where I arrived were similar to those seen at any terminus in London and the provinces before the war. Lots of people, boys and men, were waiting to transport luggage on sledges and droshkys, and to carry you home. People are badly dressed, but are looking remarkably well considering their privations; but the outstanding fact is that the blockade and civil war have let loose disease and want of every description. Yet these millions of human beings desire only to be allowed to live.

Appeal to Premier

I earnestly beseech the Government, especially Mr. Lloyd George, to go forward in the big English manner and give the hand of comradeship to this great people, struggling to its feet after years of pain and loss. Also I urge Henderson, Smillie, Thomas, Williams, Macdonald, and Snowden all to unite and, with the authorities, bring about the reconciliation of both nations.

Atrocity-mongering is played out here and in Petrograd. I am as free and safe alone in the streets as in London; indeed, more so. True religion is untouched; true marriage is as sacred as ever. The churches are being restored at the public expense. There is nothing here worse than in other capitals; there is much, very much, that is better.

—GEORGE LANSBURY.

—London *Daily Herald*, Feb. 10, 1920.

THE BOURGEOIS AT WORK

Krasnaya Gazeta, Petrograd, August 16, 1919.

A registration of all those who do not work or have no regular employment, which took place recently in Petrograd, made it possible to clear the city of the idle element.

These idlers, former parasites of the community, wasted their time in gambling and similar amusements, while the Red army was shedding its blood for the success of the revolution. Now they are compelled to work. Of course, there are some who evade this rule by various schemes, such as change of name, residence, appearance, etc. But they will eventually be caught in the net. Our problem is the complete inauguration of Labor Duty, such as should exist in a Socialist State, and, following the example of Petrograd, similar methods are employed in Moscow and other cities. Every one thus registered receives a special "Labor Certificate" which serves him as a means of identification.

To derive the greatest productivity from the work of these individuals, every one is given work

in his specialty. For instance, the former proprietors of book-binding shops, iron works, carpenter shops, etc., are sent to the respective government factories and put to work at their trades. If, however, there is no work in these trades at the time, these individuals are utilized as unskilled laborers.

The chief work at present is the loading and unloading of freight, and work on fortifications. The imposing of "Compulsory Labor" on the bourgeoisie has supplied an additional working force which we were in need of.

COMPULSORY LABOR IN ESTHONIA

So much solicitude has been displayed of late by persons who find it necessary to express their sympathy with such workers of Soviet Russia as are compelled to work even in cases where no work is obtainable in their own trades, that we must occasionally call attention to the fact that such obligation to work, even when the work is of unsympathetic nature, is by no means absent in other countries. And we regret that we are compelled to call attention to the fact that even those Entente Governments which are expressing most indignation at the manner in which the Russian workers are treated are sometimes engaged in aiding the oppressors of the peoples of small nations to oblige their populations to work very much against their will. Thus, a recent communication from Dorpat, Esthonia, reprinted in Swedish newspapers, tells us that the Esthonian Government has decided to requisition 15,000 workers for work in the cutting of timber in the forests, and that this measure has been undertaken at the instigation and under the pressure of the English Government, acting in the interest of commercial enterprises engaged in the export of timber.

There has always been more compulsion and exploitation of labor in other countries than in Soviet Russia, and when such compulsion is applied to the population of the Russian border states, it assumes forms that are repulsive in the extreme. It must not be forgotten, in addition, that whatever obligatory labor is imposed on Russian workers is after all in accordance with the will of the population of Russia as expressed in the Soviet Government, while a compulsion of the nature of that mentioned in the Dorpat message to which we refer is a tyranny practiced upon the people of a small country at the command of a powerful foreign government.

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SOVIET RUSSIA

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GENERAL YUDENICH and General Denikin are both counter-revolutionists, and, aside from merely physical attributes—Denikin looks like a prosperous and healthy autocrat, while Yudenich is said to have much the appearance of a badly constructed sot—there is not much difference between them. Yet the reader will recall that while Denikin fled from the Caucasus to Constantinople on a British ship, Yudenich rolled out of Reval in an automobile flying the British flag. These differences in the choice of a mode of transit may have been entirely involuntary, as is suggested by the equally fortuitous choice of location for the next stopping place of these two notorious counter-revolutionists. Denikin goes to Constantinople, while Yudenich goes to Stockholm. After all, the material factor has a certain influence, and two men fleeing from the North and South of Russia, respectively, cannot hope immediately to find refuge in one and the same place. But they may get there. Yudenich, says Mr. Hal O'Flaherty in the *New York Globe* of March 15 (cable from Stockholm of same date), is passing through Stockholm "on his way to London to negotiate for the transfer of his remaining troops from Esthonia to Serbia. He told me this morning that there was no longer any possibility of killing the Bolshevik idea. Apparently he is convinced, after his disastrous attempt to suppress Bolshevism last fall, that any effort to suppress Bolshevism by force of arms will be useless." And Mr. O'Flaherty continues to quote Yudenich's words as follows:

"This idea of control by the working masses will always be with us," said the general. "It will last forever, but

its form will be modified by the evolution of the people themselves. Bolshevism in itself is not all bad. Its worst element has been magnified by the present Soviet system within Russia, which to-day is undergoing a change for the better. To-morrow the world may awake to find another and better element working out Russia's salvation."

But why to Serbia? We confess we are a little disturbed at the distortion of our prophecy. In No. 1 of *Soviet Russia* for 1920 (January 3), we predicted for General Yudenich a westward movement through the border-states, as they one by one linked themselves by treaty to Soviet Russia, then via Berlin to Brussels, when the German working class should tire of the thankless and humiliating task of aiding to crush the Russian Revolution. But if Mr. O'Flaherty is correct in his statement, Yudenich's names in Berlin are Von Lüttwitz, Kapp, Ebert and Noske, and to Yudenich proper is to be assigned the task of organizing, not the large border-state—Germany; for that is what Germany will become as soon as the Polish people have made peace with Soviet Russia—but the small border-state—Serbia. For there might soon be Hungarian, Austrian and Italian jobs for Yudenich to do, not unlike his Russian job, and Denikin may reach Serbia in time to help him.

GERMANY'S approaching function as an "Anti-Bolshevik" border-state has already been mentioned in these columns. Confirmation of this situation has not been slow in coming. New York newspapers a week ago printed a London message of March 19, quoting a Moscow wireless to the effect that "two weeks before the revolt in Berlin, a secret conference was held in Berlin between the supporters of Dr. Wolfgang Kapp and representatives of the Russian 'Black Hundreds,' the latter including Alexander J. Guchkov and Prince Volkonsky."

Thus the old lesson is again repeated: Birds of a feather flock together. The reactionaries of all countries give each other a helping hand in distress. What is more natural than that Guchkov and Von Kapp should be found consorting together? It will not be in any way more surprising to find Guchkov, now that his hopes in Von Kapp have turned to disappointment, preparing next to approach that other strong arm of reaction in Germany, Gustav Noske.

MEANWHILE, commercial exchanges are taking place in some parts of the world, and not taking place in others. Difficulties always suggest themselves to the minds of those who hate the very idea of dealing with the Russian Soviet Government, and one subterfuge after the other is found for refusing to permit dealers desiring legitimate business with Soviet Russia from fulfilling their contracts. "Loyal" Russians, however, are not only always ready for "business" transactions, but always meet with an accommodating attitude on the part of their counterparts in foreign countries. While business men in Allied countries must not trade with Mr. Litvinov, head of the Division for Western European Affairs in the Soviet Govern-

ment's Foreign Commissariat, and now also, as we reported in our last issue (page 304), representative of the Soviet Russian Cooperatives—similar objections are not encountered when a little trade is "pulled off" between "General" Horvath and the Japanese interests, as represented either by the Japanese Government or by Japanese private corporations,—it is not certain which.

The celebrated bandit Horvath, who like all reactionary "All-Russians" in Siberia, calls himself a general, has excelled even the bloody Kolchak, of evil memory, in murder, torture and savagery, not to mention the more subtle devices of financial extortion, bribery, theft and fraud. But when Horvath finds the power slipping from his hands, with partisans of the Soviet Government revolting against him on all sides, and consequently feels a desire to assure his future in some "democratic" country by providing himself with sufficient funds to make himself socially acceptable—this necessary and natural ambition is not thwarted by unkind gestures on the part of the "General's" contemporaries in Japan. A swift way to obtain money, even though it may cripple the river trade of Eastern Siberia for years to come, is the sale of the steamers which carry on this traffic along the Amur River; and it is a trade very profitable to both Horvath and his Japanese customers: to Horvath, because the boats are not his and he is selling what he has not paid for; to the Japanese Government (or private interests; the London message of March 19, in its quotation of the Moscow Wireless, does not make this clear), because Horvath is making a forced sale and cannot hold out for what the ships are really worth.

Someone in Japan finds it not unprofitable to purchase property stolen from the Russian people by those who have sacked and pillaged Siberia for two years, but we have not heard that government circles in Japan greet the trade proposals of the real government of Russia with more enthusiasm than is the case with the government circles of other reactionary countries. It will interest the reader to have the full text of the London message of March 19, and we therefore print it herewith, as reproduced in the *New York Times*:

London, March 19.—According to a Russian wireless dispatch today M. Chicherin, the Bolshevik Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, has sent a note to the Governments of Japan, Great Britain, France, Italy and the United States saying he had received information to the effect that General Horvath, anti-Bolshevik commander in the territory of the Chinese Eastern Railway, has entered into negotiations with the Japanese Government, or Japanese companies, for the sale of the commercial fleet on the Amur River.

The Commissioner declares this fleet is a part of the nationalized property of the Russian Government, and his communication adds:

"The Soviet Government expresses its firm conviction that the carrying out of such a transaction will not be permitted by the interested Governments."

The note alludes to General Horvath as a "self-appointed personage" who is considered by the Soviet Government to be "a bandit subject to a military criminal tribunal," and it gives warning that any relations with him "will be re-

garded as an encroachment upon the sovereign rights of the Soviet republic."

"Such a transaction will never be recognized by us," the note adds, "and can only hinder the resumption of our normal economic relations with the Japanese Government."

AND of the need for haste on the part of reactionaries in Siberia, in the "liquidation" of their ill-gotten gains, there can be no doubt. Every day indications multiply to the effect that there is no other solution for Eastern Siberia than the setting up of a Soviet Government in close contact with Moscow. Another one of these expressions has just reached us, in the form of a letter written in Siberia, an extract from which we are printing herewith. From the sentiments expressed it appears that Horvath's deal with the Japanese, if really accomplished, was completed none too soon for both parties.

We have received the following letter from Nikolsk-Ussuriysk, (near Vladivostok), dated February 8, 1920, two weeks after the overthrow of the Kolchak government in that city, and one week after the overthrow of the Kolchak government in Vladivostok. Our correspondent writes:

"The feeling among all the people here is distinctly Bolshevik, but for reasons of expediency the authority of the provincial zemstvo has been temporarily accepted. With the departure of the Japanese (if those monarchists will depart at all voluntarily), and with the expected arrival of the Soviet armies from Russia, the authority in our section will pass painlessly to the Soviet of People's Commissars. What a change in the sentiment and the opinions of everybody! Now even the Mensheviks and partly the Social-Revolutionists recognize the necessity of the Soviet power."

As the letter says, there is a decided "change in the sentiment and the opinions of everybody." And perhaps the serious events now taking place in Japan are due in no little measure to the unwillingness of the Japanese people to be used as cannon-fodder in putting down the revolution of the workers who have set up and are setting up their new government in the various parts of Siberia.

EARLY ISSUES

We do not want to make a definite promise that we may have to break, but we herewith state that the Laws on Marriage, Guardianship, and other Family Relations, are at present undergoing revision as to legal and English terminology in this office, and will be printed as Special Legal Supplements to SOVIET RUSSIA at the earliest opportunity.

It may also interest our readers to learn that People's Commissar Lenin will complete the fiftieth year of his life on April 10, 1920, and that our issue of that date will contain a number of articles dealing with the activities of this prominent Soviet statesman.

When Can Trade with Russia Come?

Trade between Soviet Russia and the Allies will come when the Allies are prepared to accept in good faith the facts as they exist in Russia today, viz.—that Russia has passed from the Capitalistic to a Communist mode of life, and that this communist mode of life, and nothing else, is exactly what suits the Russian people.

By recognizing the situation as it is, the United States will at once find the common ground for commercial intercourse. Russia needs a tremendous amount of manufactured products from the United States and has so stated repeatedly. But more than these products she needs to be let alone to work out her salvation in her own way. She wishes to devote all her energy, all her forces, to the rebuilding of the country, and she must be left to carry out her plans in peace.

The outside world must realize that Russia is playing her game with all her cards exposed, and has no secret designs and motives of any sort. Nor is she standing at the Allied back door begging for favors. Her position is clear in this connection. She has freely and frankly stated her requirements and she has also indicated in what manner she is ready to trade.

Russia needs a tremendous amount of materials from the outside world, particularly from the United States, which is the only country today that can supply Russia with its requirements and in the quantities needed. In return Russia is prepared to export her available stores of raw materials that have accumulated for the past two years or more. But this exchange of products can only be made after a definite understanding is reached between Soviet Russia and the outside world establishing commercial intercourse freely and unreservedly.

Foreign trade as it was carried on prior to the war is not possible now in view of changed conditions. On the one hand, Russia is not seeking credit, and on the other hand she realizes that she cannot offer her depreciated currency in payment of her purchases. But she can and does offer her raw materials with a sufficient gold guarantee in back of it.

Trade under these conditions can be started only in one way, namely, through the appointment by various countries of trade missions who may determine the values of the materials offered in exchange, and thus establish a debit and credit account based, not on rubles, but on a price unit that will be acceptable to all countries. Any balances that would accrue to foreign traders from these transactions would then be covered by the gold fund that may be deposited with some international syndicate or corporation created for that purpose.

Furthermore, Russia cannot begin shipments of her products to foreign countries and expose herself to possible attacks or litigation by govern-

ments or individuals who may have claims against the Russian Government. All this necessitates a study of the situation from every angle and an agreement covering every point at issue.

The details of such an agreement may take months to work out; in principle however an arrangement can be reached at once; and the flow of products between Russia and the outside world started immediately, to the great relief of distracted Europe, and to the benefit of the United States, by providing an outlet for American exports which is now largely curtailed, and by a reduction of costs here, through import of needed Russian raw materials.

Again it is necessary to emphasize to American business people that the manner in which Russia will do business is determined by Russia's form of government. All trade and industry is carried on by a department of the government, viz: the Supreme Council of National Economy. This department of the Soviet Government has no counterpart in any country at the present time; it is not similar to the Department of Commerce in this country nor the Board of Trade in England. The Council of National Economy is a manufacturing and trading organization; it controls in the name of the Russian people all the mines, railroads, factories, shops, stores, etc., in a word production; the entire economic life of the country is carried on through this body. In a similar manner, all foreign trade is part of the work of the council. The Department of Foreign Commerce will have complete direction over all foreign trade; the purchases to be made in foreign countries for Russia as well as the export of Russian goods. It is evident, therefore, that there can be no question of trading with Soviet Russia through individual concerns or subsidiary organizations. The representatives of this department abroad are the purchasing or selling agents for Russia.

It is to be hoped that the position of the United States on the matter of trading freely with Russia will be made clear in the next few days. England is taking the lead, having invited the commission from Soviet Russia to London to discuss terms and conditions of trade. But the United States is vitally interested in such discussions, through the preponderating role which it can play in the economic life of the world, and because of the traditional friendship, though interrupted for a time, of the American and Russian peoples.

Our next issue will contain a full English text of the Soviet Russian Laws on Documents and Registers concerning Marriage and Family Relations.

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Production After the Revolution

By M. STRUMILIN

AN article published in The New Way, No. 1-2, a fortnightly organ of the Council for National Economy and the Economic Commissariat of the Union of Communes in the Region of the North.

Much has been said, during the last two years, of the decline in production. But this decline has not been estimated in a concrete fashion, and its causes have not been analyzed. The figures and the facts published on this subject in the journals say little, and most of them are of no value, for they are concerned most often with the decrease *en bloc* of the production in one or another region, but throw no light upon the productivity of labor in the sense of labor performed by one worker in one hour.

The following facts show how dangerous it is to confuse these two conceptions. Evidently the productivity *en bloc* of an enterprise depends upon the work accomplished by one worker in one hour, but it depends above all upon the number of hours that all the workers have labored for the duration of the enterprise. Now, the total number of working hours was greatly diminished after the revolution.

Thus, for example, in the province of Petrograd, from January 1, 1917, to October 1, 1918, the number of workers was diminished by 75 per cent, the working day shortened from 10 to 8 hours, that is, by 21 per cent, and the number of hours in the working day in the factories and shops must have decreased 76.7 per cent.

But there has not here been taken into consideration that of which it is difficult to make a complete evaluation—the number of times that a worker goes to his work during the course of the month, which number, probably as a result of the food crisis and for a number of other reasons, has also been greatly diminished after the revolution.

The greater frequency with which factories shut down, regarded as one of the causes for the decreased production, requires special study. Let us limit ourselves to indicating two examples to illustrate this fact. At the factory of Putiloff, in January, 1917, 10 per cent of the total number of workers did not work, for various reasons.

Another example: at the saw-mill of Gromov & Co., in 1919, 31,929 working days were employed in sawing, the days when the mill closed reached the number of 566, let us say 1.7 per cent; and in 1918, for 22,790 working days it increased to 6,545 days, or 22.3 per cent of the number of working days and days when the mill was closed, that is, the latter was 13 times greater in number.

At any rate, without even considering the influence of the periods of inactivity upon the diminution of the working time, we can say that production in industry of Petrograd must have

decreased after the revolution by more than three-quarters, considering only the diminutions in the number of workers, and in the working day. And as it has not, however, fallen to zero, that alone shows that the decrease in the work performed by a worker in an hour has exercised an influence several times less upon the total decrease in production, as compared with the causes indicated above.

Nevertheless, we must not underestimate the importance of the decrease in the productivity of the working hour. This decrease is very great, its causes are various, and in a general way this question, as yet little studied, merits serious analysis and study.

The productivity of labor is measured by the quantity of the product turned out during the unit of time, in one hour, for example, or by the number of working hours employed in the manufacture of the product. In other words, the productivity of labor is measured by its success. But this in the sense of the greater or less results achieved, does not depend solely upon the good will of the worker, but also upon a whole series of technical, social and individual working conditions.

In the technical processes of work, the success is, in a general way, determined by the state of its three essential elements: (1) the working tools, (2) the materials, and (3), the worker. What is the state of these elements? We know that the machines have become worn-out during the war, the quality of the basic materials has deteriorated, the worker does not satisfy his hunger. So, the success of labor has had to diminish as a whole, because of these causes taken together. But to study each of them separately we must simplify the general notions, the productivity of labor, into its respective components: (1) the productivity of the machinery and tools, (2) the productivity of the materials, and, (3) the productivity of the worker. But even in this more limited sense the productivity of the worker is far from being a simple notion, and must undergo further analysis.

First of all, the worker neither lives nor works alone, but in a given *social milieu*. And if this milieu is unfavorable, if his family are hungry, for example, or, at the factory, the management is poorly organized and the discipline lax, then these general conditions have their fatal effect upon the success of the work, even in the case of the most perfect working units.

Further, besides the social milieu, a whole series of individual particularities influence the productivity of the worker: his strength, his age, the state of his health, his ability, etc. None of these particularities, either, depends for the most part upon the good will of the worker. They are predeter-

mined, and determine the *objective* productive force of the worker, just as the condition of the machinery or the quality of the materials determines the coefficient of productivity of the given machinery or material.

If we take as the unit of labor productivity (Pt), the work done by an average worker with machinery and basic materials of average quality, the total labor productivity for all labor will be equal to the product of the productive power of the given machine (Pm), that of the basic materials (Ps) and that of the worker (Pr), in accordance with the formula: $Pt = Pm \times Ps \times Pr$. For example, if we know that the productivity of the given machine (Pm) has declined to 0.8, that of the given basic materials (Ps) to 0.7, and that of the given worker (Pr) to 0.5 of the normal, the total productivity of the given work will be $Pt = 0.8 \times 0.7 \times 0.5 = 0.28$ of the normal.

But besides these objective factors, which are the productive power of the worker, the machine, and the material, an important part is performed by each worker's *desire to work*, which expresses itself in the greater or less intensity of his work. The intensity of labor generally increases when the work is payed for by the piece, and diminishes when it is payed for according to the time spent, but, besides the mode of payment, a number of other causes may still make it vary. Be that as it may, the total productivity of labor depends not only upon the productive power of the worker, but also upon the intensity of his work, and is expressed in the formula: $Pt = It \times Pr \times Pm \times Ps$.

The question arises as to the specific degree of the productivity of the worker, of the machine, of the materials, and of the intensity of the work, in the epoch which concerns us, and what are the measures capable of raising them to the possible maximum.

To make a complete reply to the question, one must have at his disposal the results of a special inquiry. Such an inquiry is being undertaken at the present moment by the statistical service of the Regional Commissariat of Labor, and although it is far from being terminated, it already makes it possible to indicate several means of solving the question which interests us.

We will observe first that the general decline in the productivity of labor, according to the figures collected from this point of view relative to 27 enterprises, does not surpass on an average 36 per cent of the normal in peace times, in other words, the average productivity of labor in these factories ($Pt = 64$ per cent of the normal production).

Evidently production in the factories taken separately, and, to a greater degree, that of the undertakings regarded separately, varies much more, the least decline being established for work with semi-automatic machines, where it is an average of 24 per cent, for hand-machines, and those which require principally hand-work; and 37 per

cent, for hand-work; in the second place is the decline due to the relaxation of discipline in the word, in the third that attributed to the payment for work by the day, then come the poor working organization, the diminution of the quality of materials, and the wear and tear on machines. The causes indicated influence the general decline in the productivity of labor in the following proportions:

(1) Weakening of the organism and the poorest state of health	44%
(2) Relaxation of working discipline.....	20%
(3) Introduction of the daily wage.....	19%
(4) Poor working organization.....	6%
(5) Diminution in the quality of the basic materials	6%
(6) Wear and tear on machines.....	5%
Total	100%

The action of the second, and that of the third and fourth of these causes are closely connected. As is proved by the experience of these last months, the simple return to piece payment led at once to an improvement in the discipline and the organization of work. Every violation of order which hinders the effective execution of the common work, is checked at its source. Thus at the factory of Putiloff the following case occurred. Through lack of attention the firemen had permitted a low pressure of steam in the boiler, thus slowing up the machines. The workers at once went in search of those responsible, and, revolver in hand, forced them to work, as far as that was physically possible.

The three causes mentioned above are, then, the easiest to eliminate—for that depends entirely upon the volition of the workers themselves, and the intensity of their work. That is why we include the proportion of the decrease due to them in the factor representing the intensity of working, (It) and, indicating the proportion due to the undernourishment of the worker by Pr, that due to the diminished quality of the basic materials by Ps, and to the wear and tear of the machinery by Pm, we obtain after calculation, the following equation: $Pt = It \times Pr \times Ps \times Pm = 0.82 \times 0.98 \times 0.99 = 0.64$ of the normal production in peace time.

Evidently, the above figures have no value at the moment except to render more clear the phenomenon under observation. It is very probable that the further results of the inquiry will greatly modify the amounts of the figures indicated. But they will not, probably, modify their order. It is almost certain that the first place, the essential cause for the decrease in the productivity of labor, will still be occupied by the low intensity of working, especially in connection with the mode of payment, the second place by the food conditions; and also that the quality of the basic materials and the condition of the machines will take only the third and fourth places.

If this is so, the means of increasing production

become evident. It is necessary above all to take every measure capable of increasing intensity in working and improving the nourishment of the workers.

An increase in the intensity of work is being obtained at present by the introduction of piece work. And it must be said that in most cases this measure, alone, is already achieving brilliant results. The fact is that the intensity of application in piece work has always been greater than that in work paid by the day. Thus, in 1914, typographical work paid for on a piece basis was 30 per cent greater than that bringing a day wage, corresponding work in the saw-mills was 50 per cent greater, and even that of the fur-dressers was 10 per cent greater. But at present, since the introduction of

piece work, still more striking examples are at our disposal. The following are the average increases in efficiency in various works.

(1) Marx printery	27%
(2) Westinghouse (brakes)	27%
(3) First State Printery.....	35%
(4) Nobel (Diesel motors).....	38%
(5) Heissler (factory for electrical apparatus and telephones).....	43%
(6) Meltzer aeroplane factory.....	150%
(7) Semenow saw-mills	203%
(8) The Donetz-Touriev factory for metal wire and nails.....	238%
(9) Brusniztine hide factory.....	350%
(10) Naval yards and the Neva factories for machine construction.....	524%

February Wireless News from Soviet Russia

Workers Trained as Factory Supervisors

Moscow, Feb. 20 (Rosta).—The Supreme Economic Council has recently opened courses of instruction with the object of training workers as supervisors of production. The first lectures were concerned with factory organization, and with the technical and financial phases of factory management, production methods, the role of trade organizations in production, etc. At the close of these courses, a number of hours are devoted to practical work, and visits to the largest factories are arranged, so that the students may be initiated into practical phases of factory management.

Nansen on the Distress in Eastern Europe

Fridtjof Nansen publishes the following in a number of Norwegian newspapers:

Distress is growing greater and greater in Europe after the chaos produced by the war—and the demand for help from us who stand without, is growing day by day and becoming so strong, that it may seem almost hopeless for a small people like ours to cope with the needs of so many millions of suffering people.

But we have no right to despair. We must remember that we also are part of the great complicated social mechanism, in which our cog must play its part, however small, in keeping the whole in motion.

Blind hatred between nations and classes threatens to plunge Europe even deeper into misfortune. We are approaching an abyss.

In this situation every man has his mission. Even the smallest is of importance, if every one will do what he can.

We must now show that the feeling of brotherhood between men is stronger than hate and envy. And this will aid in creating a confidence in the future that Europe needs now more than ever before.

When therefore the students now issue a call to help the sick and suffering in Russia, this call must receive active support from all the people. And the sacrifices that are demanded here are not great, in view of the first goal, which the students have set themselves: namely, to supply medicated cod-liver oil in order to save the suffering and dying children of Russia.

Let every mother and every father imagine that he beholds his own child sick hopelessly through want, knowing at the same time that in neighboring countries there is enough cod-liver oil to save the child if a little of it could only be obtained. Any man or woman who has pursued this thought to its logical conclusion cannot hesitate to give a little mite to aid in this great work.

There is no political object or tinge in this matter, no color,—white or red—all colors grow pale in death. It is simply a case of unparalleled human suffering that must be alleviated, a case of rescuing human beings who are needed in constructing the future of Europe.

Let them be enabled to live and to feel that in Norway, at any rate, there lives a little nation that values the love for one's neighbor more highly than considerations of politics.

Soviet Russia Welcomes Swedish Workers

Moscow, Feb. 24 (Rosta).—Moscow newspapers report that four thousand striking and locked out Swedish metal workers have decided to go to Soviet Russia, which will receive them with open arms.

Communists at Kharkov

In the recent elections to the factory councils at Kharkov Communists turned out to be in the majority. The Mensheviks who have hitherto considered Kharkov to be one of their main strongholds and who issued a newspaper there were completely worsted.

Ukraine Reerected as a Soviet Republic

Moscow, Feb. 22 (Rosta).—The Ukrainian Soviet Republic is again beginning its activity as a free and independent state under its own Soviet Government. A great portion of Ukrainian territory has now been freed from the White Guards, with the aid of the Red Armies of the Ukrainian and Russian Soviet Republics operating under joint command. The Soviet Government in Ukraine has again assumed the supreme control. On February 19 the Ukrainian Government issued a manifesto to all peoples and all governments, in which, it states, among other things, that the provisional revolutionary committee which was appointed to aid in the military operations has now handed in its resignation, since the greater portion of Ukraine has now been freed from the White bands and of Petlura, the hirelings of the western European imperialists. The Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, which were elected at the third All-Ukrainian Soviet Congress in March, 1919, have again assumed power. Their first measure is the summoning of a Soviet Congress for April 15.

The Ukrainian Soviet Government declares to all peoples and all governments its desire to safeguard the independence of Ukraine, but simultaneously expresses its wish to live in peace with all other states and invites them to begin economic and diplomatic relations with it. The Government emphasizes its decision to conclude peace with the Polish Republic. The Ukrainian Soviet Government expresses its sympathy for the struggle of the workers and peasants of all countries for liberation, simultaneously declaring, however, that it is firmly determined not to carry on any policy of aggression.

Russian Note on Recent Peace Proposals

Moscow, Feb. 24.—The Russian Soviet Government today forwarded three peace notes: to the United States of America, to Japan and to Rumania.

In the note to the United States attention is called to the extraordinarily great tasks presented to Russia by the reconstruction work, and the advantages for both nations in America's participation in this work is emphasized. The note contains a request to state a time and place for negotiations on this subject.

The note to Japan points out Soviet Russia's well known principles with regard to the self-determination of nations, as well as the numerous earlier proposals in the same sense that have been received by Japan. The note emphasizes the great advantages that would accrue from an understanding, particularly with regard to Japan's great economic interests in the Far East. This note also proposes the inauguration of peace negotiations.

The note to Rumania similarly proposes such negotiations.

German Communists Emigrating to Soviet Russia

The correspondent of the London *Daily News* in Berlin has learned that the Russian Soviet Government has come to an agreement with the German Communist leaders with regard to a gigantic plan of colonization. A great tract between Saratov and Tula has been placed at the disposal of the German Communists. Its area is great enough to accommodate 60,000. Agencies for this colonization are said to have been opened at Berlin and Leipzig. There have been many applications for colonization from persons of all classes, particularly from Saxony. A commission of German Communists will leave this month to prepare for the arrival of the colonists in Russia. This great emigration would probably begin in May.

Gorky on the Epoch of Labor in Russia

Vienna, Feb. 20.—The following is telegraphed from Moscow: The *Pravda* prints an article by its chief editor, Bukharin, on the impressions he received in a conversation with Gorky. Bukharin says:

"In our country poverty, sickness and famine are the rule, but Gorky radiates the joy of life as never before. A time of happiness is coming for Russia, and Gorky has understood what it is that constitutes the kernel of this new epoch. It is the *epoch of labor*. This epoch shall destroy hunger and poverty and remold the world.

"Gorky speaks with enthusiasm concerning the army of labor which, according to him, has revolutionized conditions, not only within the proletariat, but also with the Intelligentsia. The most important men of science, the old guard of Russian Intellectualism, engineers, chemists, mathematicians, have been carried away by the new movement, when they recognized that the Soviet power not only would destroy the old, but will also build up the new and build it up permanently. The support of Soviet principles by properly qualified technical intellectuals has begun."

Bukharin asks what it is that has produced this change of mind and gives the following answer to his own question: "The victories of the proletariat at the front, the raising of the blockade, the zeal for labor which has made such great progress within the proletariat." Doubtless the moment has now come for a decisive turn in our affairs and that is why Gorky's eyes are so radiant, that is why he greets with so much warmth this typical change of heart.

Important Bolshevik Successes in the Murman

Vienna, Feb. 23.—A Moscow wireless says:

The Red standards of the Northern Red Army have again achieved a victory. The point of support of the counter-revolution in Northern Archangel has passed into the hands of the Soviet.

Congress of Construction Workers in Moscow

VIENNA, Feb. 15—It is reported from Moscow that a Congress of all the organizations of Construction Workers of Russia will meet at Moscow on March 28th. Foreign organizations of construction workers are invited to send their representatives to the Congress.

Denikin's Atrocities

Moscow, February 17.—After departure of the White Guards from Odessa a number of bodies were found in the suburbs which were those of victims of Denikin's counter-espionage. In many cases their eyes had been gouged out, their fingers and toes cut off and their heads had been flayed. In the yard of the transportation prison a number of corpses were also found.

*Soviet Military Report of February 12**Advances Against Bessarabia and Crimea—Hot Fights With Denikin*

VIENNA, February 12.—A wireless message from Moscow gives the following information of military nature:

At Narva, about 200 deserters came over to our ranks. In other sectors, fights are in progress between scouting detachments. In the sector of Yampolsk, our military detachments have occupied the station of Vapnyarka. In the sector of Tiraspol our troops after hard fights advanced to the line of the Dniester river in the neighborhood of Dubossary and Grigoriopol. In the Tiraspol-Odessa sector, hard fights are in progress with the various enemy detachments, in which our troops have occupied the city of Ovidiopol and advanced to the coast of the Black Sea in the district of the Dniester line. In Crimea skirmishes between scout detachments are being fought which are turning out favorable for us; in these we have taken one canno, four machine guns, and about 40 persons, including six officers.

CAUCASIAN FRONT: In the sector of Novocherkassk our troops, under the pressure of the enemy, have given up Pogaveskaya—about 20 versts southeast of Novocherkassk in the district of the lower Manych. In the Velikoynyaska sector serious struggles are being fought for the station of Torgovaya. To the south of the rialway we have taken a number of towns; 20 to 30 versts to the south of the station of Torgovaya, in the district of the Dzhanebeg station, our detachments, in their pursuit of the defeated enemy, took 500 prisoners.

TURKESTAN FRONT: In the sector of Krasnovodsk we took the island of Cheleken in the Caspian Sea. All the naphtha works were found undamaged. Much booty was taken.

Great Supplies of Naphtha Found on the Island of Cheleken

VIENNA, February 17.—A wireless message from Moscow, dated February 17th, adds the following to the above message of earlier date:

The Red Army has occupied the island of Chele-

ken in the Caspian Sea. The brave red soldiers, after having covered a distance of more than 100 versts in forced marches had to cross the sound in order to capture this island. On the island there fell into our hands a rich supply of naphtha which is much needed by our industry. The Red Army captured naphtha sources which yield over 20,000 poods every 24 hours (one pood equals a little over 36 pounds). The guards who had been put in charge of the naphtha works greeted the Red Army with enthusiasm and laid down their arms without a struggle. In the capture of Kislovodsk we took 1,500 prisoners, a number of arms and cartridges, 29 locomotives, about 400 railroad cars and great quantities of petroleum, cotton, salt and medicaments.

SOVIETS IN CONTROL OF VLADIVOSTOK?

Vladivostok, Feb. 22, 1920.—The political authority of Vladivostok was at first in the hands of the headquarters of the United Military Operations Body, temporarily established by the rebel army,—the Partizan Corps. But after the success of the revolution, it lay in the hands of the local zemstvos. Mr. Medvedev, President of the Association, and his followers, Rozanov, Afanasyev, as the chief figures, declared that the sovereignty of the Maritime Province was vested in the zemstvo, and published a manifesto outlining its policy. The rebel army—the Partizan Corps, however, was chiefly responsible for the directing and accomplishing of the present revolution, and so it appears that the real power is in the hands of the Partizan Corps—the Bolsheviki. Their influence was very strongly felt. On January 31st, Mr. Nikiforov, the leader of the Bolshevik Party who had been imprisoned, and those who had also been imprisoned as accomplices of General Gaida, some 500 persons, were released, while those who had sided with Kolchak and his supporters were imprisoned. At a meeting held in Vladivostok on February 1st, Mr. Nikiforov, but recently released from prison, and wearing a red decoration, delivered a Bolshevik address to the people. Another leader of the Partizan Army who came from Shikotva, Mr. Schevchanko, also made a speech and received much applause. On the whole, the people are favorably inclined toward the American army, but are secretly antagonistic toward the Japanese. Thus Vladivostok is already dominated by the Bolsheviki, who are greeted with much enthusiasm.

—*Asahi*, Tokyo, Japan.

Treaty With Esthonia

We have just received a full text of the Treaty of Peace between Soviet Russia and Esthonia, a translation of which is now being made in this Bureau. As soon as this translation has been revised, we shall print it in SOVIET RUSSIA.

We assure our readers that the numbers of SOVIET RUSSIA which are to appear during April will be full of interesting material.

The Soviets Moving for Peace with Poland

The following notes addressed to the Polish Government by the Russian and Ukrainian Soviet Republics, respectively, are an excellent indication of the desire of these Soviet Republics to live at peace with their neighbors, and put the lies about a projected Soviet attack on Poland in their true place. The Russian note is from a Polish newspaper, the Ukrainian from "The London Daily Herald."

I

NOTE OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO POLAND

MOSCOW, Feb. 4.—The peace proposals of Soviet Russia to Poland as reported by wireless are as follows:

TO PRESIDENT PILSUDSKI

The Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Soviet Republic to the Government and the People of Poland:

Declaration: It lies entirely with Poland to decide whether it will come to a conclusion which may have the most fateful influence upon the life of the peoples for years. All indications are that the extreme imperialists of the Entente, the followers or agents of Churchill and Clemenceau, are at this hour attempting to involve Poland in a hair-brained and criminal war against Soviet Russia. Conscious of their great responsibility to the laboring masses of Russia, and inspired by the most earnest desire to avoid new and unlimited sacrifices, as well as the misfortune and the ruin that threaten both our peoples, the Council of People's Commissars makes the following statement:

1. That the policy of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic toward Poland is not directed by fortuitous or temporary military or diplomatic combinations, but by the inviolable right of every nation to determine its own destiny. The Council has recognized and continues to recognize unconditionally and unprovisionally the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Poland. From the first day of its existence, the Polish state has enjoyed this recognition.

2. The Council of People's Commissars declares anew, as it did at the time of the last peace proposal made to Poland (on December 22) by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, that the Red troops will not cross the present front line of White Russia, which passes through the following points: Drissa, Disna, Polotsk, Borysov, Paricze, and the railroad stations of Ptycz, and Bialokowicze.

As far as the Ukrainian front is concerned, the

Council of People's Commissars declares in its own name and in the name of the Provisional Government of Ukraine that the Soviet troops of the Federative Republic will undertake no military operations beyond the present front, namely, the line crossing near Godov, Pilava, Berezina, and the city of Bar.

3. The Council of People's Commissars declares that the Soviet Republic has concluded no agreement or treaty, with Germany or any other country, that is directly or indirectly against Poland, and that the nature of the spirit of the international policy of the Soviet power precludes the slightest desire to take advantage of possible conflicts between Poland and Germany or any other country for the purpose of encroaching upon the independence of Poland and the inviolability of her territory.

4. The Council of People's Commissars finds that in so far as the interests of Poland and Russia are concerned, there are no questions of a territorial, economic or any other nature that cannot be settled peaceably by means of arbitration, concessions, or mutual agreement, as was done in the case of the negotiations with Esthonia.

The Council of People's Commissars has directed the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to obtain from the coming February session of the Russian Central Executive Committee the solemn confirmation of the above basis of the policy of Soviet Russia toward Poland by the highest organ of the Republic.

The Council of People's Commissars for its own part believes that by the present categorical declaration it has fulfilled its duty with regard to the peaceful interests of the Russian and Polish peoples, and it is confident and hopeful that all uncertain questions between Russia and Poland can be solved by friendly agreement.

(Signed) *President of the Council of People's Commissars: Ulianov-Lenin;*

Commissar for Foreign Affairs: Chicherin;
Military and Naval Commissar: Trotsky.

II

NOTE OF THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO POLAND

PETROGRAD, March 1.—The following is the text of the Ukrainian Soviet Government's Note to the Polish Government on February 23:—

"In its manifesto to the Governments and nations of the world on February 19, the Workmen's

and Peasants' Government of the Soviet Ukrainian Republic emphasized the importance it attaches, in the interests of the two Governments and two peoples, to the conclusion of a treaty of peace with the Polish Republic.

"Wishing to give further proof of its intention to institute neighborly relations with the Polish Republic, the Workers' and Peasants' Government of the Ukraine accepts the demarcation line proposed by its ally, the Soviet Republic of Russia, upon which the Russo-Ukrainian Red Army has halted in its pursuit of the White Guards and of the Petlurists on Ukrainian territory, and which has been communicated in the peace proposals made by the Russian Soviet Republic.

ARTIFICIAL DISSENSIONS

"The abnormal relations existing between the two Governments can only exercise the most regrettable influence upon the political and economic interests alike of Poland and the Ukraine, preventing the establishment of commercial relations between them, and perpetuating the national dissensions which have been artificially created by enemies of the two peoples, involving the two Governments in a series of military expenses and sowing the seed of conflicts to come.

"The triumph, thrice repeated, of the workers' and peasants' power in the Ukraine is the best proof that it alone will be sustained by the Ukrainian masses, and that it has profound roots, not only in the cities, but in the Ukrainian country districts, and that recognition by Poland of any power calling itself Ukrainian, other than that of the workers and peasants represented by the Central Executive Committee of the Ukraine and by a Council of the Ukrainian People's Commissaries (the Government at present existing from the Donetz Basin to the Dniester) will fail to effect the conclusion of a durable peace that is to guarantee normal relations between the two States.

ALLIED INTERFERENCE

"Any other step can only excite hatred against the Polish Republic, as would steps taken by the Imperialists of Central Europe, or by the Entente Governments to impose by military occupation a rule unacceptable to the Ukrainian people, who would respond to such a move by armed insurrection.

"Prepared as it is to struggle against any violation of the will of the working masses of the Ukraine—expressed in a series of general insurrections, first against the Ukrainian Rada, then against German occupation, then against the Hetman Skoropadski, and finally against the Directory—the Government of Workers and Peasants, which is an emanation of these insurrections, believes that the difference in form of Government existing between Poland and the Ukraine is not an obstacle to the conclusion of peace.

NO DESIRE FOR AGGRESSION

"Repeating clearly the intention expressed in its manifesto to all peoples and to all governments, to exercise not the slightest aggressive policy toward its neighbors, nor to interfere in any manner in the internal affairs of other States against the wishes of their populace, the Workmen's and Peasants' Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic addresses to the Polish Government, a formal proposal to enter pourparlers to the end of concluding peace, and awaits the response of Poland.

(Signed) RAKOVSKI,

President of the Council of Commissaries of the Ukrainian Republic."

The Polish Invasion

THE Soviet Government has made a formal offer of peace to the Polish Government.

The independence of Poland was officially recognized by revolutionary Russia immediately after the overthrow of the Czar. The treaty of Versailles is supposed to have restored Poland within its ethnographical boundaries, which include what was known as the Kingdom of Poland within the Russian Empire.¹ Shortly after the recognition of Poland by the Allied and Associated Powers, the Polish army invaded those provinces of Russia in which the Polish population constitutes from 10.1 per cent. to 2.3 per cent. of the total population, as more fully appears in Table I, following.

In the provinces of Vitebsk, Wilno, and Minsk, the majority of the population are White Russians,² in the provinces of Volhynia and Podolia the over-

whelming majority are Ukrainians. The geographical boundaries of some of the provinces do not coincide with ethnographical lines. This applies to the provinces of Vitebsk, Wilno, and Grodno, which include districts predominately Lithuanian or Lettish, or with a mixed population. In Table II, the distribution of the population in these three provinces is shown by districts, and also for the principal cities. In none of the districts and cities, however, does the Polish population predominate. The highest percentage of Poles appears in the district of Bialystok, (outside of the city of Bialystok), namely 41.8 per cent. In the city of Bialystok, however, 62.1 per cent. of the population are Jews. In the city of Wilno, the ancient capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Poles constitute 30.8 per cent. of the population, whereas the Jews constitute 40 per cent. In the district of Wilno, outside the city, the Poles number only 12.1 per cent. of

¹ As a matter of fact, of the ten provinces of Russian Poland, one, that of Suwalki, according to the census of 1897, had a Polish majority only in two districts, those of Suwalki and of Avgustov. In the other five districts the Lithuanians constituted 71% of the total population, whereas the Poles numbered only 8%.

² The White Russians are a distinct nationality which, according to the census of 1897, numbered nearly 6,000,000 persons.

the total population. In the city of Dvinsk the Poles constitute only 16.4 per cent., whereas the Jews number nearly three times as many, namely 46.1 per cent. In the district of Dvinsk outside the city the Poles constitute only 6.1 per cent. of the total population, the majority, namely 54.6 per cent. being Letts. In the district of Bielsk, province of Grodno, the Poles number a little over one-third (34.9 per cent.) of the population, whereas the Ukrainians number 39.1 per cent.

The distribution of the population by provinces and districts is shown graphically on the map appended to this article.

During the half-century from the last Polish insurrection to the present Russian revolution, Poland's claim to independence was recognized by all schools of Russian liberal and revolutionary thought, in accord with the principle of nationality, which

has, since the Russian revolution, become known as the right of self-determination of small nationalities. Immediately after the restoration of her independence Poland has developed imperialistic appetites and is aspiring to annex territories in which the Poles constitute but a very small minority. Of course there is an economic foundation for this policy. An important element among the Poles in these provinces with a predominant non-Polish population is the landed nobility³, which is in fear of the extension of the principle of land nationalization in case the Polish troops should withdraw and Soviet rule should be restored.

³ According to the census of 1897 about one-half of the hereditary nobility in the White Russian and Ukrainian provinces now under Polish occupation were Poles, as shown in the Table III. The percentages have been computed by us.

TABLE I. Distribution of the population by mother tongue for each of the provinces bordering on former Russian Poland.*

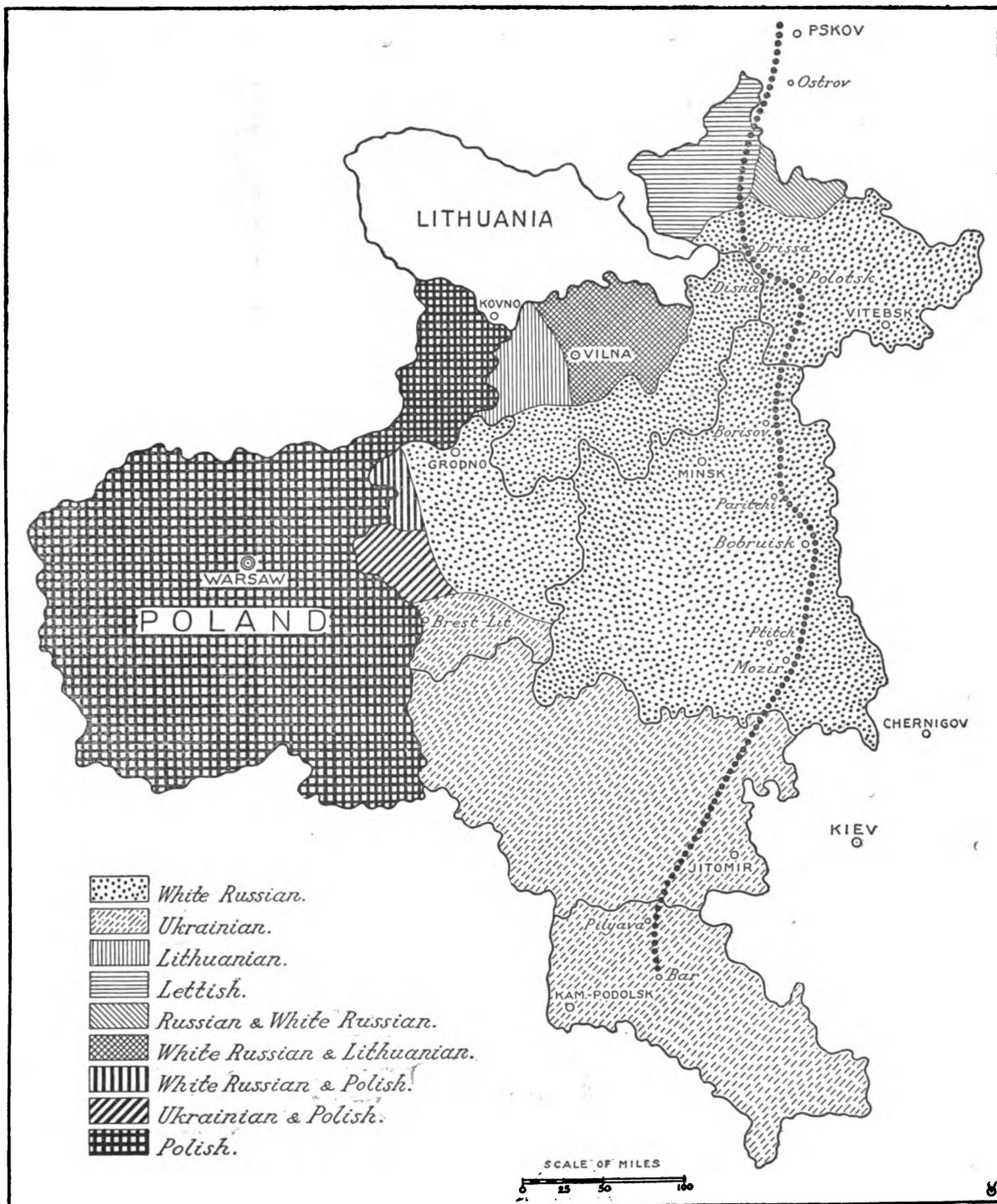
Province	Population Census 1897	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION							All Others
		White Russian	Ukrain- ian	Lithuan- ian	Lettish	Yiddish	Polish	Russian	
Vitebsk	1,488,148	52.9	--	--	17.7	11.7	3.4	13.3	1.0
Wilno	1,591,207	56.1	--	17.6	--	12.7	8.2	4.9	.5
Minsk	2,147,631	76.1	--	--	--	16.0	3.0	3.9	1.0
Grodno	1,603,409	44.0	22.6	--	--	17.4	10.1	4.6	1.3
Volhynia	2,989,482	3.5	70.2	--	--	13.2	6.2	1.5	5.4
Podolia	3,018,299	--	80.9	--	--	12.2	2.3	3.3	1.3

TABLE II. Distribution of the population of each district of the provinces of Vitebsk, Wilno and Grodno, by mother tongue.*

Province and District	Population Census 1897	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION							All Others
		White Russian	Ukrain- ian	Lithuan- ian	Lettish	Yiddish	Polish	Russian	
Vitebsk, total for province	1,488,148	52.9	--	--	17.7	11.7	3.4	13.3	1.0
Drissa	97,040	86.3	--	--	0.4	9.1	2.3	1.6	0.3
Velizh	100,021	85.7	--	--	2.5	9.8	0.3	1.3	0.4
Nevel	110,350	84.1	--	--	(a)	7.5	0.3	7.1	1.0
Gorodok	112,025	83.6	--	--	0.5	4.7	0.4	10.7	0.1
Lepel	156,664	82.0	--	--	0.5	11.6	4.0	1.7	0.2
Polotzk	141,796	73.1	--	--	1.2	12.1	2.0	11.1	0.5
Vitebsk (district)	177,215	51.2	--	--	2.2	22.3	3.2	20.2	0.9
Sebezh	92,046	47.1	--	--	0.2	3.8	1.5	47.1	0.3
Lutzin	128,096	20.6	--	--	64.2	4.9	2.1	7.2	1.0
Dvinsk, city	69,489	2.2	--	--	1.8	46.1	16.4	27.5	6.0
Dvinsk, rest of district	167,133	18.6	--	--	54.6	9.2	6.1	10.2	1.3
Dezhitzza	136,273	5.5	--	--	57.9	7.4	4.8	23.9	0.5
Wilno, total for province	1,591,207	56.1	--	17.6	--	12.7	8.2	4.9	0.5
Wileika	208,013	86.8	--	(a)	--	9.5	2.4	0.9	0.4
Disna	204,923	81.0	--	0.3	--	10.1	2.4	5.9	0.3
Oshmiany	233,559	79.9	--	3.7	--	12.0	1.7	2.3	0.4
Lida	205,767	73.0	--	8.7	--	12.0	4.6	1.2	0.5
Sventziany	172,231	47.6	--	33.8	--	7.1	5.9	5.4	0.2
Wilno, city	154,532	4.2	--	2.1	--	40.0	30.8	20.1	2.8
Wilno, rest of district	208,781	41.8	--	34.9	--	7.3	12.1	3.3	0.6
Troki	203,401	15.8	--	58.0	--	9.5	11.2	4.6	0.9

*Compiled from Reports of the Russian Census 1897; Vitebsk, Part 2, pages 64-75; Wilno, Part 2, pp. 68-75; Minsk, pp. 80-83; Grodno, pp. 102-105; Volhynia, pp. 86-89; Podolia, pp. 8-101.

ETHNOGRAPHICAL MAP OF RUSSIAN POLAND, LITHUANIA, WHITE RUSSIA, VOLHYNIA, AND PODOLIA, SHOWING THE PREDOMINANT NATIONALITIES, BY DISTRICTS, AT THE CENSUS OF 1897



The Dotted Line Indicates the Battle-front of the invading Polish Army

TABLE II—(Continued)

Province and District	Population Census 1897	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION						All Others	
		White Russian	Ukrain- ian	Lithuan- ian	Let- tish	Yiddish	Polish Russian		
Grodno, total for province....	1,603,409	44.0	22.6	--	--	17.4	10.1	4.6	1.3
Sokolka	110,545	83.8	0.4	--	--	12.2	1.1	1.8	0.7
Wolkowysk	148,721	82.3	0.2	--	--	12.4	2.1	2.3	0.7
Slonim	226,274	80.7	0.1	--	--	15.2	1.6	2.1	0.3
Proozhani	139,074	75.5	6.7	--	--	12.8	1.4	3.0	0.6
Grodno (district)	204,854	65.7	(a)	--	--	19.9	5.7	6.2	2.5
Bialystock, city	66,032	3.7	0.2	--	--	62.1	17.2	10.3	6.5
Bialystock, rest of district....	140,583	36.6	0.3	--	--	12.5	41.8	5.0	3.8
Bielsk	164,441	4.9	39.1	--	--	14.9	34.9	5.9	0.3
Brest-Litowsk	218,432	1.8	64.5	--	--	20.8	3.9	8.1	0.9
Kobrin	184,453	0.8	79.6	--	--	13.8	2.2	3.1	0.5

(a) Less than one tenth of one per cent.

TABLE III. Hereditary nobles in the White Russian and Ukrainian provinces under Polish military occupation. (Census of 1897.)

Province	Total Nobles	Polish Nobles Number	% of Total
Vitebsk	22,102	11,466	51.9
Wilno	70,640	36,425	51.6
Grodno	19,211	10,077	52.5
Podolia	30,178	13,946	46.2
Volhynia	34,682	17,174	49.5

*Compiled from Reports of the Russian Census, 1897; Vitebsk, Part 3, page 254; Wilno, Part 3, page 162; Grodno, page 288; Volhynia, page 248; Podolia, page 256.

The Next Number of "Soviet Russia"

WILL APPEAR

Next Saturday, April 3, 1920

and will contain among other things the following special features:

1. **KARL RADEK:** *Germany and Soviet Russia.* A statement of the desirability of Germany's opening trade relations with Soviet Russia, as certain other countries are displaying little desire for such relations.
2. *Army Organization in Soviet Russia.* A number of official and non-official articles on the present organization of the Red Army, and on its social significance.
3. *The Situation in Ukraine.* Several illuminating statements, from various sources, on conditions in Ukraine now that it has become a Soviet Republic once more.
4. *Are the Soviet Labor Laws Really Tyrannical?* An official statement of the Bureau, in which it is shown that the Soviet laws on labor represent a condition in which the worker enjoys an unprecedented degree of liberty and freedom of motion, as well as claims on society which are not elsewhere given him.

We also call attention to the number which will follow the above, namely, the issue of April 10, which is to contain a number of interesting articles on Nikolai Lenin, whose fiftieth birthday falls on the date of issue.

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Two Armies and Two Fronts

Universal Service in Industry and War

THERE are two armies and there are two fronts in Soviet Russia. There is an army in the field and an army in the shops. There is a front on the battle line and another front in industry.

The achievements of the armed forces of the Republic have astonished the world. Even their enemies now admit the military supremacy of the Soviets over almost the entire territory of the old Russia and Siberia.

The Russian people are now turning to the task of internal reconstruction. As a recent Russian paper stated: "The transportation crisis is the most intractable, stubborn and bold enemy Russia's victorious proletariat has so far met." The industrial army is advancing to meet this new opponent with the same invincible morale which won for the Russian workers victory on the field of battle.

Those who supported the enemies of Soviet Russia in the civil crisis that has passed are now seeking to bring discredit upon the workers' government in the industrial crisis that is at hand. They charge that there is "industrial slavery" in Russia; that the workers are reduced to the position of "serfs," and that there is less freedom for the workers un-

der the Soviet regime than there was in days of the Czar. These charges, in the light of fact, reveal the same lack of understanding of Soviet Russia which has characterized current opinion about Russia since the Revolution began.

As the opponents of the Russian Republic failed to comprehend the organization, the morale and the power of the Soviet forces in the field, so do they now fail to understand the make-up, the spirit and the significance of the industrial army of the Russian Republic. As misunderstanding brought untold suffering to the people of Russia and failure to the designs of those who opposed the Soviet Government a year ago, so it will, unless corrected, today.

In the interests of an understanding that will benefit both Russia and the rest of the world, we are printing in this issue authoritative material on both the military and industrial organization which the people of Russia have imposed upon themselves, and the results of this organization in practice. To make the issues perfectly clear we are publishing the criticisms of one of our most distinguished opponents and an answer to them point by point.

Is the Soviet Worker a "Serf"?

We print below the criticisms recently made by ex-Secretary of Commerce William C. Redfield, now President of the Russian-American Chamber of Commerce, upon the condition of the workers in Russia under the Soviet Labor Law, and a detailed answer to his charges by an eminent Russian authority.

Mr. Redfield's Charges

"In the issue of SOVIET RUSSIA for February 21st, the Soviet Bureau publishes in full the new code of Labor Laws of Soviet Russia. Ostensibly it is propaganda to impress American workmen with its advanced ideas as to the right to work, the eight-hour day, the protection of women and children in industry, and unemployment and disability insurance. As a matter of fact, however, it shows a state of affairs with reference to labor which is anything but enlightened. By it labor is put back into a state of serfdom and oppression the like of which has not been known for a century. If every American workman could read this labor code carefully he would be thoroughly disillusioned as to the claim that the Soviet Government of Russia is a workman's government or that it has interested itself in the welfare of labor. It has, on the contrary, imposed a tyranny which has deprived labor of all the rights and privileges hitherto attained.

"In the first place, all citizens of Soviet Russia between sixteen and fifty who are not incapacitated by injury or illness are subject to compulsory labor. All laborers are divided into categories by the authorities and are subject to wage scales and labor conditions laid down by them. Every laborer must carry a labor booklet, which is like a passport. In

it must be entered every payment he receives, the hours he works or is absent, the group and category to which he has been assigned by the Valuation Commission, and every other detail of his life and activity. A wage earner must present his booklet upon the request of any of the authorities or institutions.

"A wage earner is not permitted to change from one job to another except by the permission duly certified by the labor authorities, under whom he becomes virtually an industrial serf bound to his job. If a man wishes to quit work, he must secure a certificate from the bureau of medical experts proving his disability, and whether it is temporary or permanent. Leaves of absence may be granted by agreement between the management of enterprises and workmen's committee, but a wage earner shall not be allowed to work for remuneration during his leave of absence.

"No American workmen should submit for a moment to such a tyrannical and oppressive system and a reading of this code shows clearly how far the autocracy at Moscow has gone in the direction of reaction and destruction of the liberty and right of the individual."

Mr. Redfield Refuted

MR. REDFIELD is of opinion that under Soviet law "labor is put back into a state of serfdom and oppression the like of which has not been known for a century." The Soviet government has "imposed a tyranny which has deprived labor of all the rights and privileges hitherto attained." The laborer has become "virtually a serf bound to his job."

"A reading of this code shows clearly," exclaims Mr. Redfield, "how far the autocracy at Moscow has gone in the direction of reaction and destruction of the liberty and right of the individual." Mr. Redfield's indictment of the Soviet tyranny is set forth in five counts.

1. All able-bodied citizens of Soviet Russia between 16 and 50 are subject to compulsory labor.

2. All workers are classified by the authorities and are subject to wage scales and labor conditions laid down by the authorities.

3. A wage earner is not permitted to change

from one job to another except by special permission of the labor authorities.

4. A wage earner is not allowed to work for pay during his leave of absence.

5. Every laborer must carry a labor booklet which is like a passport.

Let us examine each of these charges seriatim.

1. Mr. Redfield believes that "no American workman would submit for a moment to such a tyrannical and oppressive system." He seems to be unaware of the existence of vagrancy laws in most of the States of the Union, to say nothing of the laws enacted in many States during the late war, which require every able-bodied male to work a certain number of hours per week. The only difference between the American and the Soviet legislation on the subject is that under the laws of Soviet Russia the duty to work has its correlative in *the right to work*, whereas in the United States a worker who can find no employment may be sent to prison for vagrancy.

Has Mr. Redfield never heard of the chain gangs

in the Southern States, where unemployed negroes are sentenced to prison terms for vagrancy and hired out by the authorities to private contractors to work on public roads? In Soviet Russia, under Section 10 of the Code of Labor Laws, "all citizens able to work have the right to employment at their vocations." This is not a mere theoretical right. Under Article III of the Code the right to work is enforced through the machinery of the Soviet Government. Every unemployed wage earner is furnished work by the Department of Labor Distribution. In case no work can be found for him he is entitled to an unemployed benefit which must be equal to his regular wages, fixed by the wage scale committee of his labor union. (Section 61 and Appendix to Section 79, Paragraphs 5 and 6.)

Inasmuch as the Soviet Government undertakes to provide every unemployed with a job and to pay him an unemployment benefit if no employment can be found for him, the government requires every worker to accept employment at his own trade, provided the wages and terms of employment conform to union standards, (Section 24.) In case, however, no employment can be found for the worker at his own trade and work of a lower grade is offered to him, he is paid out of the unemployment fund the difference between the regular scale of his trade and the wages received by him at his temporary employment.

We strongly suspect that many an American union man might be inclined to submit to this form of "tyranny".

2. The workers are classified by the authorities and the wage scale is provided by the authorities for every class of work, objects Mr. Redfield. He seems to be ignorant of the fact that practically all "factories" (as defined by the United States Census Bureau) have been nationalized in Soviet Russia. In practice, then, this rule means that the government of Soviet Russia classifies its civil servants and fixes their compensation. Is the former Secretary of Commerce unaware of the fact that the employes of the Government Printing Office and the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, at Washington, D. C., are classified by Congress, and that their salaries and wages are likewise fixed by Congress? Has he forgotten the existence of the War Labor Board, whose duty it was to adjust wages in private factories which were working on government contracts? Were not the wage earners in these establishments also classified with the approval of the War Labor Board? Are not the employes of the United States Steel Corporation classified by the administration of the corporation? It was reported in the public press that Mr. Gary took exception to the workers' claim of a voice in the fixing of their wages.

Let us see, next, how wage scales are fixed in Soviet Russia. Under Sections 8 and 9 of the Code of Labor Laws the rules governing wages and conditions of employment in all establishments, whether public or private, are framed by the trade unions and approved by the People's Commissariat

of Labor, which is the Russian equivalent of the American Department of Labor. "In cases where it is impossible to arrive at an understanding with the directors or owners of establishments" the wage scales are drawn up by the trade unions and submitted for approval to the People's Commissariat of Labor. It is a matter of public knowledge that the spokesmen for the American employing class have only too frequently refused to confer with representatives of labor unions as to terms of employment. In Soviet Russia if the directors or owners of industrial establishments fail to come to terms with the union of their employes the controversy is decided by the Department of Labor of the Soviet government, which is chosen by the workers and the farmers.

3. Mr. Redfield claims that under the Soviet code of laws the wage earner may change from one job to another only by the express permission of the labor authorities. The wage earner is not permitted to quit work until his resignation is accepted. If he desires to quit his job the reasons for his resignation must be passed upon by the shop committee of the workers. If the shop committee upon investigation finds the resignation unjustified the wage earner must remain at work, but he may appeal from the decision of the shop committee to his trade union. The penalty provided for disobedience of this rule is forfeiture of unemployed benefits for one week. (Sections 51, 52, and 53.)

There is nothing in the rules to prevent him after that from registering with the Bureau of Labor Distribution which must provide him with another job.

It is needless to deny that as an abstract proposition these rules imply a curtailment of "the liberty and the right of the individual," as Mr. Redfield puts it. To be sure, in capitalistic countries the wage earner is at liberty to quit work at pleasure. He does it, however, at the peril of being forced to starve, to beg, or to steal. On the contrary, in Soviet Russia every worker who is out of a job is entitled to draw from the public treasury his regular wages until the government supplies him with another job. Is it not reasonable for the government, under such circumstances, to have a say as to whether the worker should quit his employment? The government exercises this power of supervision by delegating it to the shop-mates of the worker. Could Mr. Redfield suggest any arrangement that would be more favorable to the worker?

Suppose on the other hand every worker were at liberty to quit his job at pleasure and draw upon the public treasury while he is out of a job? Would that not be a temptation for many a man to loaf at public expense?

It must be borne in mind, moreover, that this theoretical curtailment of the worker's right to quit his job at pleasure is compensated by the abolition of the employer's right to "fire" the worker at pleasure. Under Section 46 a worker may be dis-

charged (1) in case of complete or partial liquidation of the enterprise, or of cancellation of certain orders, (2) in case of suspension of work for more than a month, (3) in case of evident unfitness of the worker for work. In all these cases the worker must be given two weeks' notice. (Section 47.)

The discharge of a workman for "evident unfitness" requires the approval of his trade union, and he may appeal from the order for his discharge to the local Bureau of Labor. Should the final decision be unfavorable to the worker he is entered on the lists of unemployed of the Department of Labor Distribution, which must furnish him with another job or pay him the regular unemployed benefit, (Section 47), which, as will be remembered, is equal to his wages.

The President of the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce is joined in his abhorrence of compulsory labor in Soviet Russia by the venerable President of the American Federation of Labor. We have it, however, on the authority of Mr. Lincoln Eyre, special correspondent of the *New York World*, in its issue of March 13, that the laws governing compulsory labor "originated with the unions" which according to his testimony, have been "empowered to regulate in concert with the Labor Commissariat, all wage scales, working hours, and other matters relating to employment."

Final decision in all these matters, says Mr. Eyre, is vested in the government. "In practice, however, it is highly improbable that the Soviet administration would deny any of the powerful unions' demands unless they were fantastically exorbitant."

4. Mr. Redfield is grieved over the fact that in Soviet Russia a wage earner is not allowed to work for pay during his leave of absence, (Sections 106 and 107.) The Soviet laws assure to every wage earner one month's vacation in every year, provided that all time which he was unemployed and drawing his regular wage in the form of unemployed benefits is charged to his annual leave. If he were permitted to engage in work for pay during his vacation he would, in effect, be drawing double pay. A former Secretary of Commerce might be expected to know that under the departmental rules obtaining in Washington, D. C., no government employe is permitted to hold two positions and draw two salaries at the same time, even though he may do the work of one during the time of his annual leave. Thus the Soviet government has merely introduced in its institutions the rule which has been enforced in the United States government so long "that memory runneth not to the contrary."

There are very good reasons for this rule in Soviet Russia. In case of illness the government pays to the worker a sick benefit which is equal to his regular wages. (Appendix to Section 5, Par. 18, Subdiv. 1, 2 and 3.) In order that the worker may preserve his vitality the Soviet government grants him a month's leave so that he may rest during that time. It is quite proper for the gov-

ernment to expect that the worker shall avail himself of that rest. Moreover, inasmuch as the government must provide every able-bodied person with work or pay him an unemployed benefit, it would be unbusinesslike to permit one worker to draw double pay while others may have to be put on the list of the unemployed and draw unemployed benefits.

5. Last but not least is that labor booklet "which is like a passport," in which must be entered "every detail of his (the worker's) life and activity."

Reference to the rules concerning labor booklets, (Appendix to Section 80), shows that the entries in the booklet are confined to the following items:

1. Name and age of the worker.
2. Name and address of his trade union.
3. The occupational group to which he has been assigned by the wage scale committee of his union.
4. The work performed by him,—whether paid by the time or by the piece, as well as over-time, and all payments received by him as wages, or unemployed or sick benefits.
5. The time taken by him on account of his annual leave, as well as his sick leave.
6. All fines imposed upon him.

These are all the "details of his life and activity" that may be entered in his labor booklet. The President of the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce will probably be surprised to learn that the above rules concerning labor booklets are merely a reenactment, with improvements of the Imperial law on the subject. The Industrial Code which is a portion of Vol. II, Part 2, of the Compiled Statutes of the Russian Empire, contains provisions relating to labor booklets in Sections 92, 136, 137 and following. Section 137 reads as follows:

"In the boklet of account must be entered, (1) the name, patronymic, and surname of the worker; (2) the term of employment and the term of his passport; (3) the amount of wages, specifying the methods of their computation and terms of payment; (4) the amount of rent for use by the worker of the dwellings, bath, etc., provided by the factory or mill; (5) other terms of employment which the contracting parties may deem necessary to enter in the booklet; (6) entries of the amounts earned, with a statement of the amount of fines imposed upon the worker, and the cause thereof; (7) an extract from the laws and rules of internal administration, defining the rights, duties, and responsibilities of the workers."

The plain object of the labor booklet is to furnish the worker with evidence of the work performed and pay received by him, in case of dispute. Every one familiar with the labor situation in the United States knows that the calendars of the inferior courts in all industrial centers are crowded with wage cases. Quite frequently the worker is unable to prove his claim "by preponderance of evidence." In court the employer's word is as good as the wage earner's word. The Russian law has made provision for it, so as to avoid endless litigation.

Military Theory and Practice

On May 25th last, Soviet Russia celebrated the first anniversary of the system of universal military training for the workers and peasants. It was a year before that the Soviet Government proclaimed the slogan: "Workers and Peasants Take Arms". During that year the workers in the factories, the peasants in the villages, the employees of government offices, and all the members of the revolutionary parties—in fact, all the workers and peasants in Soviet Russia—learned the art of war. Only the bourgeoisie were exempt from this obligation.

The military instruction took place regularly in a systematic way several hours each week. All those who learned how to handle arms received muskets and revolvers. The numbers grew daily and at the close of the year a great reserve army of workers and peasants was formed. The regular army of Russia at last had trained and equipped reserve: In each city, in every village of the Republic there is either a regiment or a battalion or a company of reserves. They are ready to leave for the front at any minute—even though the individual reservists follow their regular daily occupations.

On May 25 last a great anniversary parade and review was held in Moscow. Several hundred thousand reservists, men and women, took part. To mark the occasion a special anniversary leaflet was issued by the Soviet Government. Two of the articles that appeared are of special interest in connection with the organization and achievements of the Soviet armies. We publish them below.

Military Organization and the Structure of Society

By N. BUKHARIN

THE organization of an armed force is always determined by the social-economic and political regime on the basis of which it is constructed. This organization is not something fixed and immovable. On the contrary, one can always follow its evolution with precision: and sometimes its revolution. It is easy to understand the fundamental causes of this phenomenon. Society, with its changing historical types, is constituted at each given moment in accordance with a single principle which assumes in its diverse parts a single and the uniform "style".

The basis of a society where slavery exists is class relations between the owners, the slaves and the "speaking tools", deprived of all rights. The absence of all legal rights coincides with economic exploitation. The political machine is constructed like the "economic structure" of society. And in those epochs where the revolts of slaves menaced the existence of the owners, the army was composed of "free citizens." Slaves were excluded from it. They were "unworthy of carrying arms."

Let us take an example very near to us,—capitalist society. Its economic bases are the relations between the owner, the means of production, the capitalist and the wage worker who has no property. The political government reflects this situation in this wise: that either the workers have not equal rights to those of the capitalist, in principle or in fact; or they have these rights in principle, but they have not in fact. In either case, it is the bourgeoisie who governs, the workers who execute, in submission. The same relations exist in the army. The elements which, from an economic point of view are the exploiters are the directors, in the army they are the commanders and they

are organized into what is called the officer corps. From this point of view, the capitalist factory, every institution of the state or of the regiment of the capitalist army is constructed on the same basis: the elements of the classes which are superior to the worker find themselves in a superior position in the factory as well in the regiment; in fact, in every position. On the contrary the elements of classes which find themselves at the bottom of the hierarchy of the factory are at the bottom of the hierarchy of the regiment and every organ of the state.

It is easy to understand why one discovers in society this singular kind of architecture. It is the indispensable condition of the relative stability of the social type in question. Without this unity, society, in its quality as a definite system of social relations, would pass away. It is clear from the above that, a given social system is the more stable as its interior structure has greater unity.

This is the necessary criterion to apply to the question of the organization of an army. A little before the October revolution it was an obvious fact that discipline had disappeared in the army. But it had disappeared exactly as the capitalist discipline had disappeared in any factory. The workman, who occupied the inferior position in the factory, ceased to obey the capitalist. The working class demanded for itself its rights, first for the control then for the direction of the factories. They no longer could, nor would, work in obedience to the beck and call of the exploiter. But even as the worker could no longer work for the capitalist and obey him at the factory, he could no longer work for him and obey him in the army. Thus the army went to pieces. The experience of the German and Hungarian Revolutions, as well as that of the Russian Revolution shows very clear-

Universal Military Training

By E. OSTROVSKY

THE decree on General Military Instruction was published April 22, 1918. On May 7 the first order was issued, after which it was possible to set to work. It was possible to outline in advance the main lines of the edifice to be constructed even though we were still deprived of all the material and we had nought to construct this work with but a definite idea that was to be carried out, and the feeling that it was necessary to do this work.

But in the summer of 1918 it was announced that the general plan was ready, that a great design had been drawn up and that it was possible to set about the task immediately. In July the first All-Russian Congress of Military Instruction assembled. All those who worked on this plan, otherwise scattered through the territory of the Republic, had an opportunity to change their impressions and opinions. The Central Organs set forth what they had accomplished, and listened to the reports of the Province. This time a substantial and uniform plan was drawn up. From that time it was possible to move resolutely forward.

All over the territory of the Soviet Republic, as well as in the capitols filials of the "Vsieobouch" (Military General Instruction Service) sprang up—which had offices in the most remote villages and places. Thus, not only on paper, but in fact and reality, the work of general military instruction became that of all Russia.

This is proven by the character which the instruction assumed from its very start. It worked on the masses and with the masses. First of all it was necessary to spread it amongst the greatest possible number of men and the largest possible stretch of territory, to arrange for the participation of the greatest possible number of people in this military instruction, and to see to it that the whole mass of workers benefited by it. It was necessary to work on an enormous mass, still without form. First of all it was necessary to carve out the general contour and then only was it possible to occupy oneself with the details. During the first period, as at the beginning, it was necessary to be guided solely by the creator's instinct. It is this instinct which dictated the solution to the questions of detail arising in the course of execution,—and there were many such questions.

It was necessary to divide into detachments and to discipline a great number of men. It was necessary to create a system which could conform to the instructions of the capitols.

The important question of instructors presented itself.

From this point of view we had an advantage over the Red Army. Our instructors were workers and peasants. Our instructors come from the ranks of the working people, while for the Red Army officers from the old regime had been made use of, men not understanding the masses whom

they were instructing, from the point of view of their psychology, their spirit, and their social position. The instructors of the General Military Service were the Peters and Ivans of the same village, of the same factory, as those whom they instructed and of whom they were only the monitors for several hours of instruction. The workers and peasants were instructed in the military art by by their comrades. And this was of great importance. Understanding and confidence was very quickly established to mutual satisfaction and this aided greatly in the work of instruction.

The latter had for its sole aim to come to the aid of the Red Army. We understood that the hour of the militia had not yet come, that it was first necessary to raise and strengthen the ramparts from the shelter of which we could create our work. And we saw clearly that our work was to be based not on dreams but on brutal reality. We must give to the Red Army that which it needs most—that is to say, reserves. And the main task also to which we assigned ourselves was to furnish to the Red Army—as the written pages of the General Military Instruction show, brave regiments of workers.

The masses summoned by us to receive military instruction understood from the first what we desired. But there were, however, several difficulties. Leaving out the question of equipment great difficulties appeared in other matters,—chiefly in that of provisioning. In the places where the question of revictualing was acute, the workers and peasants had to apply themselves to their regular daily work and to expand, moreover, energy for the military instruction. It was necessary to nourish them. It was only through great efforts that we were able to do this from Moscow and Petrograd. It was necessary to supply boots, if only to the peasants, who had no footwear at all.

At the beginning of the year we find ourselves in a very much better position. We have acquired after a year of work a valuable experience. We have clear ideas verified by experience—and a definite plan. We no longer err in the search for means to realize the aims which we have resolutely set ourselves and which we already see very clearly before us. We can go resolutely forward—towards a gradual transition into a general militia system.

And those who deprecated the work of military instruction have become more confident. They have strong hopes; not only of the organization of small but of large units of combat, as the militia system, based on a territorial principle, becomes possible under our present economic conditions.

We have confidence in our forces. We are sure that the General Military Instruction will set its regiments in march at the moment when they are needed, and that their part will not be the smallest in the struggle for the ideals of Soviet Russia.

The Red Army and Its Spirit

By LT. COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

Washington, March 24, 1920.

ISAAC McBRIDE is the man who saw it; he understood it and admired it and I believe what he told me about the Red Army of Soviet Russia.

McBride is the first American who has brought us correct news about the new Russian army, and I consider the information which I received from him on the subject as very important, even from a purely psychological point of view. McBride had fully analyzed the morale of the red soldiers; he realized their spirit; and that means that this American observer had discovered three-fourths of the real reason why Soviet Russia has been victorious over her strong and numerous enemies.

McBride was in Soviet Russia in September and October of 1919. Now he is in Washington and has just finished a book on his experiences in the Soviet Republic.

Lincoln Eyre, in the *New York World*, transmitted to us some interesting information about the construction of the Red army; this young American journalist described the uniforms of the Reds; the organization of the new Russian army and many things which will be read in America with the greatest interest; but very little is said about the spirit of the red soldier which was evident in McBride's talk with me.

Even in September 1919, while Kolchak was making a stand near the Tobol River, and Denikin was close to Orel, and Yudenich was preparing for his march on Petrograd, the Soviet officials were doubtful about meeting successfully this terrific onslaught, which had been backed by the Allied powers. They realized that it would be a terrible struggle.

Even Lenin was a little doubtful about the outcome of the approaching battles.

But McBride, who had just reached Moscow from the battle front, where he had had an opportunity to mingle with the soldiers of the Red army, stated without any equivocation in conversation with the Russian Premier that, having noted the spirit prevailing among the Russian troops, he was positive that the Red Army would be victorious.

This was not foolish optimism on the part of McBride; it was exactly the feeling which had been expressed in our articles in *Soviet Russia* during the same period here in New York. It was a result of a correct analysis, first of the spirit of the fighters, and then of the study of their equipment and organization.

McBride was right: The Red army won its cause brilliantly; it saved the revolution for the Russian proletariat.

"When I first came in contact with the soldiers of the Red army, after crossing the line", said McBride with his usual firmness, "the thing that struck me more forcibly than anything else was the at-

mosphere of comradeship existing between the officers and men.

"The animated countenances of the Red soldiers made me feel at once that here was a body of men who were not going into battle unwillingly; there was in their appearance a spirit of determination born of a definite understanding of the reason for their being in this war that probably has no parallel in the history of soldiers on battlefields; later, I was able to confirm my impression upon first coming in contact with them. The average Red soldiers could tell me in the most positive way the reason for the struggle and what they hoped to attain from it. They knew what Soviet rule meant. They were able to tell me about its structure and how they hoped to live after they should have succeeded in repelling the invasion of their country and destroying the counter-revolutionary forces. They invariably said: 'We not only have a vision of our new society under Soviet rule, but we also, all of us, know just how we are going to build it; the future Russia belongs to Russia's workers and peasants, and they will build the new Russia and control it themselves. That is why we fight, and rather than be denied the right to control Russia for ourselves, we are prepared to remain at war for years and years; rather than go back to the old system of exploitation we prefer to die fighting for the liberty which we know will be ours.'"

"I had been with these soldiers for two weeks, mingling with thousands of them in their barracks, in their mess, on parade, at the fronts, and the spirit prevailing among them was a revelation to me when I considered that here were hundreds of thousands of men who had fought for three years under the Czar, and who, after the Czar was overthrown, had demobilized themselves and were now organized better than they had ever been before. I felt then that they had full knowledge of what they had been fighting for under the Czar and what they were fighting for at the time I was with them. They ate the poorest of food from day to day, both officers and men. They slept in cold barracks or in open fields; they traveled to the various fronts packed in the trains like sardines; they covered the roofs and the steps of the cars and rode on the engines, and all the time they were singing the "Internationale" instead of the warlike and nationalistic songs of the old days. They had a new vision, a vision that had its root in the soil, in their industrial struggle, and it was a vision born of understanding. While I shivered with the cold, their enthusiasm for their new-found freedom kept them warm; while I was hungry all the time on the short rations allotted me, they had learned what hunger was and had overcome it.

"I shall never forget the Red Army of Soviet Russia—it seemed to breathe the spirit of freedom, not only for itself, but for mankind the world over.

It did not want to kill, it wanted to live and let others live, but it was determined to defend the new order even though it might mean the sacrifice of life.

"To me they were the most anti-militaristic people I had ever come in contact with, and I believe that it is because they are anti-militaristic and freedom-loving that it will be impossible for any outside force to defeat them.

"Soldiers and officers of all ranks are friends and comrades. The spirit of caste went out of existence automatically with the coming of Soviet rule. They appeared to me to be human beings organized and working for a common cause; the fact of the matter is that it was impossible for me to distinguish an officer from a private by their general appearance. All the old marks that went to make that distinction have been eliminated, and as a result of that and many other things along the same line, the forces have been merged into one."

It is a real wonder how completely the spirit of the Russian army has been regenerated. General Brussilov and General Kuropatkin, after their return to the old job, and after obtaining the same position which they had held in the old army, remained the same experienced and skillful military leaders they had been in the past, but for their men they—as well as their men for them—had ceased to be the same as in the days of the rule of the old military and imperialistic regime.

I have heard from several eyewitnesses in how friendly manner all the generals talk with their private comrades, shaking hands with them quite naturally, with real Russian sincerity, and that intimacy does not weaken the severity of the discipline and the promptness with which a given order is carried out. Off duty they are all equal, all comrades.

I was interested to know how the officers of the old regime stood with the Red army and what was the opinion their proletarian comrades had of them. Isaac McBride satisfied me on this point:

"When I asked the Soviet officers, promoted from the ranks, about the spirit of the Czar's officers who were then in the Soviet army, they informed me that with a few exceptions these old officers had adapted themselves willingly and enthusiastically to the new method, a method which did not permit any high officer to impose, as in the old days, his imperial will upon the rank and file. That the old officers were men after all, who realized that a new day had come in Russia's life, which necessitated new and more human relations between men, and also that for once in the history of Russia the power had been transferred to the people; and as Russian patriots—if nothing more—the old officers became reconciled to the new order of things. In Soviet Russia today there are old army officers in the Red army who would have laughed at you if you had told them ten years ago that the time would come when they would willingly mingle with the rank and file and look upon them as comrades. But such is the case, and, strange to say there are many of the old officers in the Red army today who are

more enthusiastic for Soviet rule than they ever were for defending and preserving the old regime."

For me, as an old soldier of the Russian army, far away from my country at this wonderful moment of transformation in the spirit of my comrades, this change is comprehensible. A similar transformation has taken place in my own heart, and the worse the situation became for the Russian people during their life and death struggle, the greater and greater grew my feeling for the oppressed proletariat of my country; and finally, the common sorrow and a vivid realization of the righteous cause which bleeding Russia—Soviet Russia—was defending, brought us together.

"Black bread and tea, and song"—those were the usual rations of the Red soldier, said Isaac McBride in *Asia* (February-March issue), in his splendid article "Black Bread and Tea". "They march off to the front singing, they limp back from battle singing, they sing on the trains and in the barracks and at mess; they sing while they are playing checkers, and they sing when they are sweeping stables. They wake up at night and sing—I have heard them do it."

"I do not believe that any European army would endure so long on a ration of black bread and tea."

Let us remember the protest of the British Tommy in France. When there was a shortage of jam and marmalade in the trenches this protest came very near to being a mutiny.

According to Lincoln Eyre, Captain Sadoul of the French army exerted a great influence in the matter of the organization of the Red army. Sadoul was Trotzky's military adviser during the first stage of the revolution; and as we have guessed in our early articles, it appears that the suggestion of the famous French Socialist Jaurès, to create a people's army, was adopted by the Russians. Lincoln Eyre thinks that at present there are 60,000 ex-officers of the Czar with the Red army, and he ridicules the wide-spread rumors of the existence of German officers in the ranks of the Soviet military forces.

"That the Red army is officered by Germans is purely mythical", he says. "It is equally mythical, I believe, that there is any considerable number of Germans on the staff. I inspected a general staff building in Moscow, visited three divisional staff headquarters, and came into contact with other lesser staffs and in none did I remark a German, though I was on the lookout for them. Trotzky grinned satirically when I put the question to him. 'We have a few', he admitted. 'But we don't need them. For that matter we have a few French officers too.' In regard to the enormous number of Chinese mercenaries fighting with the Soviets, Lincoln Eyre says: "There are actually less than 5,000 Chinese in the Red army and all of them are volunteers" (*New York World*, March 21, 1920).

Captain Jacques Sadoul, who came to Russia as a member of the French Military Mission, and became a Bolshevik, suggested to Trotzky that he adopt the French multiple of three system of army organization. This method is considered as most practical from a tactical standpoint because it gives

to the tactical units an extreme flexibility, thus increasing manoeuvring ability.

It is a great pity that we do not know the number of guns in a battery; if there are four gun batteries, as in the French army, then naturally a Russian division is very poorly supplied with artillery. But in spite of the lack of guns, the great army of Soviet Russia has overpowered a technically superior enemy, for guns and tanks play a minor role in battle when the spirit of the fighters is so high as it is in the glorious army of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

(Supplementary Note)

THE RUSSIAN MILITARY PRESS IN EASTERN SIBERIA

The speedy development of revolution in Eastern Siberia has naturally had an effect on the local press. The solidly established bourgeois newspapers in Omsk, Tomsk, Irkutsk, Chita, Kharbin, Vladivostok, Nikolsk-Ussuryisk, Blagoveschensk, Khabarovsk and other less important places, have either disappeared or changed their tone, and in most cases they have given way to a new kind of publication—of purely revolutionary character, advocating ideas that are somewhere between those of the Social-revolutionary of the left and communistic.

We have just received some specimens of this interesting press, which mirror the actual atmosphere in that remote part of Russia on the eve of its joining the gigantic body of the Soviet Republic.

No. 1 of "The Military Alarm" (Voenny Nabat), the organ of the "Information Department of the Operative Headquarters of the Military-Revolutionary Organization" published in the fortress of Vladivostok, first appeared on February 5-18, 1920. "The Military Alarm" is published on a single sheet of paper of a rather small size, costing 10 roubles per copy. This newspaper replaced the Kolchak official organ "Voenny Vestnik" (The Military Review) and it informs the citizens of Vladivostok that "Kolchak has fallen. The Semionovs and Kalmikovs will have the same fate as their chief. With the termination of the shameful rule which hung over that part of Russia the hopes of the Great Powers which supported it have fallen also."

"Comrade-Soldiers!" appeals "Voenny Nabat" to the garrison of Vladivostok, "There is a new discovery! We still have a commandant! Semionov is impudent enough to appoint Kalmikov as our commandant. Well, let this ataman of the bandits come here; he is anxiously awaited here by the revolutionary Cossacks of the Ussury region, whose brothers and fathers have fallen victims to this bloodthirsty executioner . . . Let him come—he will be met with all the respect which he deserves".

Another revolutionary paper has been issued daily in Nikolsk Ussuryisk since the revolutionary coup d'etat of January 26th 1920. Its title is "The Bulletin", and it is also the organ of the Military

Revolutionary Headquarters. This headquarters calls itself "The Amalgamated Staff of the Military Revolutionary Organizations", and, as can be seen, it directs the general revolutionary movement.

The slogan of the revolutionists on the eve of the arrival of the Red Armies was "Down with Intervention, down with the civil war!"—

In No. 6 (February 3, 1920) "The Bulletin" gives very interesting information about Kolchak's arrest and that of the President of the Council of his Ministers, Pepelaiev.

Kolchak, according to "The Bulletin", had no expectation of being arrested—particularly with the consent of the Allied Commandant.

On January 15 Mr. Kossminsky, the representative of the Political Centre, was invited to meet the representative of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, Dr. Blogazh. The commander of Kolchak Train No. 52 was also present. The conference took place at the Inokentievskaya station. Kolchak and Pepelaiev were already under arrest in their cars..

The object of the conference was to elaborate the way in which Kolchak and Pepelaiev should be handed over to the Russian revolutionary authorities. A special commission was appointed, and reached the train at 7 P. M. On January 15, at 9.55 in the evening, the Czecho-Slovak military authorities handed over to the Commandant of the Irkutsk Station the ex-ruler of the 'All-Russian Government,' his wife, and Pepelaiev. They were received by members of the Commission of the Political Center, Mr. Feldman, and V. Merhalov, and Captain Nesterov, second in command of the national revolutionary forces. Admiral Kolchak's wife refused to leave him.

Kolchak, after having been informed of his arrest, was disarmed. He declared that all the official correspondence had been destroyed at Nizhne-Udinsk.

When the Czecho-Slovak officer informed Kolchak that he was to be turned over to the revolutionists, Kolchak rose and became very pale. "Is it possible that the Allies are betraying me," he cried; but very soon he recovered his self-control and behaved with "great dignity and tact," while Pepelaiev remained very much perturbed.

One hundred and twenty armed men accompanied those arrested, who marched on foot across the Angara Bridge. On the other bank of the river automobiles took them to the Irkutsk prison. Kolchak had in his possession 10,000 roubles, Pepelaiev had 16,000 roubles, and Mrs. Timireva, wife of the latter, had 43,000 roubles in all. Generals Martianov and Samoilov of the Kolchak staff were also arrested and 7,000,000 roubles and a quantity of silver were found in the train of the head of the "All Russian Government."

The price of No. 6 of *The Bulletin* was 2 roubles, and No. 13, which is half the size of the former, has already been increased in cost to 3 roubles.

Why Denikin Failed

As a contrast to the methods and morale of the Soviet Army we print below a vivid description, written by the Copenhagen correspondent of "Stockholms Dagblad", of the recruiting methods of the armies of the counter-revolution. This article gives a vivid insight into the causes of Denikin's collapse.

WE have mentioned earlier the establishment of an office in Copenhagen for recruiting young men into the army of Denikin. The young Danes were deluded into believing that they would be given splendid positions as members of the Russian gendarmes with especially good salaries. They were taken to some Russian ships which were anchored off the Norwegian coast, and later learned that their contracts were merely for enlistment as soldiers in Denikin's army. A few of the deceived Danes succeeded in escaping, and on their arrival home have told of the wretched treatment they were exposed to, as well as the fraud by which they were persuaded to enlist.

As a result of their disclosures the Danish press has published many protests against what is called "the outrageous trade in Danish youth."

On the afternoon of Christmas Day a remarkable adventure occurred at Tromsø, up in the northern part of Norway. A young Dane jumped overboard from the Russian steamer *Kerch*, swam towards land, and was picked up by the steamer *Capella*, which was lying at the pier. The young man was in dire straits, as he had been swimming in water having a temperature of 14 degrees for a full hour, and fighting against strong currents. A doctor treated him and sent him to a hospital. This young man is the son of the well-known Danish actor, Fredrik Buch. He wrote to his father that he had been recruited in Copenhagen for police and gendarme service at Archangel, with a salary of 775 rubles per month, and with "Danish cooking." The salary was to have been paid in advance.

"When we arrived at Bergen," the young man continues, "we were put on an old Russian boat and sent north. As soon as we were out of sight of the city, contracts were presented to us to sign. These contracts read 'for war service against the Bolsheviki, for one year.' From this we understood that the whole thing was a fraud, and we refused to sign. The chief, Palludan, said he would retain me at any rate, and used all the means he could to induce me to sign. On Christmas eve all officers were armed with loaded weapons, because they were afraid that the recruits would take a boat and row ashore. On Christmas Day I asked Palludan if he would let me go ashore at Tromsø, when the boat was passing that town, but he refused to do this."

Buch then removed his coat and shoes, jumped into the water, and swam towards the land. The water was icy cold and he had been swimming over an hour before a boat picked him up. "Five minutes later," he writes, "I could have gone to the bottom. We were crowded together and treated like cattle on board the Russian steamer."

With the steamer *Opachov* there arrived yesterday 13 more fugitives from this troop transport. They were stopped at Vardö by the Norwegian coast guard because the Russians had forgotten to pay a small coal bill at Tromsø. The truth was that they had no money to pay either for coal or for food for the crew. Palludan had borrowed 500 rubles from one of the soldiers to buy food supplies. One of the Danes lay sick with pneumonia on the ship, and finally his friends succeeded in forcing the commander to send him ashore and forward him to a hospital. When the Danes rebelled and insisted on going ashore at Vardö, the Russian leader demanded that the Norwegian police should arrest them, but the Norwegians did not do this, but allowed them to land. When they came ashore they received letters from a couple of friends who had fled from Murmansk. These men said that the day after their arrival they had been placed in the army as plain soldiers.

THE OATH OF THE RED ARMY

1. I, A. B., a son of the laboring people, a citizen of the Soviet Republic, assumes the calling of a soldier of the Workers' and Peasants' Army.

2. Before the working-class of Russia and of the whole world, I pledge myself to bear this calling honorably, to learn my duties conscientiously, and zealously to protect from damage or loss the military property of the people.

3. I pledge myself strictly and unflinchingly to observe revolutionary discipline, and unhesitatingly to carry out all the orders of the commanders placed over me by the Workers' and Peasants' Government.

4. I pledge myself to withhold myself and dissuade my comrade from all acts degrading and lowering to the dignity of a citizen of the Soviet Republic, and to direct all my actions and all my thoughts towards the great aim of the liberation of all the workers.

5. I pledge myself, at the first call of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, to come to the defense of the Soviet Republic against all dangers and all attacks on the part of her enemies; and, in battle for the Soviet Republic, for the world of Socialism and the brotherhood of the peoples, to spare neither my energies nor my life itself.

6. If by mischievous design I break this my solemn oath, then may universal contempt be my lot, and may I be punished by the stern hand of the revolutionary law.

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About Russia

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THOSE who are convinced that "bolshhevik propaganda" is the source of all the evil and discomfort in the world find no difficulty in tracing to Russia all the revolutionary disturbances taking place in other countries. The chief task of such persons at present is to demonstrate the alleged origin of the revolutionary government set up in the Ruhr district in Germany last month, in the activities of "Russian agents" operating in Holland and Western Germany. The Naples uprising will of course find a similar explanation from these glib philosophers.

But others will wish to remember that propaganda does not produce social upheavals, but rather expresses them, formulates them, makes them conscious instead of merely impulsive. Such persons will not be able to forget the conditions that have made the recent events in Germany inevitable. And their position can be very readily stated:

By an ingenious social welfare system, the German people had become in 1914 the best fed and most comfortable in Europe, and an efficient educational establishment had labored hard and successfully to make them attribute their wellbeing to the Hohenzollern dynasty and its institutions. Willingly, even enthusiastically, they plunged into the war that was to make their country the master of the world and spread its institutions so that they would embrace most of Europe, and distribute the benefits of a new colonial exploitation over a great European population. Without dwelling on the horrors of war, of which all American have read, of which a number have had real experience, and

the consequences of which Americans are bearing, together with the rest of the world, we merely point out to our readers that when the attempt inaugurated in August, 1914 broke down in November, 1918, it was as a result of a systematic impoverishment and starvation of the Central European peoples that left them the most undernourished, diseased, and desperate populations in Europe. A government was set up in Germany after the flight of the Kaiser to Holland, that was to secure to the German people the liberty they had lacked under the Kaiser, the liberty that would enable them to avoid in the future tortures like those suffered in 1914-1918. But it soon became apparent that while Germany now had a President named Ebert instead of a Kaiser named Wilhelm, the policy of the government remained chauvinistic and imperialistic, as it necessarily would so long as the capitalistic and agrarian classes still remained in charge of the policies of the nation;—many of the worst members of this set even continued to hold the bureaucratic positions that had been the expression and instrument of their power in the past. Of course all demands of the workers to control their industrial life were ignored.

At first, the opposition to the continued existence in Germany of the system that had brought its people to disaster in the recent past, was disorganized and ineffective. Uprisings took place before the end of 1918 in many cities; they were ruthlessly put down by the new "democratic" government; on December 6, 1918, machine-guns were used in the streets of Berlin, and again in the early weeks of January 1919; the assassination of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who had always stood for a complete control of Germany by the workers themselves, on January 15, is still within the memory of all. Less definitely proletarian efforts were made all over Germany to unseat the old aristocracy, which still administered the various states on the old bureaucratic lines. Every time such a movement resulted in the formation of an even liberal government murder and violence were resorted to by the reactionaries to put it down. This is the fact, for instance, behind the assassination of the gentle Kurt Eisner at Munich (February 23, 1919). The unrest springing from such situations in several cases (as in March at Munich, as a result of Eisner's death) made possible the establishment of Soviet Governments (Räteregierungen). How they were put down is well known. The workers and their leaders had short shrift. The execution of Gustav Landauer is a typical case. In a word, Germany became a seething mass of repression and class hatred—a class hatred produced not by the teachings of Marx, but by the fact that the reactionaries, who had no desire to carry out Marx's Doctrines, enforced and emphasised the truth of his position to the point where it became more than painfully evident. Everyone know that at the first opportunity the German people would seek to wrest the power from the unscrupulous clique who called themselves socialists and who were nevertheless administering the country in the interests of the

powers that had been allegedly displaced on November 8, 1918.

It is one of the characteristic ironies of History that Lüttwitz and Kapp should be the inaugurators of open proletarian revolution in Germany, as Eisner's murderer had been in Bavaria a year before. It was the effort to restore monarchy and Kaiser, to whom would be assigned the task of organizing Germany for the campaign against "Russian Bolshevism", that was the opportunity of the German workers to rise all over Germany and establish governments of their own. What added contribution "Russian propaganda" could have made to this situation is not a question of great importance.

MUNSTER in Westphalia is a city of about 100,000 inhabitants, somewhat to the North of the Ruhr area now being successfully held by the German revolutionists. It has been several times reported that a German Red Army is attacking this city, which is perhaps the case, as Münster is a rather important railroad centre. But recent events in this region are filling the newspapers, and we therefore take the liberty to skip back a few centuries, to 1535, to be precise—when interesting things were also going on in Münster.

A revolution had been crushed in Germany. The *Peasant War*, the economic symptom of the unrest that had resulted in the German Reformation, had been choked in blood, by a method not dissimilar to that which may wipe out the present German Revolution: each local uprising was dealt with separately; individual small massacres destroyed all those peasants who had taken part. In the terrible years of repression that followed, revolution again assumed the form so characteristic of its medieval appearances, namely, the form of religion. The revolt against unbearable feudal conditions retained the form of a revolt against the Church, but its economic character was nevertheless clear. "Protestants" of this type were summarily dealt with. All over the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, the Anabaptists, members of a peculiarly medieval sect of zealots, were put to death wherever they appeared. But their repression only sharpened their sense that conditions could be improved only by carrying out the peculiar form of communism that was the essential part of their religious doctrine. They succeeded in setting up their picturesque communism at Münster in 1535 and proclaimed as far as they could in Europe that they were inaugurating the "Kingdom of Zion". In October of that year they sent out twenty-eight envoys to various parts of the empire, to herald the new era, but the envoys were put to death in most places. The Bishop of Münster tried to put down the Anabaptists by military force, but it was not until 1535 that the city finally yielded to siege established by the allies attracted by the Bishop from other parts of Germany. John of Leyden, who had led the communist movement, and two of his lieutenants, were tortured to death in the most

inhuman manner (January 22, 1536), and their bodies suspended in a cage for centuries from the spire of the Münster cathedral, a lasting warning to future communists. The people were made to understand that the power was not for them

It is in Münster that the troop of Noske and Ebert are now awaiting attack by the new communists of Germany. It was in Münster, four hundred years ago, that the old communists under John of Leyden met the onslaughts of a still united and powerful feudalism, and succumbed to these onslaughts. Should the communist revolution in Germany be crushed, we have no doubt its leaders as well as its followers will be murdered by the thousand, and the proof of this is not only in the experiences at Münster in 1635, but in the treatment of the Paris Communards in 1871, and of the Hungarian and Bavarian communists in 1919—not to mention the atrocities of White invading armies in Russia during the past two years.

COMPULSORY labor appears to be considered in certain circles outside of Soviet Russia as a most deplorable invasion of the rights of the individual. Aside from the fact that in all countries economic necessity drives men very effectively to seek such forms of wage-slavery as may be accessible to them regardless of whether they are to their taste or not—it is surprising that anyone with any pretence to even liberal tendencies should feel in any way shocked at this inevitable development in the new society. Even very moderate thinkers, such as Edward Bellamy and William James, had thought of compulsory labor as a reasonable cure for the chaos in which some men were working themselves to death and others loafing away their time in fruitless, even dangerous idleness and dissipation.

What will the furious commentators on Soviet Russia's Labor Laws (concerning which we have an article in this issue of *SOVIET RUSSIA*) have to say when they read this unmistakable statement in Bellamy's "Looking Backward" (1887), a reply to a question as to whether labor service in the new commonwealth is obligatory for all?

"It is rather a matter of course than of compulsion," replied Dr. Leete. "It is regarded as so absolutely natural and reasonable that the idea of its being compulsory has ceased to be thought of. He would be thought to be an incredibly contemptible person who should need compulsion in such a case. Nevertheless, to speak of service being compulsory would be a weak way to state its absolute inevitableness. Our entire social order is so wholly based upon and deducted from it that it were conceivable that a man could escape it, he would be left with no possible way to provide for his existence. He would have excluded himself from the world, cut himself off from his kind, in a word, committed suicide."

And can it be that liberals have entirely forgotten one of William James' most brilliant and convincing essays, "The Moral Equivalent of War," published in February, 1910, as a pamphlet of the American Association for International Conciliation?

Radio Dispatches

Cable and mail communication with Soviet Russia is cut off by the Allied Blockade. Each day, however, the Soviet Government transmits the current news from the powerful wireless station at Moscow. These news messages are addressed "to all", and are picked up at various European points. We reprint below some recent dispatches of particular interest which have not been widely published in the United States

RUSSIA'S PEACE TERMS

[The following is a summary of the latest terms upon which the Soviet Government offers to renew relations with the Entente powers. The dispatch, signed by Maxim Litvinov, of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, was picked up by the Eiffel Tower wireless station in Paris last week and forwarded to the New York AMERICAN by C. F. Bertelli, its staff correspondent in Paris.]

I suggest the following as a summary of Soviet Russia's peace terms to the nations of the world:

- 1.—Recognition of the Soviet Republic of Russia.
- 2.—Recognition of the right to develop, unhindered, the Soviet experiment in Russia.
- 3.—Agreement on the part of Soviet Russia not to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.
- 4.—Reciprocal guarantees to be given in this connection by the other nations.
- 5.—Resumption of economic relations.
- 6.—Disarmament of the Red Army as soon as peace is assured.
- 7.—Recognition by the Soviet Government of the former Russian Government's debts and loans, as well as the interest thereon.

The intentions of the Russian Soviet Republic are purely peaceful. The creation of a large and powerful army was necessary because of the attacks from all sides, first by Germany, and then by the Allied intervention.

To-day the Soviet army is victorious. The defeats of Kolchak, Yudenich, Denikin, and others are due largely to the hostility of the population, which is against the reactionary plans those leaders and their armies represented.

Soviet Russia has no desire for vengeance. Nor does it wish to attack others. We respect the liberty of each country to determine its own form of government in peace. The small republics surrounding Russia are free to choose the type of government which they desire.

In return we demand the same right. The world must leave Russia alone so we may peacefully carry out our social experiment. If we are successful, then the other nations will admit their own mistakes and change their regimes accordingly.

At any rate, we do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. As regards our foreign policy, we do not seek alliance with any nation; nor do we want to attack any nation.

We intend to disarm our military forces as soon as Russia is no longer threatened, for we believe in peace.

Economically, we desire trade relations with all

the nations of the world. Europe needs Russian raw materials and we need manufactured articles.

Financially, we are willing to recognize the former Government's debts and loans as well as the interest thereon.

We solemnly refuse to consider any secret negotiations with Germany if aimed against the Allies.

We want no military agreement of any kind.

Poland's imperialism obliges us to maintain an army. We offer Poland a loyal peace, but we cannot agree to her grabbing large Russian border territories on the pretext of defending the inhabitants against Bolshevism.

Border States that are unwilling to accept the Soviet regime are free to organize independent republics, which we shall respect.

Our theory is that every nation is free to govern itself, according to its own choice. We respect this liberty of other nations, and expect that they do likewise toward us.

SOVIET NOTE TO JAPAN

Moscow, Feb. 25.—The Note to Japan calls attention to the many occasions on which the Workmen's and Peasants' Government has expressed the desire to enter into peaceful relations with the Japanese Government, to the mutual advantage of both countries. It also calls attention to the military situation in Siberia, pointing out that the spontaneous and repeated uprisings of the Siberian people in favor of the Soviet regime prove their wishes beyond a doubt.

The message further emphasizes the complete failure of all military intervention in Russia and the fact that all other Allied Governments have either withdrawn their expeditionary corps or are at present engaged in peace negotiations. Russia recognizes Japan's interests in the settlement of the future of the Pacific coast, and is certain that these will be safeguarded by the proposals she has in mind.

CZECH COMMISSION TO RUSSIA

PRAGUE, Feb. 29.—The "Prager Tageblatt" of this city reports that representative of the Czech Consumer's League are about to leave for Soviet Russia in order to open up economic relations with the Russian Economic organizations.

THE SOVIET COMMISSION TO ENGLAND

Moscow, Feb. 25.—The delegates elected by the Central Cooperative Union as foreign trade commissioners are:—

KRASSIN, who is well known abroad as a distinguished engineer.

NOGIN, of the textile industry, a former chairman of the All-Russian Workers' Co-operatives.

KHINTCHUK, a member of the presiding board of the All-Russian Union of Co-operatives since 1906; he was first chairman of All-Russian Workers' Co-operatives under the Kerensky regime, and first chairman of the Moscow Soviet.

WASOVSKI, of the presiding board of the All-Russian Union of Co-operatives, a man of many years' business experience.

LITVINOV, who has already authority to open up trade negotiations.

[A later despatch (March 12) states that the British Government has refused to permit M. Litvinov to land in England and that therefore the delegation had not yet left Moscow. In reply to an interpellation in the House of Commons on March 11, the Government spokesman stated:

"The Government has no objection to admitting the delegation of Russian Co-operators to this country with the exception of M. Litvinov, to whom, in view of the incidents which took place in 1918, they cannot see their way to grant facilities to return to England."

A still later dispatch (March 26) states that the commission left Moscow for England on March 26 by special train. The commissioners who made up the party were stated to be: Krassin, Nogin, and Wosovski. If this dispatch is correct Litvinov and Khinchuk did not accompany the delegation.—Ed.]

THE ALLIED COMMISSION TO RUSSIA

By GEORGE LANSBURY

Editor London Daily Herald

Moscow, February 25.—I have just talked to Chicherin about the proposal to send a delegation of the members of the Labor section of the League of Nations to Russia.

"Certainly," he said, "we shall agree to visits of delegates either from Labor bodies or from foreign Powers. But Russia will not tolerate any interference in her complete right to self-determination. We shall be glad to give every facility for the delegates to acquire knowledge about our conditions here, but no delegate will be permitted to interfere in the internal administration of the country. We shall, in fact, treat them as every other country would treat such delegates in time of war.

"Russia is not a part of the League of Nations. It has never been asked to join, and is therefore not in a position to recognize the authority of the League.

"We are not unmindful," Chicherin went on, "that some time ago General Smuts visited Hungary on behalf of the Allies. He was very sympathetic to Communist Hungary. But the Governments he represented took measures soon afterwards to overthrow the Soviet regime there."

It seems to me that the British Government, whatever its Allies may do, ought to adopt a policy of its own.

British labor should insist that peace negotiations should start without any further delay.

I have seen Monroe and the British prisoners today. They are all quite furious at the delay in securing their exchange.

THE NEW WAR AGAINST WANT

Moscow, Feb. 30.—A manifesto has been issued to the entire population by the Chief Committee for General Compulsory Labor, in which the necessity for initiating general compulsory labor is pointed out. Citizens capable of working are all to be registered and tabulated according to their professions.

"As for war against any enemy, an exact register of all forces is essential, so that in the war against poverty and death, which are threatening the population, it is necessary to have ordered conditions and to register all forces so as to set up a mighty Labour army for the struggle against destruction."

It is shown that the Commissariats of Agriculture and Communications require this year 230,000 skilled, and over 2,000,000 unskilled workers. Local Commissariats will be appointed everywhere for the carrying out of the corvée, which will be subordinate to the local Soviet.

THE LABOR ARMY IN ACTION

Trotsky wires from Yekaterinburg that on a fortnight's showing the output of the Labor Army, composed of fighting men newly turned to reconstruction, includes 420,000 cubic metres of wood cut, of which 100,000 has been transported to the railways; 97 locomotives repaired; 14 kilometres of railway restored; and the snow cleared from 98 kilometres more; 650 wagons loaded with goods; and various Army constructions finished, such as 150 baths and barracks, in addition to secondary means of transport, such as automobiles, motor-cycles, etc., repaired.

AMERICAN ENGINEERS' REQUEST

Moscow, Feb. 25.—An interesting and significant fact is that Colonel Blund and six other officers attached to the American Railway Mission in Siberia have asked the Moscow Government to forward to Washington their request to be allowed to accept an invitation of the Soviet authorities at Krasnoe-Uralsk, on the Trans-Siberian Railway, to assist in railway reconstruction in that region. Moscow has forwarded the message.

FOODSTUFFS FOR EXPORT

Moscow, Feb. 25.—Here is a piece of evidence of the amount of foodstuffs available for Europe. The Soviet of Melitapol, in the province of Taurida, near the Sea of Azov, has wired the Central Union of Co-operatives that it has 21,000,000 poods (432,000,000 lbs.) of grain for immediate sale.

NEWS FROM THE CAUCASUS

Moscow, March 3.—All of Caucasus is now in the grip of the Bolshevik movement, especially Baku, where the workers are rapidly joining the movement. On the Black Sea coast, the revolutionists have already captured Gagra and Adler.

FACTORY COUNCILS NOT ABOLISHED

Moscow, February 13.—As an answer to the question forwarded by radio from Christiania concerning the Factory Councils, which are claimed by various bourgeois newspapers to have been abolished in Russia, the All Russian Central Council of Trade Unions states the following:

"The article published in *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* was written by Comrade Shliapnikov and treated of the necessity of abolishing the factory committees (industrial soviets) together. It is clear that the periodical *Welthandel* has given entirely false material in this connection. At present a serious discussion is going on among the Soviet Parties and the trade union workers concerning the forms of industrial organization and particularly concerning the factory committees. The chief subject of discussion in this connection was the principle of administration by several persons or by one person. But from no quarter was the thesis maintained that there was no necessity for the factory committees, for the latter, as trade union organs, supervise not only the conditions of life and of labor, such as normalizing wages and productivity, but also assure the enforcement of all the decrees of the Soviet power which concern these relations. The whole discussion of the principle of single or multiple administration bears the character of a mutual comradely exchange of views, with the object of finding the most practical and adaptable forms of administration to aid the beginnings of a new life in the economic structure of Soviet Russia."

M. TOMSKI,

Chairman of the All Russian Council of Trade Unions.

FACTORY COUNCILS STILL ACTIVE

Moscow, February 16.—A new misrepresentation is beginning to circulate concerning Soviet Russia. Polish wireless telegrams maintain, basing themselves on an alleged decree of the Soviet Government, that the Factory Committees in Russia have been abolished, because they are said to have demoralized the working class.

This is a pure invention, and the version that *Izvestiya* prints on the subject is simply a forgery. No such decree has been issued at all.

The Factory Committees continue to exist as an integral portion of our social system. Our entire public and social life is controlled by the Inspection of the Workers and Peasants, of which the Workers' Control in the factories is a portion.

The Workers' Committees in the factories are a necessary link in our social machinery. They are carrying out our system in the factories and controlling the work of the other organizations.

PRESS CLUB AT MOSCOW

Moscow, March 1.—At Moscow a meeting took place with the object of establishing a press club, at which there were present representatives of Moscow newspapers, as well as of various literary societies. This new institution has as its object to make journalists acquainted with each other as well

as with artists and authors, in order to facilitate the development and the popularization of literature and of the creative arts. At one of the future meetings Radek, Gorky, Lunacharsky and other well-known persons in the Russian Soviet Republic will be present.

ZINOVIEV ON THE LABOR ARMY

At a meeting recently held in Petrograd, Zinoviev declared among other things:

"We are at present mobilizing, that is true, but simultaneously a demobilization commission has already begun its work. This may appear to be a contradiction in terms, but such is not the case. We must supply new forces for the Red Army. The mobilization now in progress will be the last one undertaken during the present period of civil war. It will be no simple matter to demobilize so mighty an organization as the Red Army, once peace is restored. It will be necessary in the first place to retain a nucleus formation, as well as keep the war material in repair. In addition we are faced with another urgent task. We shall call our troops a labor army and we shall divide them into detachments to be assigned wherever any great collective work is to be undertaken, such as for instance, in rationally developing the Donetz Basin, the Urals, the naptha regions, etc. The people are exhausted with their exertions and sufferings. In the army of the workers, however, there are young and disciplined men, and therefore we, in carrying out the principles of obligatory labor, should begin with the Red Army as the most suitable force to use for this purpose."—*Politiken*, Stockholm, Jan. 30.

RED ARMY ANNIVERSARY

Moscow, March 3.—According to a statement in *Krassnaya Gazette*, February 22, will henceforth be celebrated as a day on which the Red Army was created. It was on that day in 1918 that a Soviet decree ordered the reconstruction of the irregular red bands into a regularly disciplined army of millions. The celebration of this event is to occupy two days, following the practice of the French revolution in similar celebrations.

FRENCH SUPPLY DENIKIN

Moscow, March 1.—The French Government has not ceased to supply Denikin's army with war materials and with men. In that part of Caucasia which is still occupied by the Whites, there are several hundred Russian soldiers, who have returned from France and whom the Commander of the Army wished to employ in his forces. Among the prisoners taken by the Red Army there are also numerous soldiers of the Russian brigade in the French Army recently returned from France, and sent by the French Government directly into the White Army. French steamers recently arrived at Novarasysk with huge cargoes of equipment for the "Volunteer Army."

RECENT LABOR PRODUCTIVITY

Moscow, March 3.—In the coal districts of Anzersk-Zenja, a labor army has recently mined more than 1,250,000 poods of coal.

Recent Documents

PRESENT STATUS OF WORKERS' CONTROL

By the People's Commissar for Labor Affairs and Social Welfare Schmidt

[The following declaration by Schmidt, People's Commissar for Workers' Affairs and Social Welfare of the Russian Soviet Government, was sent by wireless to a Norwegian press agency from Moscow in order to answer a number of misrepresentations that had been circulated in the Norwegian press concerning the alleged abolition of Workers' Councils by the Soviet Government. We take the statement from a Norwegian newspaper dated February 18.—Ed.]

"The conditions represented in *Welthandel* (a German economic journal) of the present status of Workers' Control in Russia, and which are allegedly based on a statement by Shliapnikov, in *Ehonomicheskaya Zhnizn*, is a pure fabrication and has no relation whatever with truth. Comrade Shliapnikov never in any statement said that the Workers' Control was bankrupt and that the Soviet power had been obliged to eliminate the Factory Committees or Factory Soviets and was now conducting the great industries in a dictatorial manner."

"Workers' Control was a powerful revolutionary weapon in the hands of the workers' organizations in their fight against economic disorganization and against sabotage on the part of the employers while the struggle for the economic supremacy of the proletariat was going on. Yet we have considered this Workers' Control to be a transition form necessary under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In cooperation with the Soviet power, in the socially necessary work of organizing and stabilizing the economic system, the trade unions already at their second congress, held in January, 1919, arrived at the conclusion that it was necessary to advance from a *control* over production to an *organization* of production, and to participate actively in the administration of the various industries as well as of the economic life as a whole.

"But the tasks of the Workers' control in the present period had to be limited to a control of the processes of production in the industries, to an actual supervision of the administration of the individual enterprises, and to an administration of the whole production process in general; it also had to occupy itself with a constant education of the broad masses of the workers, preparing them for an immediate participation in the administration and organization of production. In accordance with this conclusion of the trade unions, the All Russian Central Executive Committee at its February (1919) session decided the following: the central and local state control was to be reorganized in a single organ for socialistic control, with the addition of the workers and peasants in

the former organizations for state control, which was thereafter to be known under the name of "Workers' and Peasants' Inspection," the latter began to be enforced on the basis of the decree of April 9, 1919, and exercises all the rights and duties of a People's Commissariat and is headed by a People's Commissar who presided at the meetings of the Collegium (commissariat). This Commissar must be recognized by the People's Commissariat.

The local organization of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection is formed on the basis of the general provisions as to the sections of the executive committee determined by the 7th Congress of Soviets. The election of members of this Inspection, is undertaken in the industries or in the provinces, in the provincial towns and "volost assemblies," or at the conference of the non-partisan workers and peasants. In the industries and shops, and in the provincial towns, groups must be formed in accordance with the objects of the Inspection. The earlier Workers' Control was a portion of the activity of the Factory Committees. It was exercised in the form of the Control Commission of the Factory Committees and the rights of these Committees subsequently, even after the Workers' Control was replaced by the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, were not weakened. Its rights are the following: the assumption of all activities tending to unite the workers and employes of the industries in a single organ of production; the carrying out of a strict proletarian discipline; the assuring that the measures taken by the People's Commissar for Social Welfare, in the field of safety devices shall be carried out promptly; supervision of the enforcement of the provisions of the Economic Council to increase production and to maintain the efficiency of labor; supervision of the obtaining of absolutely necessary objects for the industry within the limits of the regulations of the provisions organs; and with this object in view, to cooperate with the organs for the establishment of public dining rooms and cooperative enterprises.

FROM A LONDON CONFERENCE

At a Meeting held on January 10th and 11th, 1920, at the International Socialist Club Hall, London, the following resolution was adopted:

"This Conference sends greetings to the Russian Soviet Republic, and enthusiastically welcomes the splendid constructive work for Communism accomplished by the Soviets. It congratulates the Red Army on its magnificent fight against militant Capitalism and declares its solidarity with the Russian Soviet Republic and all the workers of the world struggling against international Capitalism.

"This Conference deplores the long toleration by the British workers of the attack which the Capitalist forces of the world are making on Soviet

Russia. It now urges the Trade Unionists to instruct the delegates to the next T. U. Congress to declare for a general strike to force the Government to stop all forms of intervention whether by land or air forces or the Navy, by the financing of adventurers or by the use of the League of Nations or conquered or weaker States, and to immediately re-open commercial relations and establish peace with Soviet Russia on the basis of no annexations, no indemnities, and the right to self-determination of all nationalities."

Moved by the N. A. C. and seconded by T. Dingley Slough) and carried unanimously without discussion.

—*The Worker*, Glasgow, Feb. 14, 1920.

POLISH SOCIALIST RESOLUTION

The Central Executive Committee of the Polish Socialist Party held a conference yesterday, at which the question of peace was discussed. More than 100 persons took part in the conference: representatives members of the Socialist Party organs, of the Central Committee of professional unions, representatives of the trade unions of Lublin, Radom, Hielce, Plock, Czestochowa and other more or less important unions, representatives of the W. A. S. A. D. R. in Posen and Vilna.

The following resolutions were adopted:

1. We note with great satisfaction the decision of the Main Council of the Socialist Party; we also express to the conference our fullest conviction that the whole working class of Poland demands an immediate armistice and the institution of peace negotiations with Soviet Russia. The workers demand this according to the principles of self-determination and independence of each nation. Within its boundary line each national independent existence should be determined by the nation concerned. The negotiations must be made public.

The conference further declares that if the Polish Government puts aside all negotiations, or terminates them under the influence of the military spirit of the bourgeois without reference to a democratic peace, the Polish working-class itself will take all the necessary measures bring about such a peace.

The negotiations about peace terms must be carried on by the P. S. P. in joint agreement with the trade Unions of the A. S. A. D. R.

2. The conference considers it as an absolute necessity that representatives of the working class be present at the peace negotiations in order to secure their publicity and control.

3. These resolutions will be handed over to the Military Chief and to the Government through a special delegation.

—*Lebensfragen*, Warsaw, February 10, 1920.

SIBERIAN CADETS FOR UNITY

The Vladivostok Committee of the "Party of Popular Freedom" (Cadet), discussing the present

political situation, came to the following conclusions:

At the present time we may consider it a fact that the intervention of the Allies in the civil war of European Russia as well as in Siberia was intended to serve their political interests. This intervention brought about the total economic exhaustion of the country and the separation of many national units which had to remain autonomous parts of the great unified Russia according to the mutual interests of both parties concerned.

In the Far East this intervention is threatening to tear away the Far Eastern frontier—the population of which is composed of native Russians.

The intervention, in taking such forms, has stimulated the awakening of a lofty national feeling in the midst of the fratricidal conflict: this enthusiasm was very strongly felt in the Far East, bursting into an enthusiastic zeal for unification among the big masses of the population.

The local authorities, which did not protect the national interests of Russia, had to fall, and were replaced by the provincial *Zenstvos* (local governments), which took up the slogan of national unification.

—*Golos Rodiny*, Feb. 5, 1920.

A MESSAGE FROM CHICHERIN

In January of this year the Norwegian Workers Party sent a greeting to Lenin, President of the Council of People's Commissars. No answer was received to this greeting, but on February 14 there was forwarded from Moscow through the newspaper *Social Demokrat*, Christiania, the following wireless message signed by Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, which may be construed as an answer to the felicitations which the Norwegian Workers had sent to Lenin:

"The peaceful work in the field of social reconstruction, in the gathering of all forces for the task of production and distribution along new lines, these are the tasks now occupying the energies of Soviet Russia. All thoughts and all forces are now exerting their pressure in pursuit of one and the same object. Out of the great sufferings which have held the Russian working masses by the throat, the sufferings of the imperialistic war, the blockade, the civil war, etc., there is growing up a new society of a conscious world, of an organized workers' world, which is learning by experience to understand that personal well-being is a product of social well being. Struggles and obstacles have shown the toiling peasant that his welfare depends on the city toiler and the latter has learned that he needs to have agriculture flourish, and that the coming well-being requires sacrifices from the individual who consciously unites himself with the socialistic whole. General labor duty and social discipline in the self-governing labor society will blossom forth from our tribulations, just as the true liberation of each individual and of society as a whole is the profound significance of our present evolution."

Press Cuttings

Russian and European papers publish a great deal of reliable information about Soviet Russia that never appears in the American press. News appearing in some American papers is not given general publicity. We reprint below such current items of special significance to the American public.

THE COLLAPSE OF KOLCHAK

AFTER serving as major general with the Russian army for exactly one year during one of the most exciting and trying campaigns on record, Maj. Gen. I. Thord-Gray, well known in Seattle as one of the British army officers sent here in 1918 to help stimulate shipbuilding enthusiasm, arrived here yesterday morning on the Nippon Yusen Kaisha liner Suwa Maru.

General Thord-Gray served as an officer in the Northumberland Fusiliers the first three and a half years of the war, becoming lieutenant colonel, and was invalided home to England in 1918. When he had partly recovered his strength he was appointed one of the British officers sent to this country at the request of the Shipping Board to stir up enthusiasm among the workers in the yards and subcontract shops. In that work he became well known to the 35,000 men then employed in the Seattle yards and shops, making many addresses in each plant.

Telling of some of the incidents of the past year in Russia and Siberia, the general expressed himself as follows:

"I joined the Russian Army in February, 1919, being transferred from the Canadian Army in Siberia, and shortly afterwards went west with my troops into Central Russia beyond Perm, and then turned south in front of Samara, being in advance, and a little later was in the retreat for more than 2,000 miles with the army. Two thousand more miles we were in retreat by trains. During this time I came to the conclusion that the class represented by the Kolchak government was absolutely unfit to run the country because incompetency, graft, treachery and jealousy between the commanders of the army and all the higher officials in the civil government administration was so great that the soldiers and civil population lost all confidence in the government.

"Kolchak himself, an absolutely clean and honest man, was unable to carry out his ideals. None of the promises of the revolution were carried out, there were far too many executions of political opponents and the old imperialistic officers talked too much of the return of the old imperial regime.

"Many of the senior officers, it appears, must have been in the pay of the Bolsheviki, sitting on the fence playing a double game. This was apparent in the evacuation of all the large cities such as Perm, Ekaterinberg, Ufa, Cheliabinsk and Omsk, the capital of Siberia.

"For instance, in Perm, the army had several weeks in which to evacuate and nothing was done except when forced by the Allied Railway Commission, whose hands were tried by the Russian administration.

"Six hundred railway wagons loaded with material were left on the railway tracks at Perm, left to the 'Reds.' Later on, in Ekaterinberg, it was even worse; there we left 1,000 wagons, with dozens of warehouses filled with supplies not yet unpacked.

"In Omsk it went even beyond one's wildest imagination, the stores handed over to the 'Reds.' Practically the whole of the army, with hundreds of millions of dollars of stores, were practically sold to the 'Reds.' We lost there, without any reasons, ten generals, 1,000 officers, 40,000 men, about 500 machine-guns, about 60 field-guns, 20 armored cars, 80 railway engines, 3,000 loaded railway cars and thousands of tons of flour, millions upon millions rounds of ammunition."

In discussing the capture of Admiral Kolchak and his execution, General Thord-Gray said:

"Kolchak went from Omsk to Irkutsk with the army

headquarters, but he was afterwards detached and went with the Czecho troops. The revolution in Irkutsk broke out before he reached there and the revolutionaries demanded from the Czechs that Kolchak be handed over to them, threatening, if they refused to deliver him over, they would blow up all the bridges and kill all the Czecho troops. These troops are supposed to have wired General Janin, the French general in command of the French mission and the Czech forces, stating the demand made and asked for orders. General Janin is supposed to have wired back to hand Kolchak over in order to save the Czecho army.

"At the time Admiral Kolchak was surrendered to the rebel troops, that force numbered between 2,000 and 3,000 men under arms, while the Czech force probably exceeded 15,000 men, fully armed and completely equipped for military service. It is true that in the evacuation of Irkutsk the government forces took with them a number of revolutionary leaders and associates and many of these were shot without trial, and it was on these grounds the revolutionists made their demand for Kolchak.

"It is true the Kolchak government and individual officers carried out wholesale murders of political opponents; the mere fact that you had been seen with a Socialist was sufficient for your mysterious disappearance and you were no longer seen. The only solution of the Russian problem I see now is to get all the foreign troops out of the country and let Russia fight out her own affairs."

—Seattle Daily Times, March 8, 1920.

NORWEGIAN RELIEF

On a motion of the Tönsberg Workers' Party, the Board of Aldermen on Wednesday unanimously decided to appropriate 5,000 kroner for the purchase of medicine and medicinal cod-liver oil for the suffering in Russia, particularly in Petrograd and Moscow.—*Social Demokraten*.

OFFICIAL THANKS FROM RUSSIA

After the Norwegian Foreign Department had telegraphically applied to the Commissar of Foreign Affairs at Moscow for permission to forward to Petrograd the medicinal cod liver oil presented to that city by the community of Christiania, our Foreign Department has now received a telegram, in which the Soviet Government, in the name of the toiling masses of Russia, requests the Department to transmit the expression of its gratitude to the community of Christiania and to the other communities, as well as to the workers' organizations, young people's societies, students' leagues and other bodies that may have opened credits or undertaken collections for the purchase of medicine for Soviet Russia.

—*Social Demokraten*, Christiania, Feb. 21, 1920.

FIFTY-THREE GENERALS BAGGED

Moscow wireless reports the capture in Odessa of 53 generals, 217 colonels, altogether 1,503 White officers.

The Archangel booty included 10 milliard cartridges, 65 million shells, 22,000 rifles, several thousand machine-guns, aeroplanes, and a huge quantity of coal and provision stores.—*Wireless Press*.

The Industrial Army

ITS ORIGIN, ITS PURPOSES AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

There has been a vast amount of misunderstanding in the United States concerning the transfer of certain army units, still under military discipline, from the battle front to the "industrial front." The following article by the Russian correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, from a recent issue, shows that these units are composed not of "industrial serfs," but self-respecting men under a democratic self-discipline for the good of the community.

The moment that civil war slackened the heads of the republic turned to reconstruction which until then had been perforce subordinated to the needs of self defense. Even now the first experiment is being tried in an area as big as England, which, if it succeeds, may show the speediest way to end Russia's economic distress, and, if it fails, it may bring collapse of or a radical alteration in the government which dared to try it.

Result of Collective Thought

If such an experiment were tried elsewhere few would predict anything but failure. In Russia it is being tested with much misgiving. It is, however, the result of collective brainwork and has been discussed and counter discussed and is now in force because no easier method seems possible.

The general principle of industrial conscription is recognized by the Russian constitution, which reads: "The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic recognizes that work is an obligation of every citizen of the republic and proclaims that he who does not work shall not eat."

However, it is one thing to proclaim such a principle and quite another to put it into effect. On December 17, 1919, the moment it became clear that there was a real possibility that the civil war was drawing to an end, Trotzky allowed the *Pravda* to print a memorandum of his consisting of theses or unreasoned notes about industrial conscription and the militia system. He points out that the Socialist state demands a general plan for the utilization of all the resources of the country, including its human energy. At the same time, in the present economic chaos in which are mingled the broken fragments of the past and the beginnings of the future, he says that a jump to complete centralized authority in the country as a whole is impossible. Local initiative and local effort, he says, must be sacrificed for the sake of the plan. In time industrial conscription will be necessary for the complete socialization of the country, he continues, but it cannot be regardless of individuality, like military conscription.

Labor Battalions Displace Militia

Trotzky suggests the division of the state into territorial productive districts which should coincide with the territorial districts of the militia system, which shall replace the regular army. A registration of labor is necessary, he says. It is also necessary to coordinate the military and industrial registration. At demobilization, regiments, divisions, etc., should form the skeleton of the militia. Instruction toward this end should be included in

courses for workers and peasants, who by training will become officers in every district.

Trotzky's twenty-four theses or notes must have been written at odd moments, on the way from one front to another. They do not form a connected whole. Contradictions jostle one another. It is clear that he has no very definite plan in his head, but his memoranda annoyed and stimulated so many other persons that they did perhaps precisely the work they were intended to do.

The *Pravda* printed them with a note from the editor inviting discussion.

The *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* printed letter after letter from workmen, officials and others, attacking and approving the theses and bringing new suggestions. Larin, Semashko, Pyatakov and Bucharin all took a hand in the discussion. Larin saw in the proposals the beginning of the end of the revolution, being convinced that authority must pass from the democracy of workers into hands of specialists. Rykov fell upon them with spirited blows on behalf of the trade unions.

All agreed, however, on one point—that something was necessary. On December 27 a Commission to carry out the proposals was named by Trotzky. This Commission included the People's Commissars, or Ministers of Labor, Ways, Communication, Supply, Agriculture and War, and the Presidents of Central Councils, Trade Unions and the Supreme Council of Public Economy. The members compiled a list of the principal questions before them and invited anybody interested to bring suggestions and material for consideration.

On January 23 the Central Committee of the Communist party after a prolonged discussion on Trotzky's rough memorandum finally adopted and published a new edition of the theses, expanded and altered to an almost unrecognizable body of theory, entirely different from the bundle of arrows loosed at a venture by Trotzky. They definitely accept the principle of industrial conscription, pointing out immediate reasons in the fact that Russia cannot look for much help from without and must somehow or other help herself.

Something resembling these final theses of the party will no doubt be laid before the Central Executive Committee of the All Russian Assembly now sitting and undoubtedly foreshadows the most important developments in Russia this year.

Army Used in Experiment

But industrial conscription in Russia already is being tested at work. Very early in January, when argument was at its height, the Soviet Third Army addressed itself to the Council of Defense of the Re-

public with an invitation to make use of this army (which for the moment at least had finished its military tasks) and experiment with it as a labor army. The council agreed.

Representatives of the Commissars of Supply, Agriculture, Ways, Communication, Labor and the Supreme Council of Public Economy were sent to assist the army, which was proudly named 'The First Revolutionary Army of Labor' and now issues communiques 'from the labor front,' precisely like communiques from a military force in the field. The Labor Army's Soviet has received a report on the state district covered by the army with regard to supply and need of work. It already has carried out a labor census of the army and finds that it includes more than 50,000 laborers, of whom a considerable quantity were skilled. It has decided on a general plan of work in reestablishing industry in the Urals, which suffered severely during the regime of Admiral Kolchak and the ebb and flow of civil war. It is considering a suggestion made by one of the members that if the scheme works well strength be increased to 300,000 men by way of mobilization.

The Bolsheviki found the Donetz coal basin in ruins and temporarily useless at the end of General Denikin's administration, and the Urals were in no better condition after the regime of Admiral Kolchak. They believe that any other Russian government would have to use industrial conscription, but no other is able to say. No individual or group of individuals is profiting by it. We have the failures of Denikin and Kolchak to illustrate this belief.

During the whole of the preliminary discussion, though this and that particular proposal was fiercely criticized, no single voice suggested that Russia could save herself without some extraordinary effort of this kind. The Communists may break themselves in the attempt. But whether they fail or succeed, the experiment is of the greatest interest, as on its failure or success depends the length of the general ruin of Europe.

MOSCOW ECONOMIC CONGRESS

The third All-Russian Economic Congress was opened on January 23rd, 1920 in Moscow; 224 delegates were present. The bureau of the Congress consist of Bukharin, Milyutin, Rykov, Tomsy, Nogin, Kotliakov and Kulmussov. Bukharin opened the proceedings and declared that the Congress must solve questions of the greatest importance: the application of the live forces of the nation to the establishment of the economic life of the country. In his address he dealt with the partial raising of the blockade by the Entente emphasizing the fact that this was not the brotherly help of the Western comrades, but the interested assistance of foreign capitalists.

TROTZKY ON THE LABOR ARMY

Trotsky at the same conference spoke on mobilization and said that the mobilization of labor was not an infringement on personal liberty. Free

labor in a bourgeois state had invariably led to the exploitation of the workers. The constitution of the Soviets anticipates the mobilization of the workers. Henceforth the entire military administration must be adapted to the economic conditions. The entire population of a region will become an association of labor, and at the same time a unit of the red army. The best elements of the working class will apply to the economic life the organizing experience acquired during the war. An army of labor is functioning in the Ukraine, another is being created in the Northern Caucasus for the exploitation of the naphtha district of Grozny. In the north the 7th army will be employed in the exploitation of turf-pits.

In conclusion Trotsky said: "If the workers adapt all their energies, their intelligence and their revolutionary enthusiasm to economic tasks just as they have sacrificed themselves for the defence of the Republic, Russia will shortly enter upon the radiant path which will confound her enemies and will fill with joy the hearts of her friends."

Pravda comments on above speech as follows: Hitherto we had only the volunteer worker who gave his labor on "Communist Saturdays". However, just as our red guards became the Red army, the voluntary communist workers in our economic life will become the revolutionary army of labor. We must co-ordinate all the efforts of the industrial proletariat according to the regulated plan.

The decision of the Congress of the Economic Soviets has already met with warm response from the General Conference of the Ekaterinburg garrison which welcomes the army of labor.

A Russian wireless of January 27th gives the first communique of the first Army of Labor, which is as follows:

"In the district of Ishim, Karatulskaia, etc., we have prepared 10,180 square sagen (a sagen equal 3 arshines; an arshin, $\frac{3}{4}$ yard) of wood; 5,334 sagens have been taken to the railways. 100 carpenters have been allocated to the Kizilov wells. A technician and specialist instructors have been put at the disposal of the provincial Economic Soviet of Tcheliabinsk to expedite the resumption of work in the mills. The workshops of Ekaterinburg are busily engaged in repairing locomotives.

"For the Revolutionary Soviet of the First Army of Labor.

GALEVSKY, LOKOSKOV."

10,000 KRONER APPROPRIATED BY FREDRIKHALD

The municipal commission of Fredrikhald has appropriated 10,000 kroner for alleviating distress in Vienna and Petrograd. The money is to be distributed equally and to be sent to Vienna in the form of foodstuffs and to Petrograd in the form of medicinal cod-liver oil.

COMPULSORY LABOR

The friends of Russian reaction have found a new cry. Atrocities mongering has been played out, has become ridiculous, has even—with the revelations of the conduct of the White troops—recoiled on the heads of its exponents. They are looking for a new stick wherewith to belabor the Soviets. And they think to have found it in the cry of "Compulsory Labor."

Everybody in Russia, it appears, has to work. What a vile tyranny! What a contrast to our free and happy England!

It is indeed a contrast. For in Great Britain, as in every capitalist country, work is compulsory, not for everybody, but only for the majority. There is a minority which is privileged to consume without producing.

That privilege Soviet Russia has abolished. The Republic calls upon all its citizens to work for the community—all, except the children and the sick and the aged.

Is that so terrible a prospect? It will not seem so to the average working man, who has a blistering contempt for the idlers which they, fortunately for their self-esteem, do not often realize. But to these idlers it must indeed seem the "end of all things." "The fear of Bolshevism," as Lieut.-Colonel Malone said bitinglly the other day, "is often at bottom a fear of work."

There is in Soviet Russia a communism in production which is the complement of the communism in consumption. Hard pressed, the Russians are distributing food and the necessities of life on that good rule of "to each according to his need." The children, the sick, and those engaged in exhausting physical toil get more than those who can do with less. Again, what a contrast to the famished capitalist countries of Central Europe, where the poor starve, but the rich are well fed!

But, say the self-appointed champions of liberty, is not this compulsory labor a grinding tyranny? Is it not just that conscription of labor which the trade unions are determined to resist?

Not in the least. *The new system in Russia is being worked by the trade unions themselves.* It is not conscription: it is organization. It is not compulsion laid on wage-slaves to make profits for others. It is the organization of free men to provide for their own need.—*London Daily Herald*, March 2.

THE CENTRAL COMPLAINT BUREAU

A "Central Complaint Bureau" has been functioning at Moscow since the end of April, 1919. Its aim is to make inquiries in the case of errors, offenses and defects in the mechanism of local institutions, etc. This Bureau already enjoys great confidence. People of the most diverse callings and from the most distant regions make complaints to it. In two weeks the Bureau received 340 communications. All the complaints are registered, then they are considered one after the other by special examiners designated to inquire into the facts.

THE BIRTH OF A GOVERNMENT

"*The Voice of the Fatherland*, of Vladivostok, reproduces in its issue of February 7th, 1920, under the above title an article from an anti-Bolshevik newspaper published at Helsingfors, in which some interesting particulars are given concerning the organization of the so called Northwestern Government.

"On the 10th of August, 1919, the Acting Chief of the British Mission, General Marsh invited to his quarters in Reval ten Russian citizens and in the presence of representatives of the French and American mission invited them to form within forty minutes in that very room a Russian Government for the Northwestern region, including the provinces of Petrograd, Pskov and Novgorod (these are the exact words of the text of a written agreement).

"The Russian citizens who were invited by General Marsh heard from him for the first time that somewhere someone decided to separate from Russia the Northwestern region and to form for it a special government. The ultimatum included not only the fact of the formation of the Government, but also conditions under which portfolios were to be distributed and to whom they were to go.

"But General Marsh was careful. Not one of the papers which he handed to them contained a shadow of a legal document. They were merely memoranda. On paper, the Russian citizens invited by Marsh were given freedom of action.

"On that day the formation of the government did not take place. It took place on August 11th, when six Russian citizens from among those invited by Marsh, signed a document in which they declared that the Government of the Northwestern region had been formed and that they had accepted the posts of ministers. General Marsh, in his address to them emphasized strongly, that he was greeting 'the Russian Government', organized by the Russian people themselves, and by the most capable—according to his words.

"This is the picture of the formation of the farcical government by the Russian people with the direction of the English General".

THE SIBERIAN SITUATION

We have been informed from authentic sources that in a few days a commission of Czecho-Slovaks will leave Vladivostok for the West. A representative of the regional zemstvo will be on this commission. The commission will carry on negotiations with the Bolsheviki with regard to withdrawal of the Czecho-Slovak army.

All information in regard to military operations, which it is alleged, have arisen between the Bolsheviki and the Czecho-Slovaks, is false and is being circulated for ulterior purposes. The Czecho-Slovaks are negotiating with the Bolsheviki at the station of Zima. Some Czecho-Slovak offensives took place at Irkutsk, as well as West of Irkutsk, but by united efforts these offensives were crushed. The retreat of the Czecho-Slovaks to the East is continuing.—*The Far-Eastern Review*, Feb. 3, 1920.

THE NEW SIBERIA

The Revolution of January 31st is commemorated by a National Sunday.

The political struggle, the terrible civil war which followed the propaganda of class hatred—all this loosened the interior bonds of the Russian population, and created ground for various international experiments in the vivisection of the live body of Russia, and in her dismemberment.

However, foreign intervention in our affairs opened the eyes of the real Russian people to the consequences of a policy of uncompromising class struggle, and built up a national consciousness which one one truly beautiful day turned brother-enemies into brothers.

To our soldiers and officers, to all honest Russian citizens that simple truth has dawned during the past few months that continuation of the civil war is political suicide for the country and the greatest crime against Russia.

Peace with Soviet Russia, peace at any cost: it became clearer and clearer that this was the problem of first importance for all the Russians who lived on this side of the frontier.

Soviet Russia realized much sooner the necessity of ceasing civil war and a year ago through Lenin called for unity. The voices of peace, however were not heard at that time.

A long torturous year elapsed before the sense of national unity swept Russia as a might current. The entire process of Russian national re-birth was in substance the same: it came as a protest against foreign intervention and in defense of the rights of our people to freedom and national sovereignty.

The national ideals of a free, united, great Russia have died out in our upper classes.

Our nobility and part of the bourgeoisie followed the foot-steps of the emigres of France of the epoch of the great revolution, they went from one foreign capital to another and begged for help against "the Bolshevik danger".

Having forgotten the sense of national unity, they were ready to work with anybody—the English the Estonians, the Letts, the Poles, the Rumanians, or the Japanese only if they could lead their troops against their own people.

Patriotism had died in the upper classes, but at the same time it kindled a red flame of sacrifice and heroism among the masses of the Russian people.

The peasants and the workers did not make truce with the idea of enslaving Russia, they did not want to recognize the phrases which fired the simple Russian heart with anger. Here they went into the mountains of the Priamur preferring death to the disgrace of foreign guardianship.

They fell in unequal battles; they fell for the great national idea of a unified fatherland: for the freedom of the people.

And the fire of national enthusiasm in the hearts of the masses turned into a great purging flame; enthusiasm gave birth to heroism and sacrifice and

united all elements into one mighty rock capable of withstanding any attempt to encroach upon its foundations.

The first problem of our people should be problem of uniting those regions which our neighbors, having taken advantage of the civil war, succeeded in seizing.

We have recently quoted through "Havas" the opinion of the Petrograd organs of the Soviets in regard to this question—we cannot help agreeing with it. Its gist is that every neighbor who wants to extend his hand in order to seize a Russian province, will encounter not some sort of a party army, but the all-Russian army—the entire people, moulded into one mighty nation, on the question of whose organization party leaders have agreed, such as L. Trotsky, and expert military men such as Brussilov, Lechitsky, Evert and others.

The Voice of the Fatherland,

VLADIVOSTOK, Feb. 2, 1920.

SWEDES DEMAND RESUMPTION OF RUSSIAN RELATIONS

Stockholm, February 10.—The Left Commune held a meeting in the Auditorium, the largest meeting place in the city, yesterday evening, which seemed to meet with unusual popularity. As early as 7 o'clock people began to gather around the doors and at 8 there was a long line the whole length of the street. An overflow meeting had to be arranged on the spur of the moment in Folkets Hus hall, but by no means all could be accommodated there either. The first speaker was Frederick Ström, who treated the question of Russia and commercial relations with that country and strongly opposed the anti-Russian policy, after which the meeting passed the following resolution:

"The meeting after considering the question of Swedish relations with Russia, emphatically demands that the Government without delay restore normal and friendly relations with the Russian Workers' and Peasants' Republic, to whom this meeting in the name of the Swedish Workers sends its greetings of fraternal solidarity. The meeting which expresses its full sympathy for the metal workers who are seriously affected by the great lockout, is certain that the Russian working class would hail its class brothers with open arms, especially when they are cast out by Swedish capital and would give them work and asylum in their free Socialist Fatherland. The meeting demands passports from the Government for those workers who want to go to Russia."

Thereupon Z. Höglund delivered a speech in which he demanded that right of asylum be refused to Captain Pflugk-Hartung, the murderer of Karl Liebknecht, who is now living in one of the suburbs of Stockholm.

As this matter, however, is one with which this periodical is not immediately concerned, we omit the details of Höglund's speech on the subject.

Social-Demokraten, Christiania, Norway.

FRENCH TREATMENT OF RUSSIAN PRISONERS OF WAR

PARIS, Feb. 25.—The German prisoners of war have at last left France, but the Russians remain, tens of thousands of them, helpless, hopeless, and almost forgotten. They came here to fight for the Allies on the Western front, or they crossed the frontier from Germany after the Armistice in the expectation of a friendly reception and speedy repatriation. But France had decided to treat as enemies all Russians who were not fighting for the overthrow of the Soviet Republic, and she gave them the choice between joining Denikin's army and life in barbed-wire cages or with disciplinary battalions in Africa. The kind of life led by the prisoners who would not join Denikin is described in the latest number of *Pour la Russie* by Colonel Lebedev, Minister of Marine under Kerensky.

"Russian prisoners of war, who shall refuse to

work or to undergo discipline or who shall be suspect of Bolshevism," runs an order signed by the military governor of Toul in February last year, "shall be treated as the enemies of France. It may be supposed that they have come to France for a criminal purpose since the day of the Armistice they have had the opportunity of returning to their country. They shall receive only those rations that are absolutely indispensable, and meat not more than twice a week. They shall be subjected to the most severe discipline, and every attempt at revolt shall be repressed by arms."

Colonel Lebedev contrasts the French treatment of these prisoners with the Belgian. At the instance of Vandervelde, Minister of Justice, the Russian soldiers in Belgium have been furnished with facilities for establishing co-operative societies, workshops and schools, and everywhere they have been treated as friends in distress.—London *Daily Herald*.

APRIL 10TH

IS

LENIN'S BIRTHDAY

THE NEXT (APRIL 10th) ISSUE OF

SOVIET RUSSIA

WILL BE A

SPECIAL LENIN ANNIVERSARY NUMBER

The following features will appear:

1. **LENIN, THE BEST HATED AND THE BEST LOVED**, by GEORGE LANSBURY. A stirring interview with the Russian Premier, by the Editor of the great English labor paper, *The London Daily Herald*.
2. **FOR LENIN**, by GEORGES SOREL. The famous French author describes Lenin as "The greatest theoretician of Socialism since Marx, and a statesman whose genius recalls Peter The Great."
3. **LENIN THE SEER**, by M. KATZ. A new interpretation of the greatness of Lenin.

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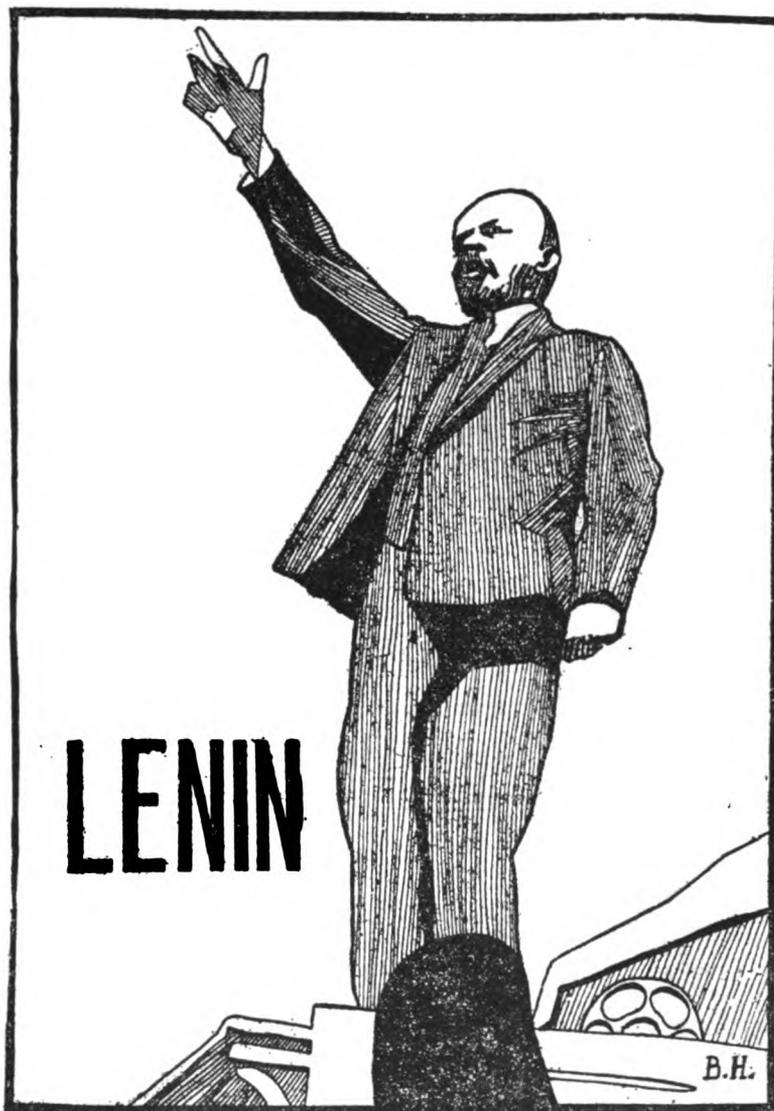
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Official Organ of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau

Vol. II, No. 15

New York, April 10, 1920

Ten Cents A Copy



Lenin: Best Hated and Best Loved

GEORGE LANSBURY

For Lenin

GEORGES SOREL

Lenin the Seer

M. KATZ

EDITORIALS—OFFICIAL STATEMENTS—DOCUMENTS

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Soviet Labor Laws in Pamphlet Form

We have just reprinted in a special pamphlet, in response to many requests to do so from those who have read them, the Labor Laws of Soviet Russia, as originally printed in SOVIET RUSSIA, Vol. II, No. 8, together with the explanation and defense of those laws that appeared in the last issue of SOVIET RUSSIA (No. 14). The whole makes a 48-page pamphlet, containing this material in a form that is convenient for preservation and reference. Price, per copy, ten cents; in quantities of ten or more, seven cents. Other pamphlets will follow in rapid succession.

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SOVIET RUSSIA

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New York, April 10, 1920

No. 15

Lenin: Best Hated and Best Loved

By GEORGE LANSBURY
Editor, London Daily Herald

I CELEBRATED my birthday by visiting Lenin, Prime Minister of the first Soviet Republic of Russia. I am setting down my personal impressions of this man—the best hated and the best loved in the world—because personality has counted for such an infinite amount in the revolution. I shall send later a verbatim account of the opinions Lenin expressed to me on industrial and political matters.

I have met statesmen of all countries, and I am well acquainted with those who rule over our own land. There is not one of them who can surpass in ability and knowledge, in honesty of purpose and in courage, the man who to-day is the inspirer and guide of the Russian people.

We had never met before, yet from the first moment we were on terms of mutual trust and confidence. He spoke quite fully and without reserve on questions of private and public policy. Clearly he had nothing to hide.

He has nothing of the ways or of the manners of ordinary statesmen, and does not try to assume them. He lives in the Kremlin in one of the large buildings, formerly courts of justice, I believe, with which that place abounds: but his own surroundings are perfectly simple and businesslike. There are no men servants or what are termed "menials," only a few clerks and typists carrying on the work of his department.

I should say that he works every minute of his waking hours. Until the telephones were switched off he was not free from calls for more than two or three minutes.

He dresses as simply as an artisan. Of course, I looked him over eagerly for a sight of those diamonds so much talked about in the capitalist press, but, alas, I saw none! Indeed, I have not seen a diamond during my stay in Moscow.

Portraits which I have seen of Lenin give no adequate picture of the expression of his face.

He is about 50 years old, of medium height, and carries himself with a slight stoop. He has fine eyes, which look you straight in the face, sometimes with a whimsical expression, as if he were trying to discover if anything unexpressed lay behind your words. They have, too, an expression of careful kindness; and you put him down as a man who must love children.

But his outstanding feature—so outstanding that it must come into the physical catalogue—is his iron will and determination. He has a profound contempt for all of us who would compromise, and has use only for those who are willing to dare all for the cause.

He believes that the quickest way to effect the change is for all who want International Socialism to say so, and act so, all the time, irrespective of all personal considerations. He practices what he preaches. He appeared to me like a man who would go as calmly to his death as to a meeting of his Cabinet. But for all this calmness, I am sure that he can be very angry when occasion demands.

Captain Sadoul, the courageous Frenchman under sentence of death in his own land because of his fearless exposure of Allied treachery in dealing with Soviet Russia, said to me the other day: "The Communists of Russia are to the Socialist movement what the Society of Jesus was to the Church of Rome—that is, in the spirit and determination with which the Communists are willing to be sacrificed for the cause they love so well."

And, after all, it is the spirit in which men do things that really matters. In everything that makes a true leader Lenin is to the Socialist movement what St. Ignatius Loyola was to the Society of Jesus.

His own absorbing aim in life is to rescue the workers of the world from the thralldom of wage-slavery and capitalism, and to establish the International. He is the embodiment of the famous saying: "The world is my country, all mankind my brethren, to do good my religion."

To think of Lenin as a person loving bloodshed is laughable.

This two and a half years of strife and struggle has been for the leaders of the revolution a period of stress and strain which has told on them all, especially on Lenin, who, in addition to everything else, still carries in his body two bullets of his would-be assassin. In spite of this; he was as full of vigor and cheeriness as a boy; he made jokes and laughed at them as if without a care.

We talked about the movement in England; we discussed the dictatorship of the proletariat and parliaments, our leaders and the present and future

struggle here, and in most things were in agreement.

We talked of atrocities only very little. The longer I am here the more I feel that it is an insult to those whose guest I am to continue to talk to them about horrors for which they are no more guilty or responsible than I am.

The other day I met a leading priest who could speak English fluently. We were alone, and could, of course, talk freely. He told me that Lenin and his colleagues did everything in their power to preserve order, and in no way could be held responsible for any outrages that may have been committed. He also expressed himself in high terms of appreciation of Lenin.

Lenin, as I have said, is the best hated and at the same time the best loved man in the world. I know now and understand how it is that the Russian workers have held on to their revolution through war, pestilence and famine. They are blessed with great leaders who have proved that power does not spoil them, who do not desire to follow the ways, customs and mode of living of the classes they have dispossessed, who, selected to serve, remain servants of the people. Together they have shared the trials and sufferings of the common people.

The leader of them all is this man Lenin, with his strongly marked Russian peasant face, who with

the indomitable courage characteristic of his people in their age-long struggle for bread, is the man who in dark days and bright inspires them all.

I write thus of him, not because we are agreed on all things—on some fundamental things we do not agree—but because I think I know a good man when I see one, and can appreciate deeds as well as words.

Lenin has proved himself a great impersonal soldier and leader in the one cause which for me is worth living, striving and dying for—the establishment of the true internationalism by the replacement of capitalism by socialism.

In the old days the Czarist despots were known as "little fathers of the Russian people." To-day Lenin is to Russia symbolic of a new spirit, not of despotism but of freedom. Men and women love him, and if need be would die for him, not because he is their ruler (he is not a ruler in any sense of the word), but because he is their comrade, and their mouthpiece, the champion, of social and economic freedom, and because, in the struggle through which Russia is passing, he has given himself body and soul and spirit to their service, without desire or hope of personal reward or power.

When parting, he asked me to convey his cordial good wishes to all comrades and friends of the movement in England, and to tell them of his confident hope that ere long the International of the Workers will be established throughout the world.

Lenin the Seer

By M. KATZ

I RECALL a conversation which I had two and a half years ago at Petrograd, soon after my arrival from the United States, with the well-known Jewish publicist, Latzki-Bertoldi. The conversation took place in the middle of July, 1917, when the whole of Petrograd and all Russia was still aroused, and had not yet recovered from the first attempt at an armed insurrection which the Bolsheviki made on July 3-6 in Petrograd. As is well-known, the slogans of that insurrection were: "All power to the Soviets!" and "Immediate cessation of hostilities and conclusion of peace with Germany!"

The signing of peace with Germany at that time meant an admission of the military defeat of Russia and the surrender to a militaristic Germany of all the advantages which Russia gained by her military victories. Most of the intellectuals could not reconcile themselves to this thought. Even the old experienced Socialists and Revolutionists, such as Plekhanov and Kropotkin, were of the opinion that an immediate peace with Germany would mean the betrayal of Russia and of the Revolution.

Just at that time I happened to meet Bertoldi, and in our conversation he expressed the following interesting and profound thought:

"As a matter of fact, the Bolsheviki are now acting as the prophet Jeremiah acted in Palestine two

and a half thousand years ago. The prophet Jeremiah at that time did his utmost to discourage the Jewish people, who were waging a desperate war against their eternal bloody enemy, Babylon. He demanded that the Jewish people shall conclude 'an immediate peace' with Babylon and thereby recognize her power. Many Jews at that time considered him a traitor, and indeed, superficially, this was treason to the accepted national interests of the Jewish people. And yet the words of Jeremiah are still remembered and will be remembered for thousands of years to come as the loftiest and noblest act that one could perform for one's people. Why? Because he was a prophet, and because we have not the slightest doubt that his 'defeatist ideas' were prompted by the noblest sentiments. But imagine what would have happened had there been at the time a suspicion, or had it been proven later, that Jeremiah pursued personal ends, that he was a paid or voluntary agent of the militaristic government of Babylon. Would his words and ideals have remained in the memory of men and would they be so impressive in our days? Such is also the case with the present demand of the Bolsheviki. They are either German agents or prophets. But prophets do not appear in our days. Besides it is a fact that Lenin and many other Bol-

shevik leaders returned to Russia through Germany."

Bertoldi did not believe that prophets and the moral exaltation of prophets could exist in our days, and neither did I. But both of us were badly mistaken, and, incidentally, our mistake was shared by tens of thousands, for it has indeed been proven that Bolshevism, which appeared in the blood drowned world during the most horrible world war, was prophetic and that the leader of the Bolsheviki, Lenin, was a prophet. He may have been a bad prophet or a good one, but he was a true and not a false prophet. It was Lenin and nobody else who foresaw with the clear eye of a prophet the whole course of

the world war, its hidden springs, its outcome and the nature of the imperialist peace. He foresaw the future course of human history and he acted according to this, without deviating for a moment either to the right or to the left. This was a true prophesy, and in comparison with him all the other statesmen were but naive children or false prophets.

I recall another fact which impressed me a great deal. Lenin's large book "Against the Current" was published in Moscow in 1918. This book contained articles that Lenin had written after the outbreak of the war in the underground Russian press which was published abroad. In this there is an article which was written at the beginning of 1915, entitled "How should a Socialist Party act if the revolution would place it at the helm of the State during the world war." When Lenin wrote this article the very thought itself might have seemed but the wild dream of a revolutionist who was not in touch with real life. But this "dreamer" outlined in this article with an amazing clearness



NIKOLAI LENIN

comes a prophesy and its creator a prophet . . .

Lenin is more than a mere statesman, and more than a Socialist statesman. Everybody feels this and everybody regards him in that light, and this is why his personality arouses such great interest. Prophets, true prophets are so rare in our days, and Lenin is the prophet of the Socialist Revolution.

Twenty years ago the great Socialist theoretician and scientist, Karl Kautsky, tried to imagine how the social revolution would take place and what would happen "on the day after the social revolution." But he lacked the prophetic spirit. He was no more than a scientist, a theoretician. Hence, he placed the social revolution "somewhere" and "sometime." He was afraid to even meditate on how the revolution will take place, and he secretly hoped that a miracle would happen, a leap into the "reign of freedom" and he depicted a milk-and-water paradise which appealed to no one and which showed to no one what must be done to hasten the day of the social revolution. But Lenin did not per-

all that has later actually occurred in Russia, and he outlined with great detail the whole practical governmental program, all the national economic and cultural policies which a Socialist government would have a case. And when the occasion arose, and the Socialist proletariat of Russia has during the world war actually come into possession of the governmental power, he began to carry out with the greatest precision the very program which he had outlined with such detail and in such practical form three years ago in his "dream." Was this a dream? Perhaps. But a great social dream which is actually realized, ceases to be a dream. It be-

ceive the social revolution through the dim glasses of a philosopher, but, with the clear "divine" sight of a prophet, and as a prophet he had the courage to lead the people along the road which he saw ahead.

Such is the difference between Lenin and all other Socialist theoreticians and statesmen. It is the difference between the priest and the prophet. Aaron, the priest would never have had the courage and the power to lead the Jews out of Egypt. The prophet Moses dared to do it. When the people in the desert became homesick and demanded a visible God, the priest Aaron conceded to their demands and made for them a golden calf. (In modern terms this would be called a bourgeois democratic constitution). But the prophet Moses broke his promise, allowed the killing of tens of thousands of people, decided that the whole generation of the desert must perish, and continued to lead his people with an iron hand through suffering to freedom.

Such is the way of a prophet. Such was the way of Lenin. And let history decide whether the prophet was right,—whether the result justified the sacrifices.

Lenin is a man of a single dominant idea. This idea is for him the social revolution. To him the social revolution is not the *outcome* of facts, but the source, the starting point, from which all facts flow. He firmly believes that twice two makes the social revolution, and so also three times three and a thousand times a million. Figures and numbers have no effect on him, for he clearly sees the way and he has no doubt of the end. And should you cite to him facts and count sacrifices, he will smilingly reply: "What does this amount to in comparison with the social revolution?" And if you try to frighten him or to persuade him to slow down somewhat, or to turn aside for a while, he fails to understand it: "But, we have not yet brought the social revolution to its end!" And if

you remind him of sacred things, of the value of human life, of the power of his people, of the greatness of his Fatherland, which is being crushed and partitioned, he remains undisturbed and disregards all this. For his eyes gaze at a more sacred thing—the social revolution.

Recall his attitude during the conclusion of the Brest peace. All Russia, and with her the whole world, were aroused over the German "peace terms." Trotzky refused to sign such an infamous peace. Radek demanded a "revolutionary war." The Left Social Revolutionists, the only supporters of the Bolsheviki at that time, threatened to rebel. Nobody could reconcile himself with the thought of "surrender" to the German Imperialism and to the partition of great Russia. Lenin alone remained undisturbed: "We must accept the peace terms. It is but temporary. The social revolution will come and will do away with them. And in the meantime, we will have a respite." He, alone, forced his will and faith on everybody, and events have proven that he, and nobody else, was right. Imperialist Germany was choked by the fat bone of the Brest peace which they had swallowed.

And now too, Lenin is the most moderate of all the Soviet leaders on questions of foreign policy. He is ready to make the greatest concessions in order to obtain peace. Is this because Lenin is naturally a pacifist? Not at all. The words of Christ "Not peace, but a sword I brought" may as well be applied to Lenin. But he believes in a higher peace, in the ultimate peace which will be brought about by the world social revolution. He does not for a moment doubt that the social revolution will come, and this is the reason why he is so ready to concede a great deal to those whom he considers candidates for a social revolution in the near future. He is ready to throw a bone to them because he has no doubt that it will choke them. . .

Such is Lenin: the man of one idea, the prophet of the social revolution, who has faith in his prophesy.

For Lenin

By GEORGES SOREL

In publishing a fourth edition of his "Reflections on Violence," Georges Sorel has added a chapter, "For Lenin." A Swiss writer, M. Paul Seippel, reproached Lenin and Trotzky, in an article in the "Journal de Geneve" last year, with having meditated at leisure during their stay in Switzerland, on the "Reflections on Violence," and with applying its principles later in Russia with redoubtable logic. The noted French writer answers this reproach. We extract the following passages from his reply.

I have no desire to win the indulgence of the innumerable Paul Seippels who are writing the literature of victory by cursing the Bolsheviki, of whom the business interests are so afraid, and I have no reason to suppose that Lenin gained his ideas from my books; but if that were true, I should be not a little proud of having contributed to the intellectual development of a man who seems to me to be at once the greatest theoretician of Socialism since Marx, and a statesman whose genius recalls that of Peter the Great.

When the Commune of Paris was falling, Marx wrote a manifesto of the Internationale, in which present-day Socialists are accustomed to seek the most finished expression of the political doctrines of the master. The speech made by Lenin in May 1918, on the problems of power of the Soviets, has no less importance than Marx's manifesto on civil war in 1871. It may be that the Bolsheviki will be beaten in the end, struggling against the mercenaries hired by the Entente plutocracies; but the ideology of the new form of proletarian state will

not perish; it will survive and fuse with the popular stories which will arise out of the struggle of the Republic of the Soviets against the coalition of the great capitalist Powers.

It has been said of Lenin that, like Peter the Great, he tried to force history. He sought to impose Socialism on his country, it is charged. According to the most authoritative masters of social democracy, say his critics, socialism can only follow a highly developed stage of capitalism, whereas Russian industry was very backward owing to its heritage of governmental direction, police interference, and technical inefficiency. There are plenty of Socialists who call Lenin's enterprise chimerical. Better factory methods impose themselves on private capitalists by the play of half-blind mechanisms, the meagre role of intelligence being limited to a critique reporting the advantage or disadvantage of each method. If a socialist economy was to succeed the capitalist economy under conditions which Marx, inspired by observations made in England, had foreseen, they say, the transmission of these better methods would occur in an almost automatic fashion. Intelligence would then at most be called upon to protect the acquisitions of the bourgeois past against the illusions of naive revolutionaries.

It is true that to give Russian Socialism a foundation which a Marxist such as Lenin could regard as solid, a prodigious task of intelligence is necessary. The Soviet leaders have to be in a position to demonstrate to the directors of revolutionized industry the value of certain rules induced from the experience of advanced capitalism; they have to induce the masses, to accept these methods by the moral authority their services have won for them in the confidence of the people. The responsible leaders of the revolution have to defend it constantly against instincts which are continually pushing mankind toward the lowest reaches of civilization.

Lenin does not exaggerate when he says that the campaign to make the socialist regime permanent in Russia will be a thousand times more difficult than the most exacting military campaign. He is right in saying that revolutionaries never faced such a task as his. Formerly the innovators had only to destroy certain institutions which were considered bad, and to leave reconstruction to such as were led by the hunt for extra profits to launch upon such enterprises. But the Bolsheviks have both to destroy and to reconstruct, in such fashion that the capitalists may not again interpose themselves between society and the workers.

No very great progress can be made in industry without many trials; the directors of production should stop in time when they are following a disastrous policy and look for another method better calculated to succeed. This is what is called learning by experience. Lenin is not at all one of those ideologists who believe their genius sets them above the exactions of reality; and he is very attentive to the lessons, which practice has given him since the revolution.

If Russian Socialism is to become a stable economy, then the intelligence of the revolutionists must be active, well informed, and entirely free from prejudice. Even if Lenin cannot execute his entire program, he will leave behind important lessons from which European society will learn. Lenin may well be proud of what his comrades are doing; the Russian workers are acquiring immortal glory in attempting the realization of what hitherto had been only an abstract idea.

Here is a discourse which I will gladly lend to Lenin. The hunger war which the capitalist democracies are waging against the Republic of the Soviets is a war of cowardice; it is nothing less than an outright denial of the right of war as defined by proudhon. Even if the Red Guard should be forced to capitulate, the adulterated victory of the Entente would have only ephemeral results. On the other hand, the heroic efforts of the Russian workers will be rewarded by history in the eventual triumph of those institutions in whose defense the workers and peasants of Russia have already made so many sacrifices.

History, according to Renan, rewarded the Roman virtues by giving Rome an empire in the Mediterranean. Despite innumerable abuses of conquest, the legions accomplished what he called the "Work of God". If we are grateful to the Roman soldiers for having replaced abortive, perverted or weak civilizations by a civilization of which we are still the pupils in law, literature and architecture, how the future will be grateful to the Russian soldiers of Socialism! How feeble in the eyes of history will seem the rhetoric of those whom democracy charges with the denunciation of the excesses of the Bolsheviks! New Carthages must not be victorious over what is now the Rome of the proletariat.

Finally I must add a personal word on my own account: Cursed be the plutocratic democracies which are starving Russia. I am only an old man whose life is at the hazard of petty accidents, but may I, before descending into the tomb, see the humiliation of the proud bourgeois democracies which are now so cynically triumphant.

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Address-----

Lenin and Russian Progress

“THESE men refuse to be in any respect successors to the past and absolutely reject their heritage”—thus wrote in 1897 the venerable Russian critic N. K. Mikhailovsky, concerning the “disciples”, meaning the Russian Marxians, by which Aesopian name they were called in the Russian political literature, to evade the ever watchful eye of the censor. The accusation meant that the Marxians, in introducing new methods of analyzing the political and social conditions of Russia, by injecting into Russian social and political thought new viewpoints as to the coming social and political development of Russia, in opening new ways for the solution of the problem which like a nightmare was pressing upon the life of the entire country—the overthrow of Czarism,—were, to use the words of Mikhailovsky, “breaking off with the best traditions of the better, the progressive part of the Russian society”, “breaking the continuity of the Russian democratic development”, and so on.

And these traditions could not be ignored. Not only because the “democratic line” contained the illustrious names of Russian writers who did everything they could in order to acquaint Russia with the progressive thought of Western Europe; not only because it included social workers who devoted their lives to the alleviation of the unenviable lot of the Russian peasant who at that time (the time of the peasant reform of 1861 and after) was the Russian people par excellence; but because the Russian Marxians felt that they were the true continuators of the gigantic task undertaken by the Russian “enlighteners”, in trying to do away with the medievalism of Russian life and helping to put Russia on the broad road of progress.

The history of Russian political thought allotted to Russian Marxism, at the beginning of its appearance, a peculiar role, different from that which this theory was playing in the western European countries. In western Europe, Marxism appeared at a time when capitalism had already fought its battle against feudalism and done away with most of the remnants of the feudal order. There, the theory became the catechism of the working class in its struggle for liberation. It was a creed of progress chiefly because of the imminent connection between the aspirations of the working class and economic and social progress in general: because the struggle of the working class carried with it as a matter of historical necessity, a new and *higher* social order.

In Russia Marxism, simultaneously with becoming the theory of the working class and of its ideal of the future became also the doctrine of the nascent capitalism which was solving the problems of *immediate* economic and social progress. For the Russian democratic intelligentsia, Marxism became the formula with the help of which it was on the one hand recruiting the ranks for a broad popular movement against the existing political order (Czarism), while on the other hand it was doing away with the

relics of a peculiar Russian ideology known as *narodnichestvo*. The aim of the latter was to halt the necessary development of capitalism because it was threatening the existence of certain antiquated, quasi-socialistic institutions, such as the “obshchina” (communal property in land), the “artel” (small artisan co-operative), which persisted in Russia and as a matter of fact were kept up by the policy of the Czarist reaction for fiscal and political reasons. One of the prominent Russian writers who defended the ideology of *narodnichestvo* was N. K. Mikhailovsky, whose invective against the Russian “disciples” we quoted at the beginning of this article.

Now Lenin, or to use his real name, Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, was one of the “disciples”. Though at that time (1897) comparatively young, he possessed already an extensive knowledge of economic theory, and was thoroughly acquainted with the economic situation in Russia as well as with its past economic and social development. Alongside of the other Russian Marxians of the early nineties,* Plekhanov, Struve, Bulgakov, Tugan-Baranovsky—he took the field in defence of the Marxian theory, displaying at once, together with his profound scholarship, a clarity of mind and soundness of argument which remained his characteristic traits throughout his entire learned and political career.

In reply to the accusation of Mikhailovsky, Lenin wrote an article entitled: “What Heritage Do We Reject?”, in which he subjected to a critical analysis the main ideas of the *narodniki*, and developed the chief points of the Marxian view on the Russian situation at the time. Taken by itself, the article may not have much interest for the present day reader. It is of a polemical nature and contains a critical review of the writings of two Russians now hardly ever read, authors of the sixties, Skaldin and Engelhardt, who described the life of the peasants after the passage of the peasant reform of 1861, introduced by Alexander II. But as a page from the history of Russian political thought and as an early indication of the frame of mind and the intellectual traits of the man who was destined to play so unique a role in the history of Russia, this article is very illuminating.

Lenin takes up Mikhailovsky’s challenge and proves that the “disciples”, i. e. the Marxians, are more entitled to the heritage of Russian progressive thought than are the *narodniki*. And as we follow his arguments and his polemical sallies we detect all the traits that make the man Lenin: an unusual sobriety of thought and a realistic view of the events

*Of these only Plekhanov, and, to a limited extent, Tugan-Baranovsky, adhered to Marxism up to the end. The rest went through various “transformations” till they invariably found themselves in the camp of the reaction. It may also be stated at this place that the *narodniki* were the protagonists of the present “social-revolutionaries” in Russia.

of human history, combined with a great sensitiveness to the iniquities of an unjust social order and a remarkable historic optimism, a firm belief in the progress of humanity. True, as he points out himself, these traits distinguish a Marxian thinker from an adept of a different sociological school, but precisely this constitutes the greatness of Lenin: that the methodological demands of the Marxian school completely *harmonize* with his individual intellectual traits.

To prove his point, Lenin draws a parallel between the views of the Russian progressives of the sixties: the *enlighteners*, the *narodniki* and the *disciples* (the Marxians). Each of them expresses the aspirations and the psychology of a special class: the *enlighteners*, of the progressive bourgeois class; the *Marxians*, of the nascent working class; while the *narodniki* reflect the contradictory situation and tendencies of the petit bourgeois, the small owners' class.

This is how Lenin characterizes a Russian *enlightener* in the person of the writer Skaldin:

"Like the western European *enlighteners*, like the majority of the literary representatives of the sixties, Skaldin is animated by a vehement hatred for serfdom and *all* of its outgrowths in the economic, social and legal field. This is the permanent character of an *enlightener*. A second characteristic trait common to all Russian *enlighteners* is their ardent defence of education, self-government, freedom, European forms of life, and generally, a universal Europeanization of Russia. Finally, the third characteristic trait of an *enlightener* is the defence of the interests of the popular masses, mostly the peasants (who at that time were not yet fully liberated and were just at the stage of being liberated); a sincere belief that the abolition of serfdom would bring with it a general prosperity and a sincere desire to aid in its achievement. These traits constitute the essence of what we are accustomed to call 'the heritage of the sixties'.

Speaking concretely, an *enlightener*, or, what is his equivalent, a liberal bourgeois, was opposed to all the remnants of the feudal order that existed in Russia and lay as a heavy load on the shoulders of its people. He opposed the heavy economic burdens of the peasant class, imposed on that class by the law on redemption of peasant land, after their liberation in 1861; the poll taxes; the obnoxious influence of the "land strips" in the peasant land allotments, and so on. But, in addition to fighting the feudal remnants in the life of the peasant, the *enlightener* was also a foe of the relics of peasant life which remained from an earlier, communistic epoch, such as the joint responsibility (*krugovaya poruka*) of the members of the peasant community (*mir*); the patriarchal power of the community over its members with its consequent passport system and the fastening of the peasant to his land allotment, which he could neither sell nor forego, and so on. He was a foe of the division of society into separate classes, a sponsor of a single judiciary system, an ardent adherent of popular, particularly of common education, a supporter

of local home-rule and *zemstvo* institutions, an advocate of a wide rural credit, especially small credits. He was further a free trader, even in the field of banking, being opposed to *zemstvo* banks and municipal banks. He advocated private banks as "possessing all advantages", while holding the opinion that "the rise in the price of land may be attained by encouraging the industrial and commercial activities in our provincial regions".

In a word, the *enlightener* is a bourgeois. This term does not represent an ethical standard, but a historical judgment, and many a critic who would see in Lenin merely a hater of everything that is of the "bourgeois", should carefully peruse these lines:

"We said that Skaldin is a *bourgeois* . . . But it is necessary to remark that we rather often understand this word very incorrectly, narrowly, historically, by connecting with this word (*without making a distinction as to historical time*) the idea of a selfish defense of the interests of a minority. One must not forget that at the time when the *enlighteners* of the 18th century were writing, when our own *enlighteners* were writing, in the period between the forties and the sixties, *all* social questions reduced themselves to one, to the struggle against serfdom and its remnants. The new social and economic relations and their contradictions were then only in their embryonic state. No selfishness therefore found expression among the ideologists of the bourgeoisie; on the contrary, in the West as in Russia, they believed with absolute sincerity in the welfare of all and sincerely desired it; they sincerely did not see (or would not yet see) the contradictions of the social order that was growing out of the feudal system."

Such was the *enlightener*, considered from the standpoint of modern sociological analysis. But what were the *narodniki*, or, to put it more correctly what were the social ideas represented in the current known by the name *narodnichestvo*? The answer is given by Lenin in his masterful, clear-cut words, the reading of which permits us to see the future writer of the short but almost mathematically precise synopsis of "Political Groupings in Russia", written in 1917.

"By *narodnichestvo*, we understand a system of ideas bearing the following three traits: 1. *The regarding of capitalism in Russia as a decline, a regression*, the result of which is the desire, the tendency to 'stop', to 'halt', to 'arrest' the 'breaking down' of old institutions; and similar reactionary lamentations; . . . 2. *The regarding of the Russian economic order in general and the peasant with his 'obshchina,' 'artel,' etc., in particular, as being of a nature independent and peculiar only to Russia.* The *obshchina* with its peasantry is considered as something higher and comparatively better than capitalism; there follows an idealization of the old institutions. . . . 3. *The disregarding of the connection that exists between the 'intelligentsia,' the legal and political institutions of the country, and the material interests of certain classes in society.'*"

But what are the objections advanced by the Marxians (and by Lenin, as one of the school) against the ideas represented in the writings of the *narodniki*? To put them in few words, these ideas, when advanced by otherwise progressive thinkers, were obstructing *progress*, which progress then lay in the development of capitalism. Capitalism was expected to do away, by force of its needs, with the medievalism of Russian life and to develop in Russia the western European social and political forms. Of course, neither the *narodniki* nor the Marxians were blind to the shortcomings of the Western European forms of parliamentarism and constitutionalism, and still less to the evils of western capitalism. But while the *narodniki* wanted to *escape* capitalism by a planful development of the "original" Russian communal institutions of the peasantry, such as the "obshchina," "artel," etc., and stressed the existence in the peasantry, as it were, of a "communal spirit," "cooperative tendencies," etc., the Marxians contended that capitalism in Russia was *inevitable*, that its development meant progress for Russia, and that, as to its evils, these would be overcome by the very development of capitalism which would bring to life the working class, its grave-digger.

The problem then was the question of progress. Lenin, like the rest of the Marxians, believed that the duty of the movement was to "clear the way" for this progress, and that every idea that tried to halt it, to sidetrack it, was to be censured. This is how he censures the *narodniki* for their opinion with regard to capitalism.

"The moment the question of capitalism in Russia came forward, it transpired that our (Russian) economic development was a capitalistic development, and the *narodniki* branded it as a regression, a mistake, a deviation from the road presumably consecrated by the century-old institutions, etc., etc." And to show how unsocial and how different from the attitude of the *enlighteners* this view of the *narodniki* is, Lenin continues: "Instead of the ardent faith of the *enlighteners* in the given social development, there appeared a lack of confidence in it, instead of historic optimism and courage, pessimism and dejection, based upon the assumption that in the measure as the conditions continue along the road they are traveling now, it will become so much harder to solve the problems raised by the new development."

We see how the *narodniki* were afraid of the problems of the new development (capitalism) and how Lenin and his school, based on a scientific sociological analysis, were confident as to the future. Armed with that confidence, Lenin thus exposes the weakness of the *narodniki*.

"There appeared invitations (on the part of the *narodniki*) to 'halt', to 'stop', this development there appeared a theory to the effect that this backwardness meant happiness for Russia, and so on. All these views have nothing in common with the 'heritage' (the views of the *enlighteners*) but are its direct contradiction. . . ."

Moreover, the *realist* Lenin, the *historian* Lenin always demands a correct estimation of the actualities, and he remarks further therefore: "The regarding of the Russian capitalism as a 'deviation from the road', a decline, etc., leads to a distortion of that 'change' which is taking place before our eyes. . . .", meaning by this that capitalism in Russia was at that time already an actuality, and to speak of a *different* development in Russia was a distortion of historical realities. And in the eyes of Lenin, then as now, there was nothing so dangerous, nothing so misleading for a political writer as an unhistorical, unrealistic view of the realities of social life. "Illusions", "idealizations", in this sphere, could but aid the forces of black reaction, i. e., Czarism, against which the feeling was strong among those of the *narodniki* against whom Lenin directed his arguments (the populists), no less than among the Marxians. He therefore attacks the other views of the *narodniki* relative to the "peculiarities" of the Russian social development.

"The second trait of the *narodniki* is the belief in the independent and peculiar development of Russia, the idealization of the peasant, of the 'obshchina,' etc. . . . This teaching . . . has compelled the *narodniki* to resort to obsolete western European theories, has incited them to regard with astonishing superficiality many acquisitions of western European culture; the *narodniki* pleased themselves with the idea that if we (Russia) lack these or other characteristic features of civilized humanity, we are in compensation for that, 'chosen' . . . to present new forms of husbandry, etc."

We see here how much Lenin was concerned with the "acquisitions of culture" for Russia and how he regarded as dangerous a flippant view of this matter. But the danger of these views lay not only in this. As Lenin further proves, the idealization of the village, of the commune, of the artel, being by the way, in contradiction with the spirit of the sixties, in reality leads to *reaction*, inasmuch as it upholds an obsolete reglementation of peasant life, a reglementation of which mention was made before, and which made the lot of the peasant still more onerous. Moreover, looking as he did upon capitalism as a progress, Lenin was concerned already then with disclosing all its influences, having in mind, of course, the future overcoming of capitalism in Russia wherever it existed, in the city as well as in the village.

There is a note of indignation when he points out that this idealization of the village ignores completely the interests of the poorest of the poor, the village proletarians, whose situation was not the same as that of an "also-peasant," a village-shark, a peasant capitalist, a *kulak*. Here are the lines in question:

"The ignoring of the social contradictions that were developing in the village under the influence of capitalism, and that were splitting the village population into a peasant bourgeoisie and a rural proletariat, and the continuous idealization of the

village, with its fictitious 'communal spirit,' 'co-operative spirit,' characteristic of the peasantry as a whole, is working only in the direction of subjecting the village proletarians to the oppression of the peasant capitalists. . . ."

Lack of space does not permit us to consider the third characteristic trait of the *narodniki*, as pointed out by Lenin: "the ignoring of the connection existing between the intelligentsia, the legal and political institutions of a country, and the material interests of definite social classes." For those, however, who in all the events that have since taken place in Russia, let us say in the last two years or more, see the hand of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, the designs and machinations of a handful of social adventurers and schemers trying their experiments on Russia, and those as well who do not cease to castigate them for "choosing" such and not another road for Russia, one more pleasing to the censors, we would highly recommend that they acquaint themselves more fully with the passage in which Lenin ridicules the *narodniki* for that "particular manner of thinking and arguing about social questions which we may call a narrow intellectualist conceit, or, possibly, a bureaucratic mode of thought." Lenin has only scorn for the intellectuals who, blind to the deep social causes of popular movements, speak like the *narodniki* of the road which "we" (i. e., the intellectuals) ought to choose for the fatherland.

We arrive now at the conclusion drawn by Lenin from his comparison of the views of the *enlighteners*, the *narodniki*, and the Marxians, which he expresses as follows:

"The *enlightener* believes in the given social development (capitalism) because he does not notice the contradictions that are inherent in it. The *narodnik* is afraid of the given economic development because he has noticed already the contradictions peculiar to it. The *disciple* (Marxian) believes in the given economic development because in the complete development of these contradictions he sees the foundation for a better future . . ."

And let us note: *Progress, better future*, were always the ideas that served as a compass to Lenin in his course.

A long time has passed since Lenin wrote the lines quoted above. Russia has undergone many changes. It has definitely entered upon the historic stage called capitalism, with its large-scale production, urbanization of the country, breaking up of the peasant economy, and creating of a pauperized peasantry, a propertyless industrial army, etc. It passed first through one war (1904-1905) and one revolution (1905), when it seemed as if Russian capitalism would solve at last its most important problem, the overthrow of Czarism, which stood in the way of creating a capacious home market necessary for the unrestricted development of capitalism and the productive forces of Russia under it. But thanks to the aid given to Czarism by international finance and the behavior of the Russian liberalism, the first revolution failed.

Capitalism, scared by its own shadow, the working class, decided to adapt itself to the oppressive conditions of absolutism and to remunerate itself in foreign markets for the lack of home consumers. China, Manchuria, Asia Minor, the Balkans, were to absorb the wares which the Russian peasant could not buy because the backward political forms of Russia obstructed the development of peasant economies. It was the Cadets who, after the revolution of 1905, were pushing Russia on the road of foreign aggression.

The growth of capitalist industry was proceeding fast. The need of a capacious home market was replaced by big government orders. The time before the Great War saw industry trustified, financial capital strong in the saddle, home prices for commodities mounting sky-high, a high cost of living, etc. Thus Russian capitalism, instead of creating an extensive and intensive home market and thus giving full sway to the development of Russian productive forces became a hindrance to them. By aligning itself with Czarism on the one hand, and by trustifying industry, limiting production, and screwing up prices on the other hand, Russian capitalism was causing a still greater shrinking of the home market and thus set itself up as an obstruction to the development of productive forces in Russia. The Great War did not permit these contradictions to come to their own solution, but it may be stated here without fear of contradiction that, war or no war, Bolshevism was imminent in Russia, for it was inherent in the tendencies of the Russian social development before the war. The productive forces of Russia had to find their full development, and if capitalism was not able to solve this problem, a solution had to be found under a new social condition.

Students of history in its social aspects, who have followed with intelligence the currents of life and thought in Russia since the Bolshevik revolution, may have noticed a peculiar "streak" that runs through all Bolshevik literature and enunciations, whether uttered by Lenin or other Bolshevik leaders. Seemingly preoccupied with one task, that of destroying capitalism in Russia with all the ills incidental to it, this literature becomes spirited and truly enthusiastic not where it shows what has been accomplished in the direction of doing away with the institutions of the old order, nor where it points to the improvement of the situation and special position of the Russian toiling masses under the new regime, but where it comes to speak of tremendous impetus which the development of Russian productive forces, or, what is the social progress of Russia, will receive in rational administration of the new economic life of the cities.

It would seem as if the Bolsheviks, as it were, would dictate and produce vast resources exploited to their full advantage by a network of waterways; of wharves and piers from the news-tremendous cranes that load

cargoes on barges which, passing through a regulated system of canals, scatter all over the country the wares which the populace needs; of enormous power stations spreading their ramifications to every part of great Russia, and supplying with electrical energy great industrial undertakings as well as small peasant economies.

We realize that there are persons, too many of them, who with malicious rejoicing will point to the economic distress which Russia is passing through now, as being far distant still from this vision, and will insist that Russia has to thank the Bolsheviks for its present situation. Let them enjoy then their similarity with those Russian reactionaries who loved to regard the abolition of serfdom as the cause of the famine of 1868. This is the answer they received from a Russian *enlightener*, as shown in the article of Lenin:

"After describing the famine of 1868, Skaldin remarks that this famine was maliciously pointed to by the adherents of serfdom, who regarded as its cause the wantonness of the peasants and the fact that the peasants were deprived of protection at the hands of the land-owners. Skaldin vehemently protests against these views. The causes for this impoverishment—he says—are *inherited from serfdom* and not from its abolition."

The reasoning of the reaction remains always the same. It seems as if the reactionaries were not able to realize the strength of the pernicious broth which they have been doling out to the people for ages.

The new social order in Russia is a fact, as hard as it might be to predict what the next few months may have in store for that country. It is not impossible that the progressive forces of Russia, as represented by the present regime, may suffer a temporary setback. One thing is certain. Russia will not return to her old social order, she will not adapt herself at this late hour to the wasteful methods of capitalism. Whatever may be the trials she will have to undergo in the near future, she will not abandon the struggle for the full development of her productive forces in the service and for the needs of the Russian people. The cowardly spirits who call themselves "democrats" or "socialists," or what not, and lament over the "break-down" of Russia, are comparable with the *narodniki* of whom Lenin wrote the following lines in 1897:

"Led by the desire to stop, to hold up the break-down by capitalism of age-old institutions, how *narodnik* falls into a remarkable historical tact-sociolog he forgets that *back* of this capitalism Armed nothing but the same old exploitation, com-weaknessh endless forms of enslavement and per-

"Thereence which burden the situation of the *narodniki* 'ing but routine and stagnation in social there appeared consequently in all spheres of swardness meant

All these views li slight historical correction re-'heritage' (the vie. to the routine and stagnation, its direct contradicti- that matter by the pleasures

of unemployment, economic crisis, militarism and war, enjoyed in Russia under capitalism, the remark is absolutely up-to-date for the use of all those who longingly turn their eyes to the past. But the Russian people is looking *forward*, letting the dead past bury its dead. And when the day of its final triumph will come, the name of Lenin will be enshrined in the hearts of the people, who will justly say of him: *ecce verus tribunus populi*.

A LIST OF LENIN'S WORKS

The list of Lenin's works which we give below is far from complete. The absence for the last few years of regular communication with Russia, which prevented the free entry of works of Russian authors into this country, as well as the lack of a complete collection of works of Russian economists and sociologists in the libraries of this country, has compelled us to confine ourselves in the preparation of this list of the works of Nikolai Lenin only to those which we have at hand. Yet even this incomplete list indicates the wide range of his political, literary and scientific activity, which found expression in his various works on political economy, sociology, and political theory, and in his innumerable articles dealing with practical politics and party policies.

The following list is compiled in chronological order of publication (or, in some cases, of actual preparation).

1. *The Problems of the Russian Social-Democrats*. 1897.
2. *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. Published by N. Vodovozova, St. Petersburg, 1899.
3. *Economic Monographs and Articles*. Published by "Obrazovanye," St. Petersburg, 1899.
4. *What Is to Be Done?* Published by Dietz, Stuttgart, Germany, 1902.
5. *To the Peasant Poor* (A Presentation of the Aims of the Social-Democrats for the Peasants). Published by the League of the Russian Revolutionary Social-Democrats, Geneva, Switzerland, 1903.
6. *One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward* (Concerning the Crisis in the Party). Geneva, 1904.
7. *Two Policies of the Social-Democrats During a Democratic Revolution*. Published by the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, Geneva, 1905.
8. *A Page from the History of the Social-Democratic Agrarian Program*. Articles which appeared in 1905 and 1906 and were published in book form by the Zhizn i Znanye Publishing Co., Petrograd, 1917.
9. *The Dissolution of the Duma and the Aims of the Proletariat*. Published by Novaya Volya Publishing Co., 1906.
10. *The Agrarian Program of the Russian Social-Democrats During the First Russian Revolution, 1905-1907*. Written in 1907. New

edition published by Zhizn i Znanye, Petrograd, 1917.

11. *The Materialistic Philosophy and Empiriocriticism*. Critical Notes on a Reactionary Philosophy. 1910.
12. *Imperialism, the Latest Stage of Capitalism*. Written in 1915. Published by Zhizn i Znanye, Petrograd, 1917.
13. *Political Parties in Russia and the Aims of the Proletariat*. Published by Zhizn i Znanye, Petrograd, 1917.
14. *Letters on Tactics*. Petrograd, 1917.
15. *The Lessons of the Revolution*. Petrograd, 1917.
16. *New Data Regarding the Law of Capitalist*

Development in Agriculture. Vol I. Capitalism in the Rural Economy of the United States. Published by "Zhizn i Znanye," Petrograd, 1917.

17. *The State and Revolution*. Petrograd, 1917.
18. *The Immediate Problems of the Soviet Government* (The Soviets at Work). Petrograd, 1918.
19. *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*. Petrograd, 1918.

Lenin has translated into Russian also a large number of foreign works on economics and sociology. We mention only the standard work of Sydney and Beatrice Webb, *The Theory and Practice of Trade-Unionism* ("Industrial Democracy").

The Military Situation

By LT. COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

Washington, April 1, 1920.

THERE is not much news coming from the Polish front. The reports which have reached America since March 23, are vague and one-sided. The Polish "victories" seem to me to be of a character similar to those of Kolchak during his famous "advance" in Siberia (towards the Pacific).

According to the despatches from Warsaw of March 23 and 24, 1920, the Red Army, after a vigorous artillery preparation, resumed an attack waged in massed formations on the bridgeheads at Zwiehel. That attack, it is said, was supported by tanks and armored motor cars. The Poles, it is alleged, counter-attacked the Russians with bayonets and hand grenades, thus driving back the offenders and capturing "one tank and some machine guns and prisoners". Simultaneously, it was said, the Poles attacked the seventh Bolshevik division in the sector of Emilozen, and forced the Russians to retreat. This happened on the Lithuanian front north of the Pripet Marshes.

On the Podolian front, to the south of the same marshes, and extending to the Rumanian frontier, the Polish Army, as reported from Warsaw, March 23, checked the advance of the Russian attacking forces all along the river Slutch, where, it must be noted, the Russians captured all the towns situated on its eastern bank. This shows that the Poles were unable to continue their active defense on the eastern bank of the river Slutch, and after their retreat across the river, have entrenched themselves on its western side and consequently were forced into a passive defense, being covered by the river Slutch along their entire front.

A sudden change from active to passive defense on a front of 250 miles long, can only prove the weakness of the Polish army, because in taking the position for a passive defense the Poles are looking ahead to a speedy retreat under the protection of the river. The crossing of a river is certainly a difficult operation for the advancing Red army, especially if the Poles defend it properly, but as

Napoleon said, and as had been proved by the history of war,—"any river can be crossed in spite of all measures to prevent it."

Launching their attack in Podolia, and being masters of the entire eastern bank of the Slutch, up to Staro-Konstantinov, about 15 miles west of Ostropol on the same river, the Reds have undertaken an outflanking movement of the right wing of the Polish army in this sector. The reports of fierce fighting in the vicinity of the town of Zaslavl, situated 40 miles west of Slutch and 30 miles northwest of Staro-Konstantinov prove it.

Further to the south, it was mentioned that the town of Litichev (Latyczaw) was also attacked by the Soviet troops and later on a series of engagements were mentioned around the town of Proskurov, situated on the Tarnopol-Odessa railway line. This latest information gives me ground to suppose that Litichev has already fallen into the hands of the Reds, because it is situated on the same railway line as Proskurov and is only 25 miles to the southeast of the latter.

Simultaneously, the Soviet forces which moved towards the Polish front from the direction of Odessa succeeded in crossing the Dniester at Ushitza and Mohilev (Podolsky), and directed their attack against Kamenetz-Podolsk, 20 miles to the northwest of Ushitza, thus menacing that part of the Polish army which is probably cut off at the extreme end of the Polish front, by the Russians, if Proskurov was really captured. The Poles claim a "victory", but we must not forget that they also claimed a victory at the beginning of March when they challenged the Russians by their sudden offensive in the Mozir district, on the eastern extremity of the Pripet marshes; after this they became silent and the Russian battle front, as the map shows us, has progressed westward approximately 120 miles.

These Polish "victories", however important they might be, have not lowered the fighting ability of the Russian armies, as can be seen from the newspaper reports from Warsaw, of March 26.

The Bolsheviks, "have made small advances", according to the *Sun* of March 26. The Poles are still holding the enemy and lamenting that the Reds have a strong support from their southern front, which allows them to continue their attack along a front of 400 miles. They are trying to capture Rovno in Volhynia, and Kamenetz-Podolsk, and in the Mozir district they have succeeded in capturing several villages. The Bolshevik crack regiments and considerable numbers of cavalry are frightening the Polish aggressors and consequently the Poles, according to press dispatches, are appealing to the League of Nations for support.

The situation, as far as can be inferred from some unfavorable rumors that recently began to penetrate in the press, must be disastrous for Poland.

"Where there is smoke, there must be fire", as the old saying has it, and the rumors about the capture of Vilna and the withdrawal of the Polish Government from Warsaw to Bromberg only prove that things are going from bad to worse in Poland.

From a military standpoint there can be no reason for the Polish Government to hasten its removal from the capital. Nor is there any reason to believe that Vilna has been captured by the Russian troops. But, summing up the general conditions in the Polish Republic, and taking into consideration the news from London of March 25 (*New York Times*, March 26), that Latvia is prepared to start peace negotiations with the Soviets, as well as the hostile feeling on the part of Lithuania to the Poles, their oppressors, I may venture to say that Vilna may have been evacuated by the Polish forces and occupied by the Lithuanians,—in fact, this is very probable.

Consequently, the Poles are ready to negotiate Peace with the Soviets. They are ready now, while a month ago Pilsudski, in a most audacious and bellicose way, broke off negotiations with the Russian representatives and started an offensive on the Russian army, which was unprepared for such a treacherous blow.

Yes, Poland will certainly have a peace, but a peace based on the rights of ethnographic Poland, the sovereignty of which Soviet Russia never intended to violate.

In general, the military situation on the Polish front does not inspire any anxiety; on the contrary, it may be considered very satisfactory.

The latest news received from the Southern Russian borders as well as from Siberia and North Russia (Finnish frontier) can only confirm this statement.

It was officially confirmed from absolutely creditable sources that Vladivostok is under complete control of Soviets, which means Moscow.

Turning to South Russia, we find the port of Novorossiysk, the last refuge for the remainder of the Denikin bands, also in the hands of the victorious Soviet army, according to the despatch of March 24 (*N. Y. Times*).

In Turkestan, the counter-revolutionary forces of the district of Ferghana have joined the Bolsheviks,

and the Transcaspian Turkomans, formerly a part of the Denikin cavalry, once hostile to the Soviets, have now passed over to the Soviet command, while in the Caucasus the Reds have occupied the important oil region of Maikop, in the Kuban Cossack district, which proves that the Kuban Cossacks, the original Denikin power, are now with the Soviets; for without the support of the Kuban population, the occupation of this well protected mountainous district would have been impossible.

On the Finnish front, near the Murmansk region, the town of Pechenega (Pechenga) was captured by 2,000 Reds, and the Finnish forces were compelled to fall back after a fierce battle.

All these operations have only a local significance, and may be considered as purely political, in no way affecting the strategical situation on the Russian western front.

According to the *New York Times* of March 29, during their operation against Novorossiysk and in the Kuban district, the Soviet army succeeded in capturing 12,000 officers and 100,000 men, 300 guns, enormous quantities of ammunition, rolling stock, and 15,000,000 pounds of benzine.

Such important booty at the moment of the development of military operations against the Poles is an event of considerable importance.

The Kuban Cossack people, in accepting the Soviet regime, represent a strong reinforcement for the Red Army engaged against the Poles. The captured men of the beaten Denikin army may be used for the same purpose. They hate the military Polish element and will be glad to fight them in order to show their loyalty to Soviet Russia.

It is remarkable how the Russians, in spite of all the hostile feeling towards the Soviets, existing in certain reactionary circles in America, are scrupulously avoiding any injury to the interests of the United States.

According to the *Sun* of March 30, the Reds, in taking Novorossiysk, shelled all the French and English battleships, and only the United States cruiser "Galveston" was not fired upon.

In conclusion, I cannot pass with silence the message of Denikin's Staff Correspondent, the famous English newspaper agent, Harold Williams, which appeared in the *New York Times* on March 31, from Constantinople.

The distinguished British journalist, whose work is so popular with those who hoped that Moscow would be captured by Kolchak and Denikin, and that Yudenich would victoriously enter Petrograd amidst the cheers of an enchanted population as "The Christ Ressurrected", now dramatically declares: "I have again left the shores of Russia, this time with a sadder feeling than ever before."

I believe in the sincerity of Harold Williams in this case, and I hope that he has left Russia forever; but I do not believe him, and I feel that he does not believe himself when he declares in the same article that "Denikin is making his last brave stand. He refused to admit the possibility of utter defeat." Ignorance is bliss!

The Workers' Movement in Esthonia

The German occupational authorities destroyed the entire workers' movement in Esthonia. The trade unions had to begin their work anew. The work had to be done under exceptionally difficult circumstances. The White Government, seeing in the organized working class movement a dangerous force, used all means to hamper the work of the trade unions, repressing them in every way. Searches at the homes of leaders of trade unions and arrests became a frequent occurrence.

Notwithstanding all this, the workers succeeded in organizing in a comparatively short time powerful unions, at the head of which stands the Central Soviet of Unions.

A good example of the spirit of organized workers and of the relation towards them of the White Government can be found in the events of May 1st. It had been decided to celebrate the International holiday of the proletariat by calling a one-day strike, by arranging meetings and by way of a peaceful demonstration with red banners. The Government broke the strike, having declared May 1st a national holiday and forbade any meetings on the streets.

The Menshevik Party issued a proclamation to the workers, in which it was said that the workers were called out into the streets by dark forces and that they should celebrate the holiday of the Internationale at home.

Nevertheless, a demonstration was arranged and the headquarters of the trade unions were decorated with red banners. The demonstration was dispersed by armed force, the red banners were stripped off the headquarters of the unions and torn to pieces.

The economic situation of the workers was getting worse every day. Dissatisfaction was growing. The project of collective bargaining, worked out by the unions in April has not been accepted by the manufacturers. On May 2nd the printers declared a strike. Of all the newspapers only the underground press and the organ of the communist party were published. A general strike seemed inevitable.

The republican government of the Mensheviks which always remained inactive during the lock-outs, attempted to break the economic strike of the workers by the most barbarous methods. On the eve of the announcement of the strike, the Presidium of the Soviet of Unions and the Strike Committee were arrested. The strikers were threatened with military court. For provocative purposes it was officially announced that the Soviet of Unions received 4,000,000 roubles from the Russian Soviet Government for the purpose of organizing a general strike of a political nature. Nevertheless, the strike began and lasted several days in most of the factories. In order to sow discord in the ranks of the workers and to create a privileged class of proletarians, the workers in government enterprises received an increase of 25 per

cent. The union refused to accept this sop and decided to once more organize a general strike, having taken a preliminary referendum in order to ascertain the sentiment of the workers. The Reval unions have also declared a boycott of the organ of the social traitors—Mensheviki. Early in June, even before the general referendum, a sudden railroad strike broke out. At this time the Presidium of the Soviet of Unions was arrested once more and the taking of a referendum was prohibited. Some of the strikers were arrested, others were impressed into military service. And the remainder were compelled to go back to work at the point of a gun. The repressions of the Government, the ever growing food and industrial crisis, the war with Soviet Russia—all this increases the revolutionary spirit among the conscious workers.

Separate strikes in various factories have become a daily occurrence. It was necessary to give the organized proletariat of Esthonia an opportunity to say its final word.

The Soviet of Unions called a conference of trade unions and agricultural workers in Esthonia for August 30th and 31st. 116 unions, with a membership of over 40,000 workers, were represented at this conference. Notwithstanding the great agitation of the Mensheviki and notwithstanding the fact that the workers' press was compelled to become an underground press, the Mensheviki were in a minority at the Conference. Among 415 delegates there were only 33 Mensheviki and even these left the conference in a body after the discussion of the program of the conference. At the conference it was announced that the English military mission had offered to the Soviet of Unions on the eve of the conference to make a revolution and to establish a workers' government, such as England has, and to support such a government. In answer to this "provocation" the conference unanimously decided to demand the expulsion of the black English mission from the territory of Esthonia, and declared that the workers were not in need of the support of the White general of the Entente.

The resolutions adopted at the conference called for a proletarian revolution and pointed out the necessity of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. When the representatives of the Government, who were present at the conference, announced that the Minister of the Interior, the Social Democrat Hellat, ordered the conference to disperse, a resolution was unanimously adopted demanding immediate peace negotiations with Soviet Russia. The conference was dispersed by armed force, and some of the delegates were arrested in the hall. Of these delegates 53 men together with 23 others, who were arrested at the homes of the workers, were deported to Russia, through the front. Twenty-six arrested delegates remained at the front in the hands of the white guards and it is suspected that they were shot.

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THIS issue of SOVIET RUSSIA has been chiefly set apart to mark the day of the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of Nikolai Lenin, one of the greatest statesmen the history of Europe has known. It cannot be without interest to our readers to consider with us what are the marks of this man's genius—the characteristics that make him superior and different to the general run of petty men who govern the world from the many seats of power outside of Russia.

At the very outset, we must clearly state that much of Lenin's powerful position in present-day history is made by that history itself,—by the fact that we are living at the moment when the entire life of the race is vindicating in a most emphatic manner the theoretical position occupied by Lenin for many years. After all, Lenin, like Trotzky, was an unknown man, except to certain political circles and the mass of Russian revolutionists, even as late as 1916. And yet, he was the same Lenin: had not the opportunity come to put into practice the system for which he and his associates had been laboring and suffering for many years, no doubt the circle of his admirers and readers would not be much wider in 1920 than it was in 1916. Lenin would probably be the first to admit—nay, insist—that the material circumstance that enables a certain individual to assert himself is the prime element in building his reputation. So that, if the Russian Revolution had not taken the course it did take, Lenin, with exactly the same mental and ideological preparation, might have remained a relatively unknown man.

Of course, many other men lived in Russia, as well as in the rest of Europe, in 1916, who have been little disturbed in their obscurity, who remain, after the Russian Revolution and other more local alterations, as unknown now as they were then. It is Lenin's distinction to have lived on the same continent with these persons and not to have been lulled into any acceptance of the conditions that seemed immutable to them, as having any value or permanent application for him. And we are here distinguishing Lenin not only from the stupid and mediocre philistines whom it is everywhere the privilege of the "rare minds" to detest, but also from the relatively serious, earnest and thoughtful persons who devote much of their lives to a well-meaning and even successful effort to cope with transitory discomforts in the social system. Thus, in 1916, there were still many persons, all over Europe and elsewhere, who were seriously concerned with the problem of "Disarmament," and who approached this problem in numerous humane and sometimes even readable pamphlets, from the standpoint that "Disarmament," with a little good will, was completely feasible in capitalist society. And in 1916, there were but few men who, like Lenin, repeatedly pointed out that before the Social Revolution "Disarmament" was a fiction. Some of our readers may recall Lenin's crystal syllogisms on this subject in his article "On the Slogan of Disarmament" (or, if you like, "The Disarmament Cry"), printed in 1916, in which he delivers a severe talking-to to those Socialists who considered this millenium achievable within the framework of the old imperialistic systems.

On the continent of Europe, then, Lenin was one of the few men who saw through even the well-meaning fabrications of the idealists, and held firmly through decades of disappointment to the system of philosophy that would enable his associates, or perhaps himself, to utilize a favorable moment in order to remold human society in the shape that was manifestly indicated as its next phase. It is not Lenin's accomplishment, of course, that Kaiser, Czar and King should have been driven in 1914, rather than at some other time, by the inexorable law of their being—of their doomed economic conditions—to fly at each other's throats and to wreak on the face of the world a measure of destruction that would be so great that the tortured peoples would find but one outlet to their misery, even after trying every other panacea. But it is Lenin's accomplishment, or rather, his merit, to have been able to control this situation by never losing sight of the truth on which his whole life as a philosopher and pamphleteer was based, namely, that the present system of civilization, created by the administrative skill of the bourgeoisie, was destined rapidly to outgrow the abilities of the bourgeoisie, who would undoubtedly wreck the whole system and make it impossible for them again to take hold successfully, when the task of reconstruction should present itself. For instance, it was impossible for a Scheidemann, a Kautsky, a Ple-

khanov or a Kerensky, to rise to greatness for longer than a moment on the debris of the bourgeois society which they were summoned to reconstruct. Lenin's superiority to those men is specific and capable of formulation: he did not sell his birth-right for a mess of pottage. Faced with the duty to decide on his course, he decided to carry out the teachings of the philosophy that he had preached for many years, instead of attempting—or even feeling inclined to attempt—the petty and momentarily less dangerous task of playing at government in the old style, of proclaiming revolution and actually installing counter-revolution, of betraying “pre-election” (or “pre-revolution”) promises and cheating the people of the fruits of their hard-fought victory over oppression and exploitation. Chiefly, then, Lenin is superior to contemporary “Socialists” in that he meant what he said—and did it when the occasion offered.

This may seem a rather simple way to achieve greatness; but it is undoubtedly an important trait in Lenin's character merely to have been honest enough not to fall down when everybody else was falling down. But it may rightly be urged that it is at best a negative virtue we have here pointed out. What are its positive counterparts?

Lenin is able to say what he wants. His books and pamphlets are models of clarity and precision. For twenty years before his opportunity came, in 1917, to guide the inauguration of the new social system, he had been outlining its plan and discussing its principle with opponents and friends of every stripe. At first his works are general economic treatises on the developments of the recent past, but as the progress of the World War moved the realization of the Socialist ideal appreciably nearer, his articles and pamphlets occupy themselves more directly with matters of detail, with criticisms of actual procedure in revolution, until, after the March Revolution, he becomes himself the centre of activities in preparing and executing the November *coup d'état*, and during the three years that have passed since then (March, 1917), we find his works are masterly philosophical warnings, guide-posts in the application of the proletarian revolution to conditions as they are in Russia. And his recent books “The State and Revolution” (English translation, London, 1919), and “The Proletarian Revolution and the Betrayal Kautsky,” show that he has not lost sight of the international situation either.

BUT the thing that will continue most to attract many people about Lenin's personality, is its absolute lack of compromise on essential points. In an article by Philip Rappaport, of Paris, on Lenin, which was printed in SOVIET RUSSIA a few months ago, our readers may have noticed that Rappaport described Lenin as opposed to compromise to such an extent that he never took any pains to win over toward the left any person whom he found vacillating between Right and Left. His practice in such cases seems rather to have been to push the erring

one far to the Right, so that the latter might decide for himself whether that was where he belonged. This is a hard but perhaps in the long run a most merciful trait. Was it this line that Lenin was pursuing when in 1916 he still alluded to Trotsky, who was then editing *Nashe Slovo* in Paris, as “our Kautskyan, Trotsky”? It is very likely. Certainly, Lenin never wished to seem to agree with anyone with whom he did not really agree. Outward harmony was not important to him, if inner agreement was absent.

THREE years ago, almost to a day, Nikolai Lenin spent a day at Stockholm, arriving there on the night train from Malmö, in Southern Sweden, after taking the train-ferry from Sassnitz, Germany, to Trelleborg. He had tried to reach Petrograd through Entente countries, when the news of the March Revolution had reached him, in Switzerland; but failing to do so, had secured permission from the German Government to pass across Germany with a number of other Russian Revolutionists, including Radek and Zinoviev, in a sealed train. We shall not weary our readers by repeating the fairytale about German gold, which was then assiduously circulated in the Entente press of Europe and America—and, we regret to say, in some cases with official connivance. For the story is now dead and may it rest in peace.

TROTSKY, it will be recalled, was slowly fighting his way home, at the same time, through British-Canadian captivity, from the city of New York, where he had spent the eleven weeks from January 14 to March 28, 1917. In New York, Trotsky had been for several weeks an editor of *Novy Mir*, and had delivered about thirty lectures on socialistic topics to audiences of workers. For these also, the newspapers informed us, he received “German gold”, a tale that was rendered “plausible” by reference to the fact that some of Trotsky's lectures, owing to his inability to speak English fluently, had been delivered in German. We may remark, for the benefit of our readers, that Lenin has never been in America, not even in Brooklyn, as an “investigating body” in this country recently represented.

WHEN fabrications constructed by the counter-revolutionary press coincide with truth it is sometimes in the manner reminding us of the mathematical peculiarity that enables two minus signs, when multiplied, to produce a plus. Of this nature is the “revelation” that the officers of the Ruhr Red Army are, most of them, Germans. This would be but a natural expectation, since the same newspapers had successively represented the Russian Red Army as officered by Germans, and the German Red Army as officered by Russians. The German officers borrowed by Russia in order that Russia might be “Germanized” have apparently been returned to Germany for the “Russification” of that country.

Official Communications

PEACE OFFER TO NORTH RUSSIA

The Commissar of Foreign Affairs, M. Chicherin, sent on March 1, the following radiogram to the English Foreign Minister, Curzon, and also to M. Litvinov, the Russian representative at Copenhagen:

In reply to your radio-telegram received today I request that you inform the White troops and the authorities in the northern territory of the following proposal:

(1) All the northern territory which belonged to the former Russian Empire shall be delivered to the Russian Soviet Government; including Karelia and the Murman district, also the coast of the White Sea as far as up to the boundary, as it was before the war, between Russia on one side and Finland and Norway on the other.

(2) All government and military property included therein; all means of transportation and railroad materials and equipment; vessels, boats, and equipment in general, which is being used on the sea as well as on rivers; all air traffic equipment and aviation supplies; likewise all food products and stores; all equipment, munitions, and other supplies to be delivered to the Russian Soviet Government in undamaged condition.

(3) The White troops to deliver to the Soviet authorities all arms, all equipment, all ammunition, and all supplies undamaged.

(4) Safety will be guaranteed all officers, soldiers, and workers, their lives and persons, in the event of their voluntary surrender, as well as all crews of vessels of the so-called Northern Government now at sea. The representatives of the former Northern Government and the commanders of land or sea troops will be guaranteed free passage from Soviet Russia in the event of their immediate and voluntary surrender.

The Soviet Government expresses the hope that the English government will avail itself of this opportunity and urge upon the White Guards in the north the advisability of realizing the necessity of discontinuing their hopeless resistance, and of trying to prevent the re-establishment of Russian integrity in the north.

LETTER OF REPRESENTATIVE MARTENS TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The following letter from Mr. L. Martens, Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, to Hon. Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State, was delivered at the State Department on March 31.

Washington, March 31, 1920.

Hon. Bainbridge Colby,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

On March 19, 1919, I had the honor to present to the Secretary of State of the United States of America a certificate of my appointment as the Representative in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, together with a memorandum setting forth the situation in Russia and the desire of my Government to establish friendly relations with the United States.

Awaiting a favorable decision on my request for a conference to discuss the establishment of such relations, I have maintained in the City of New York since March 19, 1919, and in the City of Washington, since December 20, 1919, offices of the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. My mission has been the attainment of friendly diplomatic and economic relations between the United States and Russia, and my activities have been

strictly lawful and proper, as has been fully established throughout the lengthy investigations to which I have been subjected by various local and federal bodies.

I have already brought to the attention of the Secretary of State the treatment to which I was subjected on the 12th day of June, 1919, and on other occasions, when I have been molested by various local police agents without any cause whatsoever.

American citizens and officials in Russia, who, in view of the unsettled relations between our respective governments, have occupied in Russia a position similar to that occupied in the United States by myself and other citizens of Russia, have been treated there with every consideration, and officers of the United States Government visiting Russia have been accorded every diplomatic courtesy.

I am again the subject of proceedings by officials of your institution of deportation proceedings against me. I have informed my Government of these circumstances and I take this occasion to bring them to your attention.

My original letter of March 19, 1919, has remained unacknowledged by the Department of State. I have thus never been informed of the attitude taken towards myself or my mission by the Department of State, which I understand is the branch through which the President of the United States expresses the attitude of the Government of the United States towards the accredited representatives of other countries. I assure you, Sir, that my Government would not desire me to remain in this country to persist in a fruitless mission if the Department of State would inform me that it does not desire my presence here and does not consider favorably the establishment of friendly relations with the Government of Russia. If I am informed to that effect I shall be pleased to leave the United States as soon as facilities to reach my country are placed at my disposal.

I also take this occasion to ask your consideration for the following matter:

During the course of the investigation of my activities recently concluded by a Sub-Committee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, counsel for that Committee introduced into the record certain documents supplied by the Department of State and described as having been seized upon the person of some messenger or messengers proceeding from Soviet Russia. While there was nothing in these documents which bore any relation to my activities in this country, and while the documents in question did not emanate from any Government, which facts I called to the attention of the Committee, nevertheless the press has given wide publicity to an implication that these messengers and documents were in some manner connected with my mission and had some direct connection with my Government. The nature of the documents was such that it was impossible that they could have originated from my Government, the consistent policy of which is to refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of the United States. In view of the misapprehension which may have been created by the publication of these documents at this time, I respectfully request that the State Department may supply me with full information regarding the circumstances surrounding the apprehension of these messengers and all details regarding the contents of the documents. This information I shall at once transmit to my Government, confident that my Government will be able to demonstrate to the complete satisfaction of the Government and people of the United States that it had no connection with the matter in question.

I am, sir,

Very respectfully yours,
(Signed) L. C. A. K. MARTENS,
Representative in the United States of the
Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

ANNOUNCEMENT TO THE PRESS

On March 31, Mr. L. Martens made the following statement to representatives of the press at Washington:

More than a year has elapsed since I filed my credentials with the State Department, together with a memorandum setting forth the situation in Russia and the desire of my Government to establish friendly political and economic relations with the United States. My communication to the Secretary of State was never acknowledged and I have never received from the State Department any expression of its attitude towards myself and my mission or my proposal for the establishment of friendly relations between the United States and Russia. Meanwhile from my bureau in New York and from my offices in Washington I have worked unremittingly to achieve such relations.

During the greater part of the past twelve months I have been subjected to the most rigid examination by various investigating bodies. Although conscious that I had the right at any time to claim immunity from such proceedings, because of my status under international law as the accredited representative of a *de facto* government, nevertheless, I voluntarily appeared before these investigating bodies. I welcomed especially the opportunity afforded by the investigation conducted by the sub-Committee of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate. I came to Washington for the purpose of this investigation and did everything in my power to supply the Committee with all the information they desired. The report of this committee has not yet been rendered. I feel confident, however, that it will acquit me of any improper activities in this country and will set at rest for all time the various unfounded charges which have been circulated against us.

The Senate Committee has all the facts regarding my citizenship, my political affiliations and my political opinions. I testified regarding these matters without reservation. I submitted to the Committee copies of my credentials as Representative of the Russian Soviet Republic and I offered them every facility for ascertaining the complete story of my activities in this country. In appearing before the Senate Committee I felt that it was my duty to waive my just claim to diplomatic immunity in order that I might take this opportunity to lay before the Government and the people of the United States the purpose and circumstances of my mission.

I feel that I am now justified in believing that I have been sufficiently investigated. I can see no further benefit to be derived from further examination and cross-examination of my activities and opinions, all of which have been fully revealed. I desire now to learn from the State Department if there is any use in persisting in my mission. I came here to establish friendly political and economic relations. These relations, although they seem to me inevitable, have not yet been established. If the Government of the United States is irrevocably opposed to the establishment of any relations with the Government of Russia, I desire to know it and to inform my Government accordingly.

Russia is in great need of the manufactured products of other countries, and Russia has a great store of raw materials to dispose of in the markets of the world. We must purchase our manufactured goods and we must sell our raw materials wherever we can. An economic mission from Soviet Russia is now on its way to England to arrange details of the commercial arrangements shortly to be concluded between the Governments of Great Britain and Russia. Similar arrangements will be concluded with other countries.

If the United States feels that it cannot enter into relations of this nature with Soviet Russia, I trust the State Department will inform me, in order that I may report to my Government and may desist from a mission which does not promise any success. I have, therefore, written to the Secretary of State and respectfully assured him that my Government would not desire me to remain in this country to persist in a fruitless mission if the Department of State would inform me that it does not desire my presence here and does not consider favorably the establishment of friendly relations with Russia.

RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

The following statement of the foreign policy of the Russian Government was made by Mr. L. Martens on March 29, before the Senate Sub-Committee on Foreign Relations.

The fundamental principles of the Russian Soviet Republic which form the basis for its foreign policy and its relations to other nations are expressed in the unqualified recognition on the part of the Republic of Russia of the principles of "no forcible annexations," "self-determination for all nations," and "no secret diplomacy."

From the very outset of its existence the Government of the Russian Soviet Republic has recognized these maxims, not only theoretically, but has actually applied them to her own relations with other countries. One of the first acts of the Soviet Government was the abrogation of all secret treaties which the Imperialistic Government of the Czar had imposed upon weaker nations, such as Persia and China, involving conditions and obligations which made it possible for the Government of the Czar mercilessly to exploit these nations. It also exposed and repudiated secret treaties entered into with other great powers for the purpose of joint exploitation of such nations. Immediately upon its establishment the Russian Soviet Republic announced and practiced unqualified recognition of the independence of such nations on the territory of the former Russian empire as form a geographic and economic entity sufficiently homogenous and self-sufficient to make separate economic existence possible.

So, for instance, Soviet Russia has not interfered, and has no intention in the future to interfere, with the establishment and development of Finland, Poland, Esthonia, Lettland, Lithuania, Ukraine and Caucasus as independent states. Inasmuch as the economic interests of the aforesaid states have always been, and likely will remain closely bound to the economic life of Russia proper, and inasmuch as a century-long connection with the Russian empire has intermingled their native population with Russians and has erected other bonds intimately linking the interests of these countries to the interests of Russia, it is quite natural that the Soviet Republic of Russia confidently expects close cooperation between itself and the producers in these states. However, it aims to reach such cooperation not by means of a forcible imposition on these countries of Soviet Russia's influence but by a voluntary development of friendship due to such common interests. It has no intentions of aggressive action against these countries. The Soviet Republic of Russia proposes to demobilize her army immediately upon receiving sufficient assurances that no aggression will be made against her by foreign powers.

Soviet Russia's attitude toward other countries is determined by this same principle of recognition of the right of self-determination of the people of every country. While the Russian Soviet Republic is founded on the principles of Communistic Socialism and while it confidently expects to prove by its own experience that these principles are conducive to a greater productivity and to a fair distribution of commodities necessary to insure prosperity to all the producers, it does not endeavor to impose upon other countries her social principles. We firmly believe that the social and political institutions of all countries are determined by the particular historical and economic past and present of these countries, and that no such institutions can be artificially imposed upon any country by influences developed under different social and historical conditions not compatible with the economic necessity of that country.

Recognizing this principle we opposed alike interference in Russian domestic affairs by foreign powers and interference in domestic affairs of others countries by Russia.

I take the liberty of making the observation that the utter failure of the Allied intervention policy in Russia well proves the futility of efforts to impose upon a country institutions which do not reflect the conscious will of the effective majority of that country. This principle we recognize in respect to all other countries and, accordingly, without reservations we refrain from interference in the internal affairs of the United States.

Radio Dispatches

Cable and mail communication with Soviet Russia is cut off by the Allied Blockade. Each day, however, the Soviet Government transmits the current news from the powerful wireless station at Moscow. These news messages are addressed "to all", and are picked up at various European points. We reprint below some recent dispatches of particular interest.

RUSSIAN FEELING TOWARDS POLAND

By GEORGE LANSBURY

Moscow, March 2.—I have been at pains to obtain a general view of Russian opinion concerning the recent "offer of peace" from Poland.

It is widely felt that the text of the Polish wireless shows this "offer" is an effort to frustrate the Soviet peace initiative by proposing peace terms utterly unacceptable to the Russian people—terms which no Russian Government could dare to accept.

The Polish Government clique demands frontiers as before 1772. This is a preposterous flight of imperialism, which, under the pretext of undoing the wrong done to Poland in 1772, aims at a far greater wrong in the annexation of vast territories belonging not only to Soviet Russia but to other nations bordering on Poland. The frontier claimed starts in the north in the immediate neighborhood of Riga (the present capital of the independent Republic of Latvia), runs up to within 50 miles of Pskov, and takes in all the White Russian and Lithuanian territories and all of the Ukraine to the west of the Dnieper except Kiev.

This is, in fact, a repetition of the "peace" offered by the German General Hoffmann at Brest-Litovsk. In both cases "self-determination" is featured—to be applied by Poland as it was by Germany—i. e., after military occupation and at the point of the bayonet.

The Polish proposal, it is argued, means the creation of colonies to be sliced out of territories belonging to the former Russian Empire. *The large Polish estate owners, who must largely part with their land for the benefit of the peasants, according to the new agrarian laws passed by the Polish Diet, want to compensate themselves in territories to be annexed where the Polish agrarian laws will not be valid.*

In addition to setting forth such demands, the Polish Government presumes to interfere in Russian internal affairs: for it does not recognize the Soviet Congress, which includes representatives of the whole nation except the exploiters, as an authoritative body for the ratification of peace, but demands the convocation of some special representative organ for ratifying peace. *This demand rouses the indignation of the Russian working classes.*

Moreover, the Poles demand the separation from Russia of all the smaller nationalities inhabiting the former Russian Empire, assuming the role of protector of these nationalities, of which, in many cases,

they are in fact the active oppressors. *My personal observations convince me that a defensive war against Poland would be most popular in the Red army, as the continuous aggressions of the Polish oligarchy, which became the centre of all hostile activities against Russia, have produced great hatred against the Polish legionaries.*

But for the ardent desire of the Soviet Government to restart constructive economic work in peace with the whole world, it would present no difficulties for Russia to put an end to the presumptions of the Polish Government in a military way.

According to Polish Press comments, violently attacking England for not supporting the Polish imperialistic aims, *the English Government appears to disapprove of the Polish demands, which are the outcome of French instigations.* This time the Russian nation firmly expects that England will at least preserve neutrality, should Russia be forced to defend itself against a new attack.

POLISH FABRICATIONS

Moscow, Feb. 18.—Every day the Warsaw Wireless issues its systematic new fabrications and innuendoes concerning Soviet Russia. It is our intention to expose these lies. Yesterday, Feb. 17, they declared that the factory committees had been abolished in Russia, which is a shameless fabrication. Today, Feb. 31, they declared in a special statement concerning an alleged offensive against Poland, that General Polevanov has been appointed Commissar of War and General Brussilov Commander in Chief. It is further stated in this report that the Russian Cooperative Societies were to obtain English supplies for this campaign, and finally, that a 12-hour working day has been introduced in Russia. All these are impudent fabrications and calumniations, constructed out of whole cloth. There is literally not a word of truth in the whole thing. Neither Brussilov nor Polevanov has had any appointment. No such plan was considered, as is reported in the Polish wireless, and we have no intention to start an offensive against Poland. The Central Executive Committee's solemn declaration is the best proof of this, for a revolutionary government of workers and peasants, basing itself on the great working masses, cannot be in a position to make peaceful declarations at the same time that it cherishes plans of aggression. Should it attempt anything of the kind, no single Red Guard would follow it in its undertaking. The eight hour day continues in force in Russia, and the approaching exchanges undertaken by the Russian Coopera-

RUSSIAN FEELING TOWARDS MOSCOW

Cable and mail communication day, however, the Soviet Government at Moscow. These news messages are reprinted below some recent points. We reprint below some recent points.

RUSSIAN FEELING TOWARDS MOSCOW

By GEORGE LANSBURY

Moscow, March 2.—I have been at a general view of Russian opinion the recent "offer of peace" from Poland

It is widely felt that the text of the Economic Council shows this "offer" is an effort to be established, Soviet peace initiative by proposing its main object utterly unacceptable to the Russian people which no Russian Government could do its own business.

The Polish Government clique demands before 1772. This is a preposterous imperialism, which, under the pretext of the wrong done to Poland in 1772, aims at a greater wrong in the annexation of vast territories belonging not only to Soviet Russia but to the nations bordering on Poland. The frontier starts in the north in the immediate neighborhood of Riga (the present capital of the independent public of Latvia), runs up to within 50 miles of Pskov, and takes in all the White Russian, Lithuanian territories and all of the Ukraine to the west of the Dnieper except Kiev.

This is, in fact, a repetition of the "peace" offered by the German General Hoffmann at Brest-Litovsk. In both cases "self-determination" is featured—to be applied by Poland as it was by Germany—i. e., after military occupation and at the point of the bayonet.

The Polish proposal, it is argued, means the creation of colonies to be sliced out of territories belonging to the former Russian Empire. *The large Polish estate owners, who must largely part with their land for the benefit of the peasants, according to the new agrarian laws passed by the Polish Diet, want to compensate themselves in territories to be annexed where the Polish agrarian laws will not be valid.*

In addition to setting forth such demands, the Polish Government presumes to interfere in Russian internal affairs: for it does not recognize the Soviet Congress, which includes representatives of the whole nation except the exploiters, as an authoritative body for the ratification of peace, but demands the convocation of some special representative organ for ratifying peace. *This demand rouses the indignation of the Russian working classes.*

Moreover, the Poles demand the separation from Russia of all the smaller nationalities inhabiting the former Russian Empire, assuming the role of protector of these nationalities, of which, in many cases,

tional methods are to be employed to reorganize the higher institutions of learning in Petrograd, as follows: The three Universities in Petrograd will be consolidated into one which will include two new departments, one for social science and one for mathematics and physics. A number of higher institutions of learning in Petrograd will be concentrated in an Institute of National Economy consisting of the following departments: Agriculture, Forestry, Factory Organization, Foundry Organization, Exchange of Goods, Transportation, Co-Operatives, Communes, Finance, Commerce, Statistics, Organization for Workmen's Protection. All the medical colleges of Petrograd will be combined into a single Academy of Medicine with the following departments: Medical, Dental, Pharmaceutical, Veterinary. Besides these there will be a special department for graduate work and advanced training for physicians. All the higher schools of technology and kindred institutions are from now on subordinated to the proper department. The plan of work and all directions concerning the technical schools will be issued by the People's Commissariat for Education. The newly established technical schools will be issued by the People's Commissariat new method.

TO THE NORWEGIAN WORKERS

Moscow, February 16.—Soviet Russia is very grateful to the Norwegian comrades for their fraternal exertions in the gathering of money for the purchase of medicines for the suffering masses in Russia. We feel convinced that the Norwegian comrades will be successful in their efforts and in their struggle against the moral infection which is being spread by the campaign of lies in western Europe directed against the Russian revolution. The Russian workers are following the struggle of their Norwegian brothers with the deepest interest. The present situation means for us a turning point of the most far-reaching importance. The Russian counter-revolution is now practically destroyed, as a consequence of the victorious exertions of the workers and peasants.

Our struggle is not yet concluded; our enemies in western Europe are working to the utmost to arouse the activists in Poland against Soviet Russia, but we hope that the working masses who are conscientiously demanding peace with Russia, as well as the literate elements in Poland will succeed in this. Neither new bloodshed, and contribute to a new appointment.

is reported in the present all our thoughts and all intention to start an armed struggle directed to the peaceful task of Central Executive Economic life. Our military armies is the best proof of armed into workers' armies, and ernment of workers are put forth to overcome the great working mass and provisions, and to that it cherishes plans of it in our history we are attempt anything of the kind, that we are working would follow it in its undertaking: Norway, who now day continues in force in Russia, and active and practical ing exchanges undertaken by the Rus

Recent Documents

PROCLAMATION TO POLAND FROM CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

THE enemies of the Polish and Russian working-class are not yet satisfied with the fact that they have made the world bloody and exhausted mankind during the five years of war; they are again ready to instigate a struggle between the Polish and Russian people. They did not succeed in suppressing the Russian working men and peasants with the help of the Russian capitalists and landowners, they failed in their attempts to enslave the Russian working people with the help of the armies from Latvia, Esthonia and Finland. Now they cherish the last hope—the Polish are to hinder Russian workingmen and peasants in their peaceful pursuits and reconstruction work, in their endeavors to create a new life based on freedom and fraternity.

The same capitalists from England and France who watched indifferently for a hundred years the way Czarism tortured the Polish nation, who supported till the last moment the treacherous policy of the Czar in regard to Poland, the same capitalists appear today as the protectors of Poland. They are trying to force the Polish people in a new adventure, making them believe, that when we have conquered the counter-revolutionary forces of Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich (after a hard and strenuous struggle) we, the Russian people, will traitorously attack the Polish army for our military purposes.

We, the representatives of the Russian workmen and peasantry, appeal to you at this moment when these intrigues are threatening to embroil the Polish people in new feuds and defeats, with a few fraternal words. We are realizing these lies of our mutual enemies, in order to have a clear understanding between the Russian and Polish people.

The peace offer which was made to the Polish Government proves very clearly the fact that we are trying not to seize Poland, but to make peace with her. We know too well that the big mass of the Polish people have a deep suspicion against Russia, due to the 100 years of oppression under the Czar's regime; the international bourgeoisie is trying to utilize this suspicion to its own advantage. But the new Soviet Government is not responsible for the crimes of Czarism and of the Russian bourgeoisie.

The Russian working class have from the first recognized the independence of Poland, they did it without hesitation, once and for ever. They did it with the full understanding, because the independence of Poland concerns not only the Polish people, but also us. The Russian workingmen and peasants have overthrown the despotism of the Czar, capitalists and industrial over-lords in order to lift with their own hand the Russian soil from ruin,

in order to sow the fields, in order to populate the cities again, in order to return to peaceful work in rebuilding factories and mines. The Russian people are striving for a peaceful reconstruction, they want such an existing order in the world which would make it impossible for any war between nations.

In order to obtain this peace, which is necessary for our recovery from injuries we have received, we gave up every aggressive policy. The Russian workers were ready to compromise with the ruling capitalists from other countries in order to secure this peace. They tore themselves to pieces in order to feed the beast of German imperialism and to prevent the war. Now they are ready to make peace with the capitalists of England and France. They will secure peace through substantial compromise with all the smaller nations because they know that nothing is so important for the working class of all countries as the immediate peace.

We feel therefore sure, that even these Polish workingmen who see in every Russian an oppressor of the Russian people, will be now convinced of the sincerity of our desires to make peace with Poland; this is the most profound wish of the workingmen and peasants of Russia.

All the workers and peasants of Russia throw away any policy of national suppression, because such a policy would inevitably be a menace to our own freedom. The Czar's tyrants in Poland have been the most devoted servants of Czarism in Russia. Next to the victories over Denikin, Kolchak, Yudenich and the destruction of these enemies of the working class, the Russian workmen and peasants are striving to make it absolutely impossible for one class to oppress the other. The end of the civil war in Russia means that all sons of the Russian soil shall be able, as in the former times, to work for the benefit of the whole Russian nation.

If Soviet Russia is going to carry on an aggressive policy, that would imply that new exploitation centers would be created in foreign countries, this would lead to a source of new despotism in Russia itself. Soviet Russia can not do this, it is against her aims, it is against the basic interests of the Russian working men and peasants. The freedom of Poland is the most important issue of the free development of Russia. As representatives of the working class and peasantry we always maintained and maintain today before the whole world the struggle for the communistic ideals; we are thoroughly convinced that the workingmen of all countries will soon take the path on which the Russian workingman is now marching.

But our mutual enemies are telling you a lie in making you believe that the Soviet Government is going to introduce Communism on the Polish Soil by the means of the Red army's bayonets. The

Communist order can only be established where the great majority of the working people is penetrated with its spirit and is determined to carry it through with their own efforts. Only in this case can the Communist order be permanent, because only then will the Communist policy penetrate the spirit of the people. At the present time the Russian Communists are only concerned with the protection of their country and with their peaceful reconstruction work; they never attempted and are not going to attempt to bring in Communism in foreign countries. The inner reconstruction of Poland according to the interests of its working masses must be a matter of their own concern.

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of workmen, peasants, soldiers and Cossacks—the superior representative body of the Russian working class ratifies the offer which was made through the Soviet Government to the Polish nation in its appeal of January 30. That offer appealed to the Polish people to give up their old suspicion towards the Russian working masses, to bring to an end the bloody war, in order that both nations shall be able to start the new struggle in overcoming cold, hunger, typhoid fever, unemployment and other calamities from which they suffer.

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee sends its greetings to the Polish nation, which was once upon a time oppressed by the Russian Czar and bourgeoisie—our mutual enemies; and who suffered during the war (carried on by the initiative of the capitalists) more than any other nation. We also express our full conviction, that through peace and friendly relations we will be able to overcome everything, that separates these two nations; mutual efforts will bring about a peaceful intercourse between Poland with Soviet Russia.

M. KALININ,

President, Central Executive Committee.

I. LUTENWINOV,

Secretary.

AGAINST THE JEWS

This barbarous document is reproduced in a recent number of the anti-bolshevist "Pour la Russie" (Paris). M. V. Shulgin is the editor-in-chief of "Kievanin." At the same time he holds the post of minister without portfolio in the government of Denikin. "Pour la Russie," Paris, December 12, 1919, guarantees the authenticity of this document. We have no reason to doubt it.

AT night, in the streets of Kiev, a veritable mediaeval reign of terror begins. In the deathlike silence which falls upon the depopulated city, there is a sudden resounding of heart-breaking shrieks; they come from the Jews who cry out, who cry out with fear. In the sombre street has just appeared a group of 'men with bayonets.' At their approach immense buildings of five to six stories begin to groan from top to bottom. Entire streets seized with a mortal panic utter unearthly cries, trembling for their very existence. Evidently in our eyes this fear seems exaggerated cloaked in stupid and humiliating forms. However, it is a true fright, a true 'punishment of terror' inflicted upon the entire Jewish population.

The Russian population lends an ear to these terrible cries born of the 'punishment of terror,' and asks itself if these lugubrious nights will teach something to the Jews. Will they understand what it means to destroy these states which have not been established by them? Will they understand what it means to seek to obtain equality of rights at any price? Will they understand what it means to excite one class against another according to the precepts of the great master, Karl Marx? Will they see that it is from the bosom of Socialism that the Bolsheviki have sprung? Will they understand what the realization of the demagogic principle means for Russia? Will they understand what they have to do today? Will the Jews who have taken part in the insurrections be cursed publicly in all the Synagogues? Will the mass of the Jewish people repudiate the creators of the 'new regime' with the same ardor with which they attacked the old?

Will the Jews beat their breasts and cover their heads with ashes, will they do public penance, because the sons of Israel have taken a fatal part in the unbridled rage of the Bolsheviki? Will 'a league for the struggle against Socialism' be founded or will it remain, as in the past, and in spite of the terrible nights of mortal anguish, a 'league for the struggle against antisemitism,' will it continue to exist and to deny stupidly the facts already recognized, thereby inflaming the antisemite passions?

"The Jews have only two alternatives: First, to recognize and to do penance; second, to repudiate and to stigmatize the guilty among them.

Their fate will depend upon the path they choose. Will not the 'punishment of terror' indicate to them which is the good path?

"Signed: SHULGIN."

(*Kievanin*, October 21, 1919.)

[From the very beginning of the Bolshevik Revolution, the antisemites have attempted to play a double game. They have tried to spread the charge that Jew and Bolshevik are synonymous and have at the same time tried to pose as the defenders of the real Jewish interests. Witness the conference of the notorious antisemite Metropolitan Platon with some of the Jewish financiers in New York. The document of Shulgin gives away the whole case. The entire Jewish people, innocent and guilty, young men and old, women and children, are to be held as hostages against the spread of Bolshevism. If Bolshevism is victorious, the unfortunate Jews who find themselves in the territory occupied by Denikin and Kolchak will pay for it with their lives.

In the Council of People's Commissars, the highest governing body in Soviet Russia, there is only one Jew—Trotsky—out of more than twenty. Professor Goode, who has recently returned from Russia, calculates the Jewish membership in the Bolshevik party at only eight per cent. But the Bolshevik party is fighting in the cause of the Jews as well as of all oppressed nationalities, and it is fighting without regard to demagogic calumnies of the Kolchak and Denikin reactionaries. The latter have repeatedly tried to inflame the peasants against the Soviet regime by deluding them with stories that the Jews were in power. Bolshevism does not mean the triumph of the Jew, but the triumph of the new order, which will not confound the acts of individuals with an entire race.

The treatment accorded to the Jew is the acid test of a great many political and social movements. It is clearly the acid test of Russian reaction.—Ed.]

Press Cuttings

Russian and European papers publish a great deal of reliable information about Soviet Russia that never appears in the American press. News appearing in some American papers is not given general publicity. We reprint below such current items of special significance to the American public.

THE SITUATION IN THE UKRAINE

[*Chesko Slavo*, the organ of the Czech National Socialists published on Jan. 14, the following report from its Kiev correspondent. The report is particularly noteworthy because it comes from a source that certainly cannot be accused of any sympathy with the Bolsheviki.—Ed.]

“On the situation in Ukraine the foreign press, unfortunately including the Czech press, is spreading a great many untrue reports. Thanks for the spreading of these false reports is due to the various Ukrainian press bureaus that have been established abroad, for whom it creates propaganda in return for pay. So it has come about that foreign countries are entirely misinformed as to the forces of the Ukrainian parties and the strength of this or the other Ukrainian Government; the greatest number of false reports were given out particularly concerning the Ukrainian Bolsheviki. Truly, the people who know the conditions in the country are of very different views from those which are being circulated outside the Ukraine, as for example by Petlura’s diplomats and journalists.

“It is certain that even before the Revolution Socialism and Communism had taken firm root in the Ukraine. After the downfall of the Czar, after Kerensky, after the overthrow of Skoropadsky, the Ukrainian Bolsheviki became actually the strongest party in the Ukraine. Their position became all the stronger after the triumph of the Russian Bolsheviki, after the capture of Kiev, and after the defeats of Petlura and Denikin.

“One thing is certain, namely, that the position of the Ukrainian Bolsheviki is unusually firm, and that the Ukrainian Bolsheviki are the only party which has been able during the long period of confusion and war to bring about order and calm in the land.

“What the press bureaus of Petlura say about the deeds of violence of the Russian and Ukrainian Bolsheviki is a collection of senseless lies. On the contrary, it was the endeavor of the Bolsheviki not to injure in any way the sovereignty of the Ukraine, but to be content with establishing a Ukrainian Government on the basis of the Soviets. The Bolsheviki did not close Ukrainian schools, did not murder, did not throw people into prison, as the bourgeois reports falsely assert. On the contrary it was the Bolsheviki who established an independent Ukrainian government, who gave the Ukrainians a Ukrainian university, Ukrainian schools, Ukrainian theatres, etc. The Ukrainian Bolsheviki, and not only the Bolsheviki, but other Ukrainian parties as well, know the value of this policy and appreciate it, and so it is no wonder that they sympathize

with the present government in Kiev, Moscow and Petrograd.

“Ukraine will follow those who recognize Ukrainian independence, Ukrainian culture. The bourgeois parties have lost their influence in the Ukraine. Neither Skoropadsky nor Vinnichenko* nor Chekhovsky, nor Petlura, were able to form a power of any size in the Ukraine. The last hope of the bourgeois parties, Petlura, was a complete disappointment. He is a former Social-Democrat, who later became the plaything of the bourgeois parties and their tool against the Bolsheviki. When the Bolsheviki grew in spite of his efforts, and recently occupied Kiev, Petlura began to bargain with Denikin. The public remembers how miserably these attempts failed. Then Petlura turned to Warsaw for aid. In his efforts to hold out against the Bolsheviki at all costs, he committed the greatest treachery against the Ukrainian cause. He sold out to the Poles and concluded with them the notorious pact renouncing Eastern Galicia in favor of Poland. Not only did Petlura pay heavily for this treachery—today all Ukraine is opposed to Petlura, who is condemned as a Polish hireling, while his army is suffering hunger and cold; but also, after the settlement, the Poles, too, paid, for they are now the people most hated in Ukraine.

“Not only political differences, but chiefly social problems made the Ukrainians sworn enemies of Poland, for the greatest oppressors of the Ukrainian people have been and still are the Polish landowners and nobility, who acquired most of Volhynia and Podolia and the land lying eastward, Polonized it, and exterminated the Ukrainian people. Any Ukrainian party that dares to embark on a common policy with Poland is simply impossible.”

EMIGRATION TO RUSSIA

Sheffield, Wednesday.—The emigration of British workers to Soviet Russia, already mentioned in the *Daily Herald*, is likely to develop rapidly. I was informed today by a Sheffield official of the A. S. E. that fully a dozen local engineers had handed in their applications to secure passports to emigrate to Soviet Russia.

Mr. S. Burgess, a leading official of the A. S. E., has just received the promise of a Newcastle gentleman, who has spent 10 years in Russia, to act as interpreter and guide to the Sheffield party which is going out there.

—London *Daily Herald*, March 4, 1920.

* We are in possession of an open letter of Vinnichenko, published in the Ukrainian organ *Borotba*, at Vienna, in which this prominent Ukrainian leader acknowledges his past political errors in having tried to attach the destinies of Ukraine to the Western European reaction. He denounces in this letter his former political collaborators, Petlura and Maypa, and declares himself unconditionally for a Soviet Government in Ukraine. We shall print this letter in our next issue.

Allied Blunders in Russia

[The following article under the heading of "The Only Alternative" appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* of April 25, 1919, written by Lieut. Commander the Hon. J. M. Kenworthy, R. N., M. P., Independent Liberal for Hull, for which constituency he was recently returned in a bye-election in which he defeated the government coalition candidate.—Ed.]

"The Allied Governments have committed nothing but blunders in Russia from the time of the second revolution till now. They encouraged the separatist movement in the Ukraine, and sent money and French staff officers to assist the reactionary Ukrainian Government. This Government promptly came to an arrangement with Germany and called in a German army to bolster up its power. The French recognized the counter-revolutionary Government in Finland in spite of the excesses of the Finnish White Guards. Finland promptly entered into an alliance with Germany and offered the crown to a German Prince. The British Government imprisoned the Bolshevik Ambassador in Brixton Gaol, and allowed a well-known London journal to declare that it would rather make peace with Germany than with Soviet Russia. This particular declaration was reprinted in Russian and circulated all over Russia in thousands of handbills.

"During the latter half of 1918 a vigorous propaganda was carried on in a portion of the English and French press urging intervention and the restoration of 'law and order' by force. Siberia was invaded by Allied troops, including Japanese, on the ridiculous plea that they were going there to fight Germany, 8,000 miles distant.

"Colonel Josiah Wedgwood, M. P., was sent as British representative to the new Siberian Government; and when he repeatedly cabled urging 'no intervention' he was recalled. Admiral Kemp, a very able officer, speaking fluent Russian, was sent to the White Sea. He urged 'no intervention' and was recalled, not to be employed again.

"Everything that could be done to alienate all Russian opinion except the Czarist party, was done. From being popular, the English and French have become hated by the mass of the Russian people.

"British, French, Serbian and American troops were sent to prevent the ports of Kola and Archangel from being used by Germany as submarine bases. This was a proper move, but instead of confining themselves to occupying the coast these troops pushed inland, and our soldiers were openly told that an advance would be made to Petrograd to restore the Czarism. It is to be wondered at that all elements in Russia rallied to the Soviet Government in defence of their country?

"The Czarist Admiral Kolchak was assisted by the Allies to set up a military dictatorship in Siberia and to cut off the food supplies in that country from the rest of Russia. One of his first acts

was to suppress the Constituent Assembly, and imprison most of its members.

Soviet Government's Peace Overtures

"Such, with the addition of a counter-revolutionary force under the reactionary General Denikin in the south, was the position at the time of the Allied armistice with Germany in November, 1918.

"The Soviet Governments at once applied for an armistice themselves with the Allies. No answer was made. Not one but three offers of peace by negotiations have been made by the Soviet Government. All have been ignored. The Prinkipo proposal for a conference was accepted by the Soviet Government (though they declined to stop defending themselves against the invading armies), refused by the counter-revolutionary governments on its borders (although for the most part these governments are living on Allied money), and then allowed to drop by the Paris Conference.

"This, then, is the position today. At the cost of 100 millions a year the Allies have been subsidizing the counter-revolutionary governments fighting the Soviet Republic. Little or no progress has been made, and a small British force is now in deadly peril in the North of Russia. The French forces in the South have also lost ground, and Odessa has been evacuated by the French.

"The Russian Soviet Government has offered peace. It has undertaken not to interfere with its neighbors, and to give security and eventual payment for the external debt. There are only two courses open. The first is to accept the offer of an armistice and commence peace negotiations. The second is to reopen the world war by attacking Russian on a grand scale. Naturally the force in the North must be assisted and relieved without delay. British and Allied soldiers must not be left to suffer for the blunders of politicians and diplomats.

"Great play is being made with the atrocities committed by the Bolsheviks, though little is heard of the cruelties of the White Guards and of the Russian troops, Cossacks and others, under Kolchak and Denikin. The canard of the 'nationalization of women' has at last been officially denied.

"To most people the conduct of a new great war against our former ally is unthinkable. It will be intensely unpopular in England and France, and may well lead to the gravest events in those countries.

"The alternative is to help Russia by making peace, raising the blockade, and supplying that unhappy country with the manufactured goods and machinery she so urgently requires in exchange for her abundance of raw materials.

"The Government of Russia depends on the will of the Russian people. They will in time work out their own salvation. But we cannot fight ideas with soldiers and cannons: and 'sanitary cordons are breaking down.'"

Behind the Denikin Front

[The following article is translated from *Die Rote Fahne* (Vienna) of December 24, 1919. It is of interest in the light of the subsequent utter collapse of Denikin and his South Russian Government. It reveals the real character of Allied intervention in Russia.—Ed.]

A traveler just returned from Southern Russia, after observing conditions there, furnishes the following:

1. Political Sentiment in the Volunteer Army.

The leaders of the Volunteer Army represent two tendencies: a monarchic, with reactionary inclinations, and a "democratic", similar to the Cadet movement.

At the head of the first are the extraordinary Commission of the Senate, and other institutions. The President of the extraordinary Commission is General Lakowski and the members are largely military men. Even the higher bourgeoisie oppose it. Its adherents are almost exclusively clericals, police officers and officials, also intellectuals in government service and Russian merchants. The Cossack provinces are ruled by an elected hetman representing the government and the Rada. In the Governments the power is in the hands of the Governor-General, and the cities are no longer autonomous.

2. The Government of Stavropol.

General Velayov, the former Governor of Tomsk, is Governor-General. The provincial assembly and the city governments are still the same as in the reign of Nicholas. The police, and all the institutions of the Nicholas regime have been again established, and all the organizations instituted by Kerensky abolished. As wages are low, the proletariat are starving. They and the poor middle-class peasantry are Bolshevik and in great part of revolutionary tendencies. The authorities were scarcely able to mobilize a third of those called. The deserters, at first nothing but house-breakers, are now organized, and number more than 20,000.

The so-called Green Army (deserters and revolutionary volunteers), are in possession of machine-guns and artillery, taken from the Volunteer Army. The Green Army is centred on the Tamer peninsula. Here it has fought severe battles with punitive expeditions.

In this Government the proletariat and peasantry are in general Bolshevik, while the larger part of the intellectuals, the property-holding peasants, and the clericals, are reactionary. There is no strong liberal bourgeois movement. The Right Social-Revolutionaries issue a paper and support the counter-revolution.

Social-Revolutionary groups of this kind are found in Yekaterinodar, Rostov, Piatigorsk and other cities. The Volunteers have only one newspaper, in which the leading articles are of a propa-

gandist anti-Semitic character. The intervention from Soviet Russia is vicious. For example, Lenin and Trotsky are said to have fought a duel over a stenographic machine in Stavropol. Signs are displayed with the inscription: "Flay the Jews", etc.

3. Sentiment Among the Cossacks.

Sentiment in the Taman district is Bolshevik. In the other Cossack villages there is little knowledge of the working-hours of the Soviets, and the vengeance of the Red Army is feared. There is a noticeable lack of man-power. The discontent of the Cossacks is increasing, and among those who are not Cossacks the Communist agitation is meeting with great success.

4. The Army.

The officers are the mainstays of the Army; General Markov's Kornilov Regiments of the Kuban are the effective troops; the most popular general is Shkurov, and then Pokrovski and Vranghel. Few papers are distributed to the troops, and in general no care is taken for their enlightenment. The masses are fed with such information as: "Our troops are before Moscow", etc. Lately the ideas of the Rada have circulated among the Cossack masses and caused a certain sense of doubt. The Cossacks were against the Soviet government, but they are becoming ever more enlightened. Neither officers nor men have any idea of the work of the Soviet, and only a very slight notion of the politics of Denikin. There is a wide-spread view that the military must keep aloof from all politics.

Everybody is tired of the war. Drinking and disciplinary offences are of common occurrence among the officers. The younger officers and men are in very poor material circumstances. The Army lives on what it plunders.

The army is free to loot and the extent of the pillage is unbelievable. Military honors have been again introduced, and the discipline is very much the same as in the time of Nicholas. The English bear themselves very haughtily towards the Russian officers, and this leads to friction between them.

In general, there is great depression among the lower ranks of the army, and no victory is counted upon. And in the intellectual circles the situation is the same. There is no longer any faith in the assistance of the Allies.

5. Inguschetia.

The spirit is revolutionary, the choice is for the Soviet Government! There are continual uprisings. The Inguschetes have killed their officers, the young men are in hiding in the hills, revolts are cruelly suppressed. Sentiment is much more revolutionary than at the time of the Soviet Government. Denikin is a good prosoletyzer.

ing for the Counter-Revolution

and from *Folkets Dagblad Politiken, Stockholm*)

in this paper we have seen how the police to the illegal organization named Glerup had established a recruiting bureau and was recruiting young men into ruin and destruction in a non-existing organization in the gendarmerie at Stockholm on his own imagination; he had gathered men into the White Guard army. But not to challenge justice, though in similar cases justice had proven herself blind, the recruiting advertisements which were printed in *Dagens Nyheter*—the organ of Hadjetlache—observed a careful formula. The advertisements attracted a great number of adventurously inclined (to be exact about 200) young men, of whom, however, some immediately saw through the fraud and refrained from further connections with the Black Guard swindler. If Glerup had only had a little more money to work with, the trade in Swedish youth would undoubtedly have been considerably more lucrative for him. As it was, the story ended with Glerup, who had been careless enough to gather about him a stalwart crowd of Swedish adventurers, being repudiated by these men and demoted from chief to a plain office boy. The Swedes themselves took care of the recruiting bureau, which, however, on account of *Politiken's* disclosures, had to carry on a very itinerant and precarious existence, and was consequently hindered a great deal in its activities. The real purpose of the Swedish league which, with Messrs. Lidbeck, Hesselström, Peterson, and several others in the lead, energetically continued in spite of all opposition, was evidently, that the scoundrels had decided to attempt a *coup*,—nothing less than to steal from Palludan his recruiting fund, amounting to a couple of hundred thousands crowns.

An expedition consisting of about 20 selected individuals went, as was learned a couple of months ago, to Archangel. However, nothing has been heard from them since that time; and that their attempted *coup* did not succeed may be taken for granted, as Palludan was, until a couple of days ago, continuing to recruit, and shipping Danish youths to North Russia. Now, however, his efforts have come to a sudden end and there is no longer any possibility of his securing new victims, at least in Denmark.

The recruiting scandal became so thoroughly complicated that even the bourgeois press in our southern neighbor country found itself forced to give the alarm. The result was that the recruiting bureau which continued its activities until a few days ago in Copenhagen has now been closed by the police, and all the traffickers in human beings

operating there have been taken into custody. Through the investigations of the police it has been proven that since October Palludan sent not less than five hundred young men to an uncertain fate. Of these about 50 have succeeded in escaping at various stations along the way. The dramatic stories they have told after many and incredible hardships, on their return to Denmark, have lately filled the Danish press and finally opened the eyes of the authorities and officials, so that they realized it was time to interfere. One of the leaders, by name Christensen-Fromberg, has been arrested and is being tried. He will undoubtedly be indicted.

It is stated that Palludan has had a payment of 700 crowns for each man whom he delivered to the representative of Kolchak at Murmansk. For officers, corporals, sergeants, etc., his honorarium was 100 crowns more. Thus it was to his own interest to get men of the latter kind, but when it became hard to secure these he arranged a hasty promotion of the loafers of Copenhagen. From this it can be clearly seen that the transaction was nothing but a money making scheme for Palludan. From several sources attempted denials that these enlistments had anything to do with military service were made. Existing contracts prove, however, clearly enough that it had never been a question of anything else than war service. According to the contract the signers bound themselves to "perform war, gendarm, and police service for the Russian government." (That is for Kolchak.) The signer also declared himself to be conscious of "being subject to Russian army regulations," and finally declares himself upon his honor and conscience "to do his duty as a brave soldier". These contracts were, ingeniously enough, not presented to the men to sign until they were already on board the Russian steamers on their way to Archangel. There is not the slightest doubt but that these contracts meant exclusively war service, and that the league which operated in Stockholm is liable under Swedish law no less than the one in Copenhagen is under Danish.

The Swedish authorities have, in various ways, supported this criminal traffic. When *Politiken* requested, a few months ago, that the police should stop a departing Swedish contingent, no measures whatever were taken,—on the contrary they did not even arrest one of the leaders who had been enjoying himself by cheating the artillery regiment of Uppland out of a large sum of money and was for that placed on the police register. Furthermore these soldiers recruited for the service of foreign powers, were, without hindrance, transported through Sweden. Palludan, who did not

dare go to Copenhagen himself, stayed at times in Stockholm where, in company with his brother, he reviewed, about a month ago, one of his Danish detachments which went through Sweden without attracting the least attention from the police authorities here, who, on the other hand, so carefully watch all suspicious characters. On this occasion Palludan also spoke of the recruiting work he had conducted in Sweden, expressing himself as being pleased with the "good" results he had obtained, and saying that the work would be continued as long as it was possible to export men. According to the Danish fugitives who returned, a ship recently passed Murman carrying only Swedish White Guards on board.

The fate of the Swedes in the far and inhospitable North Russia is, as has been said, unknown. The Russian naval attache, Stashevsky, who remains here since the time of the old regime of the Czar, would undoubtedly be able to tell much if he cared to do so, but he prefers to remain silent

and let his mouthpiece, *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*, serve its temperate and rose colored lies.

One can make an estimate of conditions as they really exist at Archangel from the reports which have been received by *Politiiken*. It has been reported that the White Guards are at present evacuating the city, which is now without either food or fuel. Barricade battles are being fought daily, between soldiers and workers. Six hundred prisoners of war who were transferred from Johansky to Archangel refused to go against the Bolsheviki and half of them were shot, for their refusal. The other half were sent to help in the unloading of war materials. At Murmansk the Danes stationed there received their first baptism of fire in the repression of a strike. A fight occurred between the Danish Battalion consisting of 200 men, and the workers. At this time a great number were wounded on both sides. Four Finns were shot. Some Danes who made common cause with the workers were jailed.

Lunacharsky on Soviet Education

(Translated from "*L'Humanité*," Paris, of January 3, 1920)

A GERMAN radio of December 21, 1919, gave the following analysis of the report on public education in Russia presented by Lunacharsky at the last All-Russian Congress, whose sessions recently closed at Moscow:

Before one of the studies committees of the last Congress of Soviets, the People's Commissar for Public Education read a detailed report on the achievements of the Soviet power in the realm of education, instruction, sciences, literature and the fine arts. After having explained the general principles of socialist education, and after having declared that the aim attained is not merely the transmission of certain technical or military knowledge, but above all the creation of a mentality entirely new and truly socialist, Lunacharsky passed on to the examination of the measures taken to realize the immense and far-reaching program of the commissariat. At the base there is the *école unique*, or the single school. By the single school the Soviet power does not understand a school which is not included in the several types of establishments, but on the contrary a single series of schools open on equal terms to all the workers and to all the people . . . (hiatus) . . . A program as vast as this demands immense means both as regards places, material and personnel. This last remains unfortunately to a large extent steeped in the bourgeois spirit, especially in the superior grades. In spite of these difficulties and the material obstacles to which has been added the barbarous blockade of the Allies, the results obtained are considerable. The Socialists in the scholastic education are deeply penetrated with sympathy for the Soviet power. There has been created a federation, already power-

ful, of workers for Socialist education and teaching. The number of schools has increased considerably. In the course of the preceding school year, 1,650 new schools were built. In the course of the school year 1918-19 there were opened 5,700 new schools. The number of pupils has very nearly doubled, to wit, 2,618,000 in the schools of the first grade, and about 200,000 in the schools of the second grade. The number of masters has increased in a still greater proportion. At the present time there are in Russia nearly 50,000 schools of the first grade and 2,100 of the second grade. The number of children of school age can be reckoned at 9,000,000; at the present time 27 per cent of this number attend schools. The school budget is steadily on the increase. At the present time each province receives for public instruction around 140 million roubles a week. In the realm of higher education, one of the most important reforms was the replacement of the faculty of law by a faculty of social sciences. The special superior schools and the faculties of medicine have made a progress which is even more considerable. The Commissariat has granted to the teaching establishments for higher education 400,000,000 rubles for the current semester. The number of students has risen to 158,000 and the number of professors to 5,500. At Moscow alone there are more than 2,000 new students. In a few months they have succeeded in attaining a preparation sufficient to permit them to enter the ranks of regular students of the University. There exist at Petrograd, Moscow, Voronezh, Kazan and Saratov free ateliers for the fine arts, which have about 4,000 pupils.

The New Russia

A description by Griffin Barry, Special Correspondent of the London "Daily Herald," of conditions in Soviet Russia as he saw them in February.

Petrograd (via Helsingfors), February 18.—As I drove along the Petrograd road, troops were hanging wires and dressing the roads in camouflage against the improbable resumption of any attack on the city. Our cart passed incoming gangs of them.

Was it, in the very least, the Army I had watched roll through Russian cities, to and from the front, tide after gray tide, in 1916? It is smaller now; its clothes are older. Something else, its tidal quality, is gone. It had been terrifying while it lasted, that tide—reforming itself somewhat on the vast steppes as an element will reform, as often as the Germans parted it. Then the dykes broke, beginning on the March day in Petrograd when the Tsar's black eagles were stamped to pieces, officers ignored, and the Red Flag hoisted. I had seen that first break, and it was terrifying also, but not as the dead weight of an element is. The early mood was gone now, but it had made men of sheep.

Old Army and New

A professional soldier should report on the result. I am not one, and I saw the new army, as such, only as I drove through it that day. But I had known the old Russian army, and one or two differences would have struck a child.

No idle officers were to be seen. The old driven groups were no more. Men worked independently on telegraph poles or in ditches, calling to one another about their work. Officers, distinguishable only by an officer's belt, worked with the men, often with their hands. No military show except a smart salute from the guards who examined our papers. I counted six Chinese, instead of the huge gangs of Orientals that had worked behind the imperial front. The other faces were Russian: occasionally the impassive elderly peasant, more often his beardless son. The ragged Communist Army, winning on the longest front in history! Why was it the only force left on the Continent with morale?

The Petrograd train was late (wood for the engine hadn't arrived, and the men were bringing it from the forest), and I pressed into the station crowd. It was a big suburb, once fashionable; specimens of every social grade I had known in the old Russia filed in.

No Acute Hunger

Business men with spectacles and portfolios shouldered peasants; peasants accommodatingly held other people's children on their knees with their own; there was entire good nature, infinite pushings and excuses and the compound smell of sweat, food, sheepskin and straw that no Russian station has been without, winter and summer, since stations were built.

If there was real hunger in the place I could not make it out. People looked cold rather than ill-fed. More than once I saw coarse black bread passed out from baskets that seemed open to friend and stranger.

One refined-looking woman in an expensive coat three years out of style held a group by her talk, her face alight. She murmured an excuse in French to me as she passed, observing that I was a foreigner. My companion explained that she was the head of a Soviet crèche where working women left their children by day.

The first, second and third-class waiting-rooms had become one. The familiar dirt-stained ikon in the corner had vanished, and the walls were covered with posters. A brilliantly drawn one represented Russia as a half-finished building alive with workers, stark against the dawn. In another a symbolical muzhik was cutting a harvest of the heads of Denikin, Kolchak and Co.

The wood came on sleds from the trees over the way, and soon we jogged on to Petrograd.

From the station great avenues branched out, battered by five years of war and two of revolution, not hiding a scar. There were no cabs, or next to none; two competent

women directing the crowd were the only police visible, and the constantly arriving trains poured out a stream which overflowed the trams and wandered away on foot, loading hand-sleds with bundles, catching rides, on the rare vehicles, using the streets like sidewalks.

All the landmarks I used to know; the eternal dark charm—always near to horror—of the historic town under the frozen sky; the challenge its myriad poor had issued to the world of organized force long before, and were still unbrokenly sending—those memories faded before the universal struggle I touched and saw and walked through at every corner.

I had never seen a search for food and warmth so continuous, so exposed. It came into the street every time a door was opened. It was in the eyes of the people I saw, and their movements. Yet I can't say I saw signs of despair.

There was order in the labor; needs were being satisfied. Petrograd had enough bread—plenty for the moment, I learned later, though wood was scarce. Occasionally a lorry loaded with these things passed, burning a stinking mixture of kerosene whose smoke hid the vehicles. More often spontaneous groups worked in the streets. A crowd of women had attacked a barge frozen in the Neva, and were tearing firewood out of its dark body. Sacks of flour were being dragged over the snow toward some aristocratic mansions, housing the people now. People came out of houses in clothes that had been costly, and helped with these things. There were neither idlers nor bosses visible, and there was no quitting, with the cold and the need to eat pressing close behind.

The Real Surprise

It was not so much the suffering that astonished me, for there is the like in several blockaded capitals in Europe today. But the calm with which the people took it was a facer. Later, a bit at a time, I saw cause and effect.

There was no strange reason for the lack of despair among the workers, for instance. For the first time in their lives they were getting a full share in everything there was.

And the simple logic of the revolution had made everyone a worker—unless he had saved enough solid gold to buy vanishing commodities at fantastic prices indefinitely. These last were few, as I learned later. The bulk of the former privileged had come over, some from insight into what had happened to the will of the masses, some from resignation.

The first officials I met welcomed me with an apology instead of tea in a cold room where they had worked all day. Headquarters telephoned that I would be accepted as the representative of a workers' paper, that a guide would show me to a room as soon as he could come across the city. Meanwhile I watched a revolutionary bureau at work.

The shell of what had been comfort was there—typewriters, broad chairs, pictures, cleanliness. Good food and sufficient heat were absent and had been for long; my hosts laughed at the need of either, or refused to speak of it. They went on with their corners of the city administration steadily and with a kind of gaiety, scarcely looking up except to fire a joke at me about the outside world's opinion of Bolshevism.

The guide came with food under her arms from the communal stores, twisted in old newspapers—black bread, sugar, two ancient tins of fish, a handful of sweets, manufactured as children's ration, from carrots, in a Soviet factory, and even a little dried caviare. It was the Soviet Republic's regular gift to strangers. That night I slept in a clean room at the Astoria Hotel, long since turned into a home for Soviet workers. I was told I needed no Government passport for the moment. That gave a sensation of freedom new to any traveler in wartime Europe.

—London *Daily Herald*, February 25, 1920.

INDUSTRIAL REVIVAL IN URALS

In *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* there is a long report on conditions of production in the Ural industries, which have once more become an important factor in the economic life of Soviet Russia after the reconquest of these regions. The metal industries have revived most quickly of all, particularly the manufacture of plantation railroads, of wire nails and tools. The Ural industries are being drawn upon particularly for supplying the deficiency in the materials necessary for preparing transportation. The railroad shops are again in full operation, although they are for the present occupied chiefly in repairs on locomotives and railroad cars.

The Bolsheviks have found extensive supplies of domestic utensils, locksmith and blacksmith tools, metal tools, etc. While these articles had been intended for exportation to Asia and Siberia they are now to be sent to Central Russia. Concerns manufacturing munitions have been assigned to the central authorities with the purpose of adapting them to new branches of production, in order to save fuel and to utilize raw materials for more useful purposes.

Particularly great progress has been made in the last few months in the mining of precious metals, particularly gold and platinum. The yield of platinum was already raised in the first month after the reconquest of this region, to 12 poods per month. On the other hand, the quarrying of precious stones has been entirely abandoned and the copper mining industry of the Ural region is approaching a serious crisis. The Kolchak administration had not succeeded in keeping the mines in efficient operation, so that a considerable portion of them has become inundated, while many other mines have suffered through technical obstruction practiced by the retiring Kolchak troops.

To alleviate the fuel famine a rather large plan for the exploitation of the numerous peat bogs has been undertaken. At the same time the construction of peat machines and all other materials necessary for a perfected exploitation of peat is being pushed.

—*Kommunistische Arbeiterzeitung*, Jan. 9, 1920.

SOLIDARITY IN AUSTRIA

On Tuesday, February 10, a consignment of 11,048 rifles, destined for the Polish army, was to have been loaded under the supervision of Polish officers. The rifles were bought in a local arsenal at the price of 140 crowns a piece by a certain Gottesmann (surely an ardent Pole: it would be interesting to learn how much the government is paying to this patriotic contractor.—Ed. note). The railroad workers have declared, however, that they did not want to load these rifles designed for fighting the Russian proletariat, and that these arms should by right remain in the country, for they were necessary to the workmen here. An intervention by the Ministry for Military Affairs (*Staatsamt fuer Heerwesen*) was of no avail, and the rifles were not loaded.

—*Swit*, Vienna, Feb. 13, 1920.

SWEDISH ACTION AGAINST SMUGGLERS

The Government authorizes the Customs Department to draw up accusations also for misdemeanors in the service.

The Government, at the request of the Chamber of Justice, has authorized the Customs Department at Stockholm, in the cases in which it may draw up accusations against certain employees of the Petrograd Legation, the Swedish Consulate General, and Consulate in Russia, for smuggling rubles, antiquities, and other articles of value, to ask for indictments simultaneously, and from the same court, for the offenses of these persons in the discharge of their duties. According to the investigation undertaken by the Customs officer at Stockholm, Th. Eksandh, indictments are to be asked against Captain-Commander H. Elliot, Consul Einar Hagberg, Secretary of Legation Baron Koskull, as well as Captain G. Murray. On the other hand, the Customs officer said that it was still an open question whether indictments should be asked for against the Honorary Attache P. E. Brusewitz, the Candidate in Philosophy G. Langenfelt, the Attache O. K. G. Lundkvist, the Master of Philosophy H. Nilsson, Honorary Attache Th. Orre, and the Candidate in Philosophy G. Quennerstedt.

—*Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, Feb. 20, 1920.

RUSSO-POLISH NEGOTIATIONS

Warsaw, February 9th:—The Polish Government would be ready to consider Soviet Russia's offer of peace on the following conditions:

Russia to declare that it has absolutely no plans against countries that have separated themselves from the former Russian empire; the Russian army to be limited; the Polish population in the territories occupied by the Red Army to be granted minority rights; commercial relations with Soviet Russia to be resumed. The Polish Government asks that the boundaries of Poland shall be the same as in 1774 and the country's independence recognized.

The Polish Social Democrats have threatened a general strike if the Soviet Government's offer of peace should be rejected.

Moscow, February 9th:—The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs communicates that the military representative of Latvia has questioned the Polish Government whether Poland, if it should begin negotiations with the Bolsheviks, will consider the obligations Poland has undertaken with regard to Latvia. The Polish Government answered that Poland will under no circumstances force Latvia to accept the fait accompli.

The Poranny newspaper *Kurir* reports that in political circles at Warsaw the opinion is current that the chief condition for peace with Soviet Russia is the independence of Latvia, Lithuania, White Russia, and Ukraine. The Polish Government's answer to Russia's conditions of peace may not be expected until the expiration of several weeks.

Newspapers at Warsaw published the appeals of the All Russian Central Executive Committee.

—*Christiania Social-Demokraten*, Feb. 12, 1920.

RUSSIAN CLAIMS TO SPITZBERGEN

Helsingfors, Feb. 15.—According to a wireless message from Moscow, a Soviet newspaper in that city, under the heading "Making Your Reckoning Without the Host," has the following to say concerning the decision of the Allies to give Spitzbergen to Norway:

"Russia has always had as great a right to these islands as any other state. The islands have now been given to Norway without even informing the Soviet Government to that effect. The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs files a protest in the name of the country which it represents against this cession of territory, simultaneously stating that the Soviet authority cannot regard as binding an international arrangement in the making of which it has not been consulted."

—*Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, Feb. 17, 1920.

THE LOT OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA

One of the fairy tales most often circulated concerning Soviet Russia is the one that tells about alleged persecutions and annihilations of the intelligentsia on the part of the Bolsheviki. The actual fact is that the representatives of art and learning in Soviet Russia are treated more considerately than in any other country. Thus, according to *Krassnaya Gazetta*, a special commission has been installed in Petrograd with the purpose of improving the status of men of learning. In January this commission drew up a list of 1,800 scholars who are to obtain bigger rations of foodstuffs than the other inhabitants of the city. In addition, the commission decided to use Archduke Vladimir's former palace for a "scholars' home." In order that men of learning may be able to carry on their labors without suffering from lack of fuel a number of the apartments are to be kept lighted and heated. In these there may be held learned meetings, discussions, etc. In this palace there has been established a special bureau for distribution of foodstuffs to the scholars. And finally, the commission has decided to establish a sanatorium for learned men.

THE WORKERS' GOVERNMENT AND THE COMMUNIST WEEK

The *Izvestya* and *Pravda* publish under this title a letter from Lenin, in which he expresses great satisfaction that the Communist Week took place in the time of the present trials of the Soviet power. "Thus only the healthy elements of the industrial workers and the poor peasantry are being recruited by the party, and only sincere adherents join its ranks. Among the workers and peasants there are many who are valuable and capable of taking part in public affairs, there are many organizing and managing talents, which are not allowed by capitalism to openly join the party and to take part in the construction of the new life; this is our method of struggle against all difficulties. This is the way that leads to victory."

RUSO-GERMAN RELATIONS

Berlin, Feb. 28.—Victor Kopp, the representative of the Soviet Government here, has proposed to the German Government that two trains a week should run between Berlin and Moscow for the exchange of German and Russian prisoners, and also that sea transport between Hamburg and Odessa for the same purpose should be begun.

The Government Socialist members of the Prussian National Assembly have put down a resolution for the next sitting in favor of the establishment of relations with Soviet Russia. *Vorwaerts* welcomes this, and declares it has always held that such relations should be established, provided Russia does not interfere in the internal affairs of Germany. The independent *Freiheit* thinks this statement is the first definite step to put an end to the ambiguous attitude of the German Government to Soviet Russia.

—*London Daily Herald*, March 1, 1920.

AMERICAN GOODS FOR RUSSIA?

Basle, Jan. 24.—A Berlin telegram reports the following: According to the most recent news received from Stockholm, immense supplies of English and American goods have been accumulated at docks at various points, on the Danish coast, apparently ready for shipment. The machines, manufactured products, and preserves which have been stored at these places are destined for exportation to Russia as soon as the last details with regard to the resumption of trade shall have been agreed upon with the Soviet Government.

NORWEGIAN-RUSSIAN FISH TRADE

Christiania, March 1.—An organization of wholesalers in fish has been formed at Christiansand in order to carry on trade in fish with Russia, the border states, and possibly also Poland. Two of the members of the organization have already left for these countries in order to arrange for the exchanges, and there is a great likelihood that their journey will have a successful outcome. In this organization there are a number of the city's most important fish dealers, and it is therefore expected that this movement will have a great importance in the export history of this city, if the enterprise as projected can be carried out.

AMNESTY IN LATVIA

Velikie Luki, November 17 (Rosta).—In the Latvian People's Council, the Social Democrats have proposed an amnesty at a definite date, pointing out that the prisons and concentration camps were overfilled. In Vedenia out of 350 prisoners 158 were subjected to violence and torture. Out of 550 prisoners at Bolmar a special committee decided it was necessary to free 162.

There are no conspicuous communists among the prisoners. Colonel Semitan's expedition acted more savagely than the punitive expeditions under the Czar.

—*Petrograd Pravda*, Nov. 18, 1919.

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Germany and Russia

BY KARL RADEK

[The following article was written by the former representative of the Russian Soviet Government in Germany while a prisoner in the Moabit Jail, Berlin. Radek was accused by the German Government of revolutionary activity and confined in jail for nine months pending trial. He was released in December, 1919. It was proven at the trial that he was opposed to any "abortive attempt at revolution".]

THIS article is not an attempt to convince bourgeois Germany of the advantages of Communism. I do not believe that any arts of rhetoric can ever make the communistic order of society palatable to the bourgeoisie. It will come into its own through the struggle of the proletariat against the will of the bourgeoisie as the only possible means of setting right the disjointed world. But it is not with the purpose of describing this historical perspective that I write these lines; the capitalist world has not the sense of humor that the dying feudal world had: to take a certain pleasure in diagnosing its own death-struggle.

In this article only such things will be treated as interest keenly even the most rabid opponents of Communism: such as coal and wood, flax, linen, cotton, railroads, and other things which may well render their ten percent. So I may ask for the attention of all those readers who are more interested in the commercial section of their paper than in the editorials. But I believe that to the various gentlemen of the political world the article may also prove of interest, if on no other account, then at least to scatter the fear that may

take hold of them when they read the title of the article and the name of the author.

In Russia the World War fully disintegrated the capitalist system, which in other quarters, too, was none too firm on its feet. The result was that the working class came into power, supported by the peasants, who wanted peace and land. Descartes teaches in his "Essay on Method" that when we wish to tear down the condemned building in which we are living in order to set up a new one in its place, we must find a temporary shelter until the task is completed. But a numerous people cannot find so many temporary dwellings. When they tore down the old capitalist Russia they remained in the open, freezing in the cold, and had to seek shelter in barracks. Bourgeois sociologists see in this a proof of the stupidity of Ivan and the insanity of his leaders, who did not understand that he who has no temporary housing must simply refrain from tearing down the old house and content himself with repairs instead: that is, "reform". But even the old liberal German Professor Dahlmann said, in his *History of the English Revolution*, that the re-

modeling or reforming of an uninhabitable dwelling actually consists in its collapse. However, it may be, the fact is that the house of the Russian is demolished and that the Russian Soviet Government has the inflexible determination to build it anew.

This aim it has been following since Spring of the year 1918. It could not accomplish it sooner. Not for the reason, however, as the philosophers of capitalism maintain, that on the foundation of communist policy one cannot undertake any sensible construction. The administrators of the Soviet Republic know well that tearing down requires different measures from construction. They know that construction cannot proceed according to the plan and desire of single groups of workers, depending upon their disposition or lack of disposition to work, but that the plan must be framed in accordance with the interests of the whole Russian people, founded upon the will of its foremost ranks, and carried out in disciplined labor. They know that labor is no debating society, in which everybody, whether he has something sensible or something stupid to say, has an equal right to put his finger in the pie.

The master-builders must be given the opportunity to perform the task. And what the administrators of the Soviet Republic know, they will be able to put through. Whatever one might hold against them, it certainly is not lack of resolution. And their decisiveness is not the benevolent despotism of the Commissars of the People, but the will of hundreds of thousands of workers who have the experience of two years of revolution behind them and know, on the basis of this experience, having had to drink the cup to the dregs, that the difference between a capitalist and a proletarian state is not that in the latter one need not work or listen to anybody at all, while in the former one was a toiling slave, but that labor and discipline in the proletarian state serves the interests of the whole, while in the capitalist state it served the profit of the private capitalist or of the capitalist state.

If all these conceptions (which were recognized in April 1919 by the representatives of the Russian working class through the act of the Executive Committee in agreeing to the theses of Lenin) have thus far not been put into practice, the fault lies exclusively with foreign invasion. Soviet Russia was cut off from metal ore, and oil, the products of the Ukraine and the Caucasus, by German imperialism, while the corresponding products of the Urals and Siberia were withheld by Entente imperialism. German imperialism is dead beyond resurrection. Entente imperialism in the fall of last year expected that by this spring or summer it would have overrun our land, and in Berlin all our friends, from Herr Solf and Herr Scheidemann to Herr Kautsky, began at once to look around for more or less pathetic epitaphs for

us. They carefully avoided our acquaintance, for fear they might be made to pay the funeral expenses. Kolchak was appointed our chief gravedigger, while General Denikin and the Entente forces were to come up from the south and give us the death blow.

The armies of Kolchak, equipped by the Entente, are so badly beaten that according to the confession of his London friends they cannot be counted on at all for the present. The Entente troops in the south had to be withdrawn, just as they had to be withdrawn in the north; for if large bodies of them are used they will have to be recruited from among the workers, who are prone to Bolshevik "contagion", while with little bands of volunteers the Entente is only compromised by inevitable defeats. While we were forced to concentrate against our strongest enemy, Kolchak, Denikin was able to inflict defeats upon us and to occupy the important Donetz basin. Since he had carried out mobilization by universal conscription, he could even continue a while longer to inflict defeats upon us. For the very reason that he carried out the conscription plan, rounding up peasants and imposing upon them as leaders junkers who were planning to take the land away from them, every step forward was a step toward the grave. The Soviet Republic will dispose of its internal enemies; for the external aid by which our opponents must stand or fall is growing weaker and weaker.

I do not believe that the Soviet idea will triumph this year in England, France and America. But whoever follows the internal political and economic crisis in the Entente countries, not in the brainless reports of the German press, which never stood lower than at the present time, but in the *Times*, the *Temps*, and the *New Republic*, in the reports of the British banks and stock companies, will not doubt that "post-war-itis" is asserting itself in these countries too in the form of the lowering of productive power, in rising prices, and in tremendous social struggles which are developing during the present winter into a social crisis, and will probably bring about both in France and in England a coalition of the right wing of the working class with the left wing of the bourgeoisie, as a temporary stage of the world crisis. These changes will bring the end of the attempts on the part of Entente capital to put down the revolutionary movement in Central and Eastern Europe, and will lead to an attempt to negotiate with the revolutionary governments, in the hope of hollowing them out from within and forcing them to adapt themselves to the capitalist system.

Farseeing capitalistic elements have, in fact, been groping in this directions. For example, Davison, the chief director of the Morgan trust, was one of the men most in favor of applying the brakes in the action against Russia. If

the ground is trembling more severely under the feet of Entente capitalism, this capitalism will learn to understand that if for decades the capitalist states were able to maintain commercial relations with feudal states, they will reconcile themselves also to the existence of proletarian states; the more so when the proletarian state shows them that it appreciates the necessity of feeding the sharks, giving them a chance to earn something, as long as they are still at large and have not yet been strangled by the proletariat in their own respective lands. The leaders of the Russian Republic know that this problem of the relation of the Socialist state to capitalist states existed even for the early modern Socialists, as, for instance, with Winstanley in the seventeenth century. So long as the World Revolution has not taken hold of all the capitalist states (which cannot happen all at once), the socialist states are compelled, for political as well as economic reasons, to find a *modus vivendi* for their relations.

Now, the social crisis of world capitalism, which mitigates the direct pressure of capitalism upon the socialist states, causes the capitalist power of production to sink and causes the capitalist states to lose the ability to cover the demand for goods, the shortage of which is one of the reasons that compel the revolutionary countries to seek a basis for relations with the capitalist states.

When one observes the hopes of the bourgeoisie of Germany for all the pretty things they are to get from the Entente if they conquer the dragon of Bolshevism, one is simply bewildered. Since the spokesmen of the German and Austrian bourgeoisie do not take the trouble to study even the economic conditions of the Entente countries, which they really ought to do, they should at least ask themselves: If the United States and England are so rich in manufactures, machines, and other useful things, why then do they permit Italy to be driven toward revolution for lack of all these necessities, and why do they permit the social crisis in Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, the very countries that are supposed to form the sanitary cordon against the plague of Bolshevism, to become more acute every day? And what is the significance of the continued rise in the cost of living in England and America? If they had a superabundance of things there, there would be no social crisis. The truth is, however, that everywhere there is a shortage of machines, coal and means of transportation.

The result is that however much Russia will be dependent above all on America, as far as the importation of machinery is concerned, it cannot depend on the superabundance in the Entente countries. It will have to try to get from each land what it can. Political interests, as well as economic interests, force Soviet Russia to attempt with all means to secure not only from the En-

tente, but also from other states, from Germany, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia every little commodity that is to be had. All these states stand in the same relation toward Soviet Russia. None of them will be able to refuse wood, hemp, linen, platinum, merely because it does not like Communism. As soon as the great ban of the Entente falls (and fall it will), the race for the great Russian market will begin, for in the last analysis the large concerns are thinking not only of the comparatively small quantities of goods which they can export to Russia and import from Russia at this time, but of the future of the Russian market. If Germany's capitalists are still of the opinion, which the German Government has made the guiding principle of its policy, that they will receive a "democratic" order and annual interest from the Entente as a reward for waiting until a Kolchak is victorious, then there is no help for them: then the smuggling of the German medicaments to Russia through the medium of the Warsaw Jews will be the regular method of importation, and Russian goods will enter Germany through neutral countries or by way of the land of the dollar: not along the path of direct commerce based upon some sensible regulation of the system of exchange of goods between states, but through the sieve of the "crazy" status of money exchange at the present time and through the mediation of the go-between, who is not afraid of the Bolsheviki and takes money for not being afraid.

The world's poverty in goods makes it necessary for Russia to try with all its might to repair and restore the mechanical and technical implements she possesses in order to use them, in addition to what she can get abroad, to begin reconstruction again. At the same time, Germany's technical brains have a particular significance for Russia, now that German foreign enterprise is a thing of the past and the German intellectual is destined to be shunned throughout all the world for a considerable time to come. The Soviet Government sought no quarrel with the Russian intellectuals and professional men; they declared war upon us. Many of them have come to us in the meantime; let the German intellectual read the report of Prof. Henri of the Paris Sorbonne to the French Academy regarding the attitude of the Soviet Government toward science, a report which the German press, which retails even the most senseless stories of Bolshevik atrocities, suppressed, as was to be expected.

We shall continue to seek peace with the working intellectuals of Russia, in whom we behold the crystallized intellectual capital of the country. But even if all of them should find their way to reality, to the Russia of the peasants and workers, there will still be, after the losses of the war and of the Revolution, a shortage of engineers, chemists and agronomists. From the Entente countries we cannot get them, for they are gobbled up by the

colonies of these countries. The only land that has an excess of this sort of power is Germany. If this excess is directed to Russia, in an organized manner, through the associations of these intellectual workers, then the working conditions of these groups can be centrally regulated and they can be assured of a human existence compatible with Russia's general poverty. They must not come, however, as supermen to the Colony of Sovietia to allow the Bolsheviki to partake of the blessings of German culture, but as the pioneers of the service of Humanity. We have shown, through the manner in which we solved the officers question in the Red Army that we are able to appreciate the honest work even of our former opponents, and we shall be the better able to prove it to the German brain-workers according as they become filled with the consciousness which is beginning to prevail within the ranks of the German intellectuals, that a new world is coming into being, and that its birth will proceed with a minimum of pain to the extent that the hand and brain workers unite at the bedside of Humanity, writhing in pain, to aid the labor of birth.

I see honorable German citizens who have not yet transferred all their war profits to foreign countries, out of reach of the German tax assessor, scenting in these statements of mine a fiendish plot which I hatched in the hospitable rooms of the former jail of Moabit during the long months in which my innocence was being officially tested according to the penal code, or which I manufactured after learning that I should be forbidden ever to set foot on German soil again. "In this way, through the medium of traffic of goods and people, Bolshevism is to be smuggled into Germany; this plan was not concocted by Krassin, the director of the economic activity of the Bolshevik state, but by Radek, the director of the Bolshevik propaganda."

It is not modesty, though, but fear of absurdity, a fear from which only the German Government is free, that prompts me to declare that the fear of Bolshevik propaganda must not degenerate into stupidity. When German imperialism attempted to unseat us, and German Communism was still weak, we were compelled to work with all our might in the way of propaganda against our enemies and in behalf of our friends. The work that we have done I will not deny; as a Communist I am proud of it. We shall continue this sort of work with all the means at our command against all states that attack us with arms or with the boycott. And no isolation shall hinder us. If millions are ready to die for Communism from the Urals to the Rhine (to speak only of Russia and Germany) they will not allow anything to stop them from helping one another continuously.

But this material and spiritual mutual aid is not the deciding factor in the influence of Russian on European Communism. It is the exist-

ence of Soviet Russia, its heroic fight, and the fact that it has maintained itself. This fact has the greatest effect, not pamphlets, nor the ruble. To which I should add that the Communist movement in Germany, based for three generations past on the effect of the Marxian idea, is least of all in need of this sort of aid from the outside. Never will the Russian Communist Party allow its fraternal relations with the German party to be interfered with; the only question is that of an active relation with Soviet Russia.

I ask all people with good common sense: Can German political economy in its present illness, can a state that certainly desires to keep alive, ignore a large empire out of mere fear, when both are dependent upon one another? Whoever reads carefully the British and French press will find in it day after day articles about the German-Bolshevik conspiracy. This must not be taken for pure bluff. From conversations with serious American and British business men and journalists I have gained the conviction that it is not just bluff. They told me: "Germany needs Russia, Russia needs Germany. But Germany is afraid to establish relations with Russia because the Entente's knife is at her throat. She must therefore veil these relations and quietly prepare for the future. One must not consider the enemy more stupid than he is."

I am not discourteous, and therefore say nothing about stupidity; but really, one should not carry discretion too far. It doesn't get one anywhere, either in love or in politics. How often has Germany offered herself to the Entente as a fighter against Bolshevism! Not a single car, not a single locomotive, and not a single cow was put down to her credit on account of good will. It is not my affair to work out for Herr Mueller fundamental points for his speeches. Whom God has pushed down into Bismarck's chair he must at least aid with certain hints, especially after seeing how without his help the Messrs. Bethmann, Jagow, Kuehlmann and Solf had driven the cart astray.

Because I am interested in diplomatic art, I should like to ask what the Entente would say if Herr Mueller should openly declare: "You cannot let me have such and such raw materials; Russia can. You lock out the German engineers; Russia opens a field to them. Openly and honestly, as I have conducted myself since the armistice, I declare herewith that I must take raw materials where I get them and that I must let German men earn their bread where they can." The Entente could do nothing to Germany; it would merely be a proof to the Entente that Germany must be reckoned with.

German official policy, however, is guided not only by fear of the Entente. There is also the desire to win favor through the policy of blockade in the eyes of new Denikins, of Czarist "democrats," which in the midst of all ethical declama-

tions official Germany regards as the certain procurists of the future Russia. I expressed my opinion above as to the prospects of the Russian counter-revolution. If my presuppositions are erroneous, if the Entente should have the power and the will to help the Russian counter-revolution into the saddle, then, surely, there will be no room in Russia for Herr Mueller with his anti-Bolshevist innocence. The counter-revolutionary government that would exist by the grace of the City and Wall Street would be Germany's new enemy, even if the German Government should appoint Czar Nicholas as the patron saint of the German Republic. But in Berlin's foreign policy there's a bit of villainy too. Many speak of the League of Nations and count on the future breach in the Entente, which, proceeding from the American-Japanese conflict on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, would lead to the following line-up: On one side England, France and America, on the other Japan, counter-revolutionary Russia, and Germany. Well, once counter-revolutionary Germany gets as far as all that, she will be forgiven all the syringes she sold to the Russia of the Bolsheviks. For did not General Mannerheim, the blond Teutonic hero, receive grace at the hands of the Entente and forgiveness for all his cooperation with General von der Goltz—when he was needed?

May readers with political knowledge forgive me for elaborating thus upon the obvious. It is necessary, for the spiritual blockade of Russia through the German official policy that supposes it is a punishment for us when the simplest news of Russia which even the Entente press takes from our radio service is suppressed, compels us to enlarge upon hoary truths.

For a year I have been out of connection with the Russian Government. I am acquainted with the situation in Russia only through the reports of the large British and American newspapers, and I express only my own ideas. These may be revised as follows:

1. Soviet Russia does not seek any alliance with Germany to fight against the Entente. Not only is the German capitalist government unacceptable as an ally, but there is no reason to assume that there will be a permanent war of the Entente against Russia.

2. Germany and Russia need to have economic relations with one another, because neither of the two countries can hope to get from the Entente all that it needs, and because they can help one another in many ways.

3. Both states can dispense with any intervention in one another's internal affairs and in re-establishing commercial relations must reckon with the difference in economic organization between them.

From these ideas I draw the following practical conclusions:

1. Diplomatic relations between the two countries should be resumed.

2. Both countries should first send to each other economic experts to work on the organization of the exchange of goods, means of transportation, and all undertakings that will encourage exchange of goods.

Should the German Government not take action for such obvious ends, then the preliminary problems and preparations should be taken in hand by German economic organizations which will get in connection with the Russian Government through German representatives who seriously mean business. A couple of months later the German Government will come hobbling after. German technical, engineering and chemical associations should form advisory agencies for those of their members moving over to Russia, to represent the interests of these persons with the Russian state. They should also organize an objective news service from Russia to Germany.

As for the rest, the German workers will take care of that as soon as they get into power. To tell them how we shall work then for the well-being of the suffering peoples and of the world is not necessary. They understand us as we understand them, and we shall come together in our common work without many words. The working program here presented is intended for the interim. I am too little of a diplomat to pretend to believe that I have confidence in the long endurance of the present German conditions. The German bourgeoisie on its own side does not think that we shall last very long. Then we are of one and the same opinion. But why shouldn't we exchange linen for drugs, and wood for electrical appliances? Surely you won't demand of people to whom you are selling underwear a certificate of immortality?

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In Esthonia

BY M. L.

(June 23, 1919)

THE economic situation of the country is very difficult. Industry has disintegrated entirely. Already during the period of the Imperialistic war some big factories were closed, such as for instance the shipyards at Reval, (about 15,000 workers); others were wrecked (for instance, the best Esthonian celluloid factory in the city of Parnoff, 3,500 workers). Even if the factories were unharmed, it would have been impossible to run them to their fullest capacity owing to the lack of raw materials and of a market. The absence of a market is felt so keenly that even now there is a great surplus of paper. The celluloid factories decreased their production to the minimum. In general all factories have decreased their staffs. In Reval only about 56,000 workers are engaged in factories and shops. Unemployment has reached enormous bounds; however, there is no exact figure of unemployed.

Beginning with 1917 the cost of commodities increased enormously. Bread is comparatively cheap: the rationed bread—1 mark 20 pennies ($\frac{1}{2}$ lb. per day is issued); in stores—3-5 marks. The food question is becoming more acute, owing to the exportation of potatoes to Finland.

In the Fall of 1917 the Soviet authorities worked out a tariff for the workers, which was introduced in the same season. This tariff is now valid in Reval only. Only the workers of state enterprises of the city of Reval (pier and railroad shops, etc.) after having threatened to strike, received an increase to 22 marks per day. This alone is illustrative of the difficulties even of the employed workers. As far as the unemployed are concerned, their position is still worse. The unemployed frequently have no money to buy even the rationed bread. No one extends any help to the unemployed. Most of them went into the villages, lead a miserable existence and await the Bolsheviki impatiently.

The situation of the agricultural workers is not better. Besides the necessaries of life (or a pension in the estates), the worker receives 400-500 rubles per year. For this amount, (which the employer gets for the sale of 3-4 poods of bread) the worker cannot even buy a pair of boots. The position of the landless men (the day laborers) is unbearable. They are actually starving, as the peasants do not sell any of their products to them.

Part of the land (especially that of the large landowners; the peasants' lands is all cultivated) is not cultivated. In the Spring there was a great shortage of grain.

In Esthonia the land question is the most significant, as not less 60% of the entire population are engaged in agriculture. The White Esthonian Socialist Government could not even partly solve this important problem. The division of land among the landless and the agricultural laborers merely remained on paper in the form of pre-

campaign propoganda sheets. In the Constituent Assembly the Mensheviki together with the bourgeoisie resolved to take over (upon indemnification) all estates of over 150 desyatins of arable land and to divide them into small plots of 25-40 desyatins. Several estates were divided into such plots, sold at auction and leased, but these estates had no actual owners or belonged to the cities. It is understood that the land was bought up by the "gray barons," i. e., by the "kulaks" (rich peasants). Some estates were sold and rented without being divided into smaller estates. But even this practice was soon stopped. In the Spring the landowners began to come back and took off all demarkation signs. Moreover, the representative of the Allies complained about "the Bolshevik nature of actions of the government" and after this all land reforms came to an end.

When the Germans occupied Esthonia, only several hundred persons were hanged and shot and even then the local White Guards were the chief cause of these repressions. In the Fall of 1918 the German terror ceased altogether. The month of November was the culminating period of this "democratic freedom." All political prisoners were freed. In Reval a newspaper, "The Communist" was openly published, and the Soviet of Workers' Deputies was functioning. But the White Esthonian Government, which had been organized in the meantime, began to employ shooting, the scaffold, the prison towards members of our party. The terror was at its height in the month of February and March. The Reds were being executed by decision of the court (military) and without any court trial. They were being rounded up in the cities, towns and villages. Our comrades were in hiding in various cities at secret apartments; in the country districts, in swamps and forests. It is difficult to estimate the exact number of those killed, but at any rate their number is not less than 2,000. This number does not include the war prisoners and suspects who were shot and hanged at the front, neither does it include the number of shot white soldiers, among whom there were frequent uprisings. The Finnish White Army, composed of the lowest element of the population, was exceptionally barbarous at that front and in the rear. It stabbed, robbed and assaulted everyone.

So far a small part of the Esthonian proletariat and a great number of peasants, and petty landlords still have some illusion with regard to the democratic republic. The faith in the well-being of the democracy was especially strong at the beginning of this year. When the Red Army left the territory of Esthonia, the white papers decried the Bolshevik "atrocities," and all legal parties promised to give land and peace by means of the Constituent Assembly. The agrarians ("Land League") swore that they would

provide the landless men with 40,000 manors; other parties competed with them in the campaign promises; such as the democrats, the toilers, the clergy (nick-named the "Heavenly league"). All these were so busily occupied in promising things that they even went beyond all possibility of realizing the promised reforms (confiscation of all lands without even excepting the large peasant estates). The landless peasants were especially attracted by the promise of free plots of land and of other necessities. The land was promised for "Yuryev day" (April 23rd). However, doubts were being expressed as to whether it would be possible to get enough surveyors in order to make the demarcation.

Patriotism has reached its height. The mobilization, which was not successful at first, began to advance. Deserters began to return voluntarily, especially those who found it difficult to hide. The peasant soldiers left for the front singing patriotic songs. Everyone was very enthusiastic about the idea of Constituent Assembly. Only the conscious elements of the proletariat boycotted the elections. The majority of workers, agricultural laborers and landless peasants voted for the Social Democratic Party saying that they are the same as the Bolsheviks and that they would give them the land, peace and freedom "according to law"—through the Constituent Assembly. 32 per cent voted for the Social Democrats; 8 per cent for the Social Revolutionists. The remainder of the proletariat and semi-proletariat (hired agricultural laborers, landless peasants, etc.) voted for the "toilers," who at one time spoke of the "eternal renting of land," but at this time competed with the Mensheviks, bragging about the confiscation of land.

But already during the first meetings of the Constituent Assembly it showed its true character. All parties, except the Social Revolutionists declared that there would be no peace until the Allies signed peace. Not one poor peasant saw the promised land.

Already in May, at the conference of the landless called by the Mensheviks there was great depression. Notwithstanding the fact that it was attended by petty bourgeois elements, the conference pointed out to the socialist ministers that land would be given by the Bolsheviks only.

The May elections of the city government are sufficient proof of the complete loss of faith in the "democratic regime." And so in Reval only about 30 per cent of the voters cast their votes (about half of the number of votes cast in April for the Constituent Assembly).

The illusions of the Estonian workers and agricultural laborers,—of the urban and rural poor classes were shattered. Bolshevism began to win the sympathy of all proletarians and poor peasants. The feelings of the workers of Reval factories is illustrative of that time. Although the majority of them already beginning with June, 1917, were inclined to be Bolsheviks, still in every enterprise there was a minority who always sympathized with opportunists and compromisers. Moreover, in the

days of occupation and during the regime of the White Estonian Government, the anti-Bolshevik elements were always being strengthened through the dismissing of suspicious elements and taking on of slaves. *But now it is difficult to find a worker there who is not in sympathy with the Communists.* The resolutions of our party are adopted unanimously. Many workers, who used to betray the Reds are now conscious and open sympathizers with the Soviet power.

In the White Army the number of disciples of our party is growing.

At first the Estonian military units were formed by the Estonian bourgeoisie after the February revolution. Towards the beginning of the October revolution they became Bolshevik units. Three-quarters voted for our party. But then the majority of Estonian soldiers served not in the Estonian army where the bourgeoisie had no time to transfer them, but they were scattered among the czarist armies. Not knowing the Russian language, they could not understand the Russian agitators and the Russian literature. And the Estonian agitators and newspapers, in view of the fact that the soldiers were scattered, had no value. Therefore, the majority of soldiers who have been at the front for a long time and who even now form the nucleus of the White Estonian Army, are hardly acquainted with the Communist program. Just as unacquainted with our demands were the war prisoners who returned from Central countries directly to Estonia and did not pass through Russia.

During the elections to the Constituent Assembly the majority of soldiers voted for the Mensheviks. However, they are also beginning to feel disappointed with the Constituent Assembly. The soldiers at the front often tell deserters from other armies that they are foolish to seek refuge with the Estonian White Guards. The units which were stationed at Reval are becoming Bolshevistic.

At the present time we may safely say that the greatest percentage of soldiers is for our party. However, strict discipline keeps them as yet in subjection. But uprisings, which are mercilessly suppressed, arise constantly.

The inadequacy of the semi-Bolshevik Estonian army is due to the fact that it has a great number of officers. The Czarist army had many Estonian intellectuals, semi-intellectuals,—in general petty bourgeois elements who have some education. Having become officers, these patriots are now fighting for their "independence." There is an officer to almost every ten soldiers. But even the officers began to hesitate lately, pointing out that the White Army will not win anyway, and that defeat will bring about the murder of all officers.

Party propaganda is carried on extensively in all cities and towns notwithstanding the fact that our best comrades were shot and imprisoned. A newspaper "The Communist" is issued illegally. From November, 1918, and up to date about 200,000 copies were issued. The paper is being circulated in every more or less important point and in the army. During the strike of printers the Min-

isters complained in the Constituent Assembly that the "Communist" was the only paper issued.

The spirit of the workers is revolutionary. In the army as well there are frequent cases of refusal to submit to military orders, and there are open

uprisings, but so far these out-bursts of dissatisfaction were not of a united character and were easily subdued by squads of volunteers, gathered from the ranks of the Esthonian, Finnish and partly Danish bourgeoisie.

Military Review

BY LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK.

WASHINGTON, April 10th, 1920.

The worst truth is better than a lie or silence!

The systematic lies which were a favorite method of British strategy in Russia suffered a complete defeat after the famous "Fall of Petrograd."

Such a method could not be continued any longer and after a series of brilliant victories of the Russian Red Army over the invaders, there was no more suitable material left for the fertile brains of the British agents to continue their misleading policy upon public opinion. But still the truth was of such character that for the sake of "democracy" it could not be issued for publication. The only way remaining for the saviors of the world was to keep complete silence.

On the other hand such a method also became uncomfortable. The press can not exist without news good or unpleasant, and it became alarmed when criticized by its readers who ask for news absolutely indifferent as to what kind of news they will find in their newspapers as long as such news is sensational.

The new invasion of Germany by the French army, as well as the occupation of Vladivostok by the Japanese was just an opportunity for the British Press Bureau to keep the public mind far away from the real things that are happening on the Polish front. The situation in Poland must be very critical, and it is not in the interest of British agents to say much about it; from time to time we can find in the newspaper columns some brief cables from Warsaw via London about the Polish "victories" over the Russians, the victories which as far as we can realize, looking at the map, are gradually moving farther and farther toward the west.

The public is told that the peace negotiations between Poland and Russia will take place on April 10th. To-day is April 10th, if I am not mistaken, and the news about the meeting of the peace delegates of the belligerent sides is still in the same state as it was a month ago. There are still negotiations in progress as to whether the delegates are to meet at Borisov, Riga or Warsaw.

As far as I can guess, there is a reason for such negotiations. Borisov is situated northwest of Bobruisk on the Berezina, and seems to have been occupied for a long time by the Reds, while Riga, thanks to the possible peace arrangements

between Soviet Russia and the remainder of the Baltic States, is not a place where the Poles would like to meet their enemies for a peace settlement. The ambitious Polish politicians are anxious that the Russians, as was the case in regard to the Germans during the Great War, should meet their representatives in the sphere of Polish occupation—in Russia and in no case in Poland.

The Russians do not mind where the peace conference takes place and it is not their fault that the victorious Red Army by its advance destroys the plans of the Polish diplomats. Consequently, peace negotiations are more likely to be settled in Warsaw. Accordingly a cable from Stockholm of April 10th (The Associated Press) states: "A Bolshevik army has been mobilized and equipped, according to a Moscow message, in preparation for an advance to the Polish front. The Bolsheviks are calling great military forces to arms for the purpose of coercing the Poles to accept peace terms by the menace of a general offensive." Well, since the beginning of March we were told the same thing and we have noticed some important battles which took place along the whole Polish front ending, in spite of all Polish victories, with an advance of the Russian army of more than a hundred miles in some cases.

Consequently, in spite of all the efforts of the British Press Bureau to keep silent about Polish affairs and in spite of all endeavors of the Polish Embassy in Washington to console the American public by saying that everything is all right in Poland, I venture to say that imperialistic Poland cannot fight Soviet Russia and must lay down her arms before the proletarian army of perhaps the most powerful republic in the world.

And what about Japan? "The Japanese troops to-day (April 5th, 1920) occupied Vladivostok, after eight hours of severe fighting in all parts of the city. The Japanese imperial flag is flying in the place of the Russian ensign from all government buildings." This was dispatched in all the American papers of April 7th. At the same time it was reported that in Nikolsk Ussuryysk and in Khabarovsk the fighting between the Japanese and Russians is in full progress. It was said that in Nikolaievsk on the Amur seven hundred Japanese were killed by the Russians, and taking into consideration the lack of further information the

Japanese have suffered a serious defeat in these regions of Eastern Siberia. This clash between the Russians and Japanese troops has not surprised me at all.

Already in the *New York Call* as far back as December 6th, 1919, in my article entitled "Jap army will fail in Siberia," I foreshadowed the blundering attack of Japan on Soviet Russia.

"Japan favors aggressive campaign in Siberia! America will be asked to give substantial support to drive against Bolsheviki," so we were informed by the Associated Press from Tokio on November 28th, 1919. Though I read with great prejudice any news run by that organization, nevertheless, I see some possibility of a new disaster taking place in the world, and a new war between Russia and Japan may break out." (*New York Call*, December 6th, 1919.)

Early in December, 1919, Admiral Albert Gleaves, Commander of the United States Asiatic Fleet, reached Japan on board the cruiser *South Dakota*, and negotiations took place with the object of Japanese-American cooperation in Siberia.

Japan apparently was not in favor of acting single-handed, realizing well that to deal with the Red Army in Siberia would be quite a different story from what it was when the Japanese armies met the Russian imperialistic forces in Manchuria in 1904.

As far as could be seen, Japanese diplomacy did not succeed in enticing America into a new dangerous adventure. The evacuation of the Americans started, and as we are informed, the American Expeditionary Forces prevented a brush between the Russian forces and Japanese when the Social Revolutionists succeeded in dislodging the government of Kolchak and became master of Vladivostok. Now that the American forces under Major General William S. Graves, except for a small contingent, left Vladivostok on April 1st, the Japanese military command at once decided to carry out their previously prepared plan of attacking the garrison of Vladivostok.

The moment chosen by Japan was very favorable. The Ussuri, the Amur, and the Maritime provinces of Eastern Siberia had just succeeded in overthrowing the hated regime of Kolchak. A certain semi-socialistic provincial government was established in Khabarovsk, Nikolsk-Ussuryisk, and in Vladivostok. That government was called by the English Press Bureau a Government of the Zemstvos. It was an absolute absurdity because in that part of Siberia Zemstvos never were in existence. In reality as far as could be seen from the local Russian papers that have reached America the regions which freed themselves from Kolchak autocracy are under the control of the Headquarters Staff of the Revolutionary army. In short, a provincial military dictatorship of the proletarian army was established with the general policy of putting an end to the foreign invasion of Siberia.

Studying the local Russian press as far back as the middle of February, I can see that the newly established governments are inclined to act in absolute accordance with the Soviet Government looking to the movement to the east on the Red army as on a reinforcement in fighting the Russian reactionaries as well as foreign intervention.

Therefore it will not be a mistake to consider the whole Russian military force in East Siberia now as a vanguard of the Red army.

Since April 5th, 1919, the Japanese landed at Vladivostok with assurance by the Allies that this act was not meant as an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia. In those days the English and French yellow press advocated the occupation of Siberia by Japan. This opinion was not shared by America—on the contrary the United States was opposed to it. Eight thousand Americans were sent into Siberia "to watch Japan."

Since that time the Russians have had to suffer Japanese rule in many parts of Siberia. What this rule means is best illustrated by Korea, Manchuria and China. Being tied up by the "White Terror" of Kolchak and his satellites on the one hand, and by the Japanese, Czechoslovaks and the Allies on the other, the Russian population of East Siberia had to suffer, and obey their oppressors only until the time comes when the Russian Red armies will approach so near to their district that actual military support can be expected.

The appearance of the bulk of the Red forces as far as Chita wherefrom they could direct further operations along the Amur railway as well as along the Manchurian part of the Trans-Siberian Railway, caused the uprising of the Revolutionary Russian army in eastern Siberia, and consequently the Japanese detachments in several parts of that territory had to suffer.

The success of the Russians in Nikolaievsk excited the Japanese military command in Vladivostok, and the most treacherous, most disgusting slaughter of the Russian population in that city took place at night between the 4th and 5th of April. The Japanese chose the moment for their attack when according to the old Russian tradition the great part of the population celebrated Easter night.

Russian revolutionary forces took control of Vladivostok early in February. The commander of the All-Russian forces in the city, General Rozanov, escaped and took refuge on a Japanese cruiser. According to the "Military Bulletin" of the Revolutionary headquarters of Nikolai of February 15th, 1920, General Rozanov had already succeeded in transferring, a month before, a considerable sum of money to the Japanese and Shanghai banks. Namely, 5,960,000 yen, 22,000,000 dollars, 21,500,000 francs, 480,000 Mexican dollars and 380,000 taels were transferred.

Subsequent to assuming powers in the city the revolutionary authorities maintained control for the purpose of handing over affairs to the Bolshevik officials whose arrival was announced from Moscow.

It became known that the Japanese were concentrating their forces along the Ussuri railroad, north of Vladivostok, and the Chinese Eastern Railroad in Manchuria.

It was also often repeated that the Japanese Government was ready to start peace negotiations with the Soviets and that the latter even expressed readiness to reach some understanding with the Japanese Government, being ready to grant to Japan certain concessions in Siberia.

Negotiations between the official Vladivostok Government and Japanese military authorities were in full progress, and just when a promise to bring the parties to an understanding was dispatched, the sanguinary clash took place.

What happened in reality in Vladivostok can only be guessed because the press remains silent after having informed us about the seizure of the town and one of the batteries situated on Tiger Hill which protects the railway station. We remain absolutely ignorant as to the fate of numerous forts, batteries and other fortifications which form the fortress of Vladivostok, and which certainly were in the hands of the Russians, otherwise it is hardly to be understood how the provisional revolutionary government could have existed even for one day within that town.

The indication in the cablegrams that the Russians took refuge in the hills which surround the city proves my supposition. If this is the case, the fall of Vladivostok into the hands of the Japanese is a matter of great question, and a series of military operations unavoidably will follow the treacherous Japanese attack on a part of the garrison and population of the city of Vladivostok. The Islands of Russki, of Scott, Popov and Reineke and many others of Eugenie Archipelago are fortified and certainly garrisoned by the Russians and therefore can protect the harbor.

Vladivostok is a well-equipped, first-class Russian fortress situated in the Maritime Province (Primorskaia), not far from the point where that province touches both Manchuria and Korea. Its hills which surround the harbor are covered with splendid forests of oak, birch, maple, cork, walnut, acacia, ash, apple, pear and wild cherry, with a rich undergrowth of the most varied shrubs. It was founded in 1860-1861 and since 1865-1900 is a free port. The mouth of the Amur River from the west and the mouth of the Ussuri from the east flow past the fortress and are defended by about 12 forts, which were built in 1896 and strongly improved, especially after the Russo-Japanese War. In order to capture these forts, even if not strongly defended, the Japanese

must dispose of an extremely strong army and therefore their *coup d'etat* in the city could be considered of local significance, more likely as reprisals than a proper military operation.

But in case of serious intention on the part of Japan to capture Vladivostok as a base for further operations in Siberia, they will certainly have to meet the Russian Red army which is concentrating in the Chita district.

The Japanese cannot send an army against the Soviets which will be numerically superior to that of their enemy. The concentration of their army will be a matter of great difficulty and danger, thanks to Siberia's lack of sufficiently developed railroads and roads in general.

If their original plan was to meet the Russian Soviet army somewhere east of Lake Baikal, they would have to protect the eastern part of the Siberian Railway along a distance of about 2,000 miles. They then will have in their rear the Amur, Ussury and part of the Siberian Cossacks, or in short, a ready guerilla army which certainly will be more active and terrible than the guerilla detachments of the Soviets during the Kolchak advance to the west. They will have also in their rear and flank 20,000,000 hostile Koreans and 400,000,000 Chinese, who are now looking on the Soviet as on their supporters and on the Japanese as on their bitter enemies.

The military problems of the Soviet Russian army in Siberia are less complicated now than were the problems of Kuropatkin in 1904.

In order to protect the long shores of Kuang-Tung peninsula and to oppose the landing of the Japanese army, as well as to protect Vladivostok and support Port Arthur, which even against his will Kuropatkin was ordered to release, he therefore started an offensive before his army was fully concentrated, thus spending very great forces.

Now Vladivostok is—it is alleged—in the hands of the enemy and there is neither Port Arthur nor the navy to spoil the game. The only objective for the Soviet army remains the living forces of the enemy.

Quite different word is to be said in regard to the latter. If the Soviet army is really their objective, as they have several times repeated, it depends on the Soviet army; but in no case could the invaders afford to attempt a decisive battle in one or another place in the vast country. Supposing it happened somewhere west of Irkutsk, the enemy never would be able to concentrate a numerically preponderant army and would be partially beaten during the period of concentration. The population of Japan is only 60,000,000.

Therefore there is no choice for Japan except to establish peace with Soviet Russia or to be turned out of Russian territory and perhaps from the continent of Asia entirely.

Wages or Natural Payment?

BY V. BAZANOV.

ONE of the fundamental problems in the adjustment of production is to raise the productivity of labor. Numerous examples from various branches of industry indicate that the figures to show the yield of natural resources, of finished products, etc., have greatly decreased in the past 2-3 years as compared with previous years, and that this decrease is explained primarily by the decrease in the productivity of labor.

The adjustment of our industry would be accomplished in the process of its natural development, but at the present acute moment we are compelled to look for speedy means of liquidating the existing abnormal situation.

The general system of Soviet economy, based on centralization, creates favorable conditions for the adoption of new methods in the endeavor to raise the productivity of labor. In the first place, it is necessary to interest materially those workers who are engaged in the fundamental branches of industry. It is necessary to turn our attention in this direction and to distribute from the general supply the necessary commodities.

The first and simplest way of solving the problem placed before us by life itself is to reward collective as well as individual labor through natural payments.

For the last time the different trade unions and productive centers ("glavki") also tried to solve the problem and to work out a certain system. At last it was decided to centralize this work. The Commission of the Supreme Council of National Economy regulated the work and brought in the fundamental elements of a unified system.

But this was still insufficient. First of all a budget is drawn up of the expenses of the enterprise, the amount of which is determined by a fixed estimate. This limits the whole affair of remuneration; it makes it depend upon the exact cost of production and upon other negative retarding factors, which are so usual under the present abnormal conditions.

In many instances (not mentioning the newly annexed regions) production has to be created anew . . . Only those enterprises will be affected by the new system, the industrial peculiarities of which have been investigated.

But the main feature of this system is that only monetary premiums are given.

The monetary mediums have already lost their value, life has over stepped the boundaries marked by this system. Where the work of peasants is employed (the preparation of lumber, its transportation, digging operations in building railroads, etc.) the natural remuneration for labor is generally accepted (salt, dry-goods, etc.); without this it would be impossible to draw the popula-

tion to work. In places where the question of supply is very urgent, and the food of the workingmen insufficient, no attraction of monetary reward can raise the productivity of labor. Even natural payment would not solve the problem. For illustration we may use the work of a picker; how can his work be made systematically more productive by his bread-allotment of about one pound daily, without fats or meat? And so in many other branches.

In the above-mentioned cases, the natural payment of labor, even in the most modest ways, will give better results than the system of monetary rewards.

The fact that the articles produced are under the control of the national organs enables us to set aside some part of the production for the remuneration of labor; the usual order of supplying the population with articles of necessity is not changed. The Main Coal Committee, for instance, received and partly sent out to the coal districts: dry-goods, matches, etc.

The question of organizing labor more intensively is being better solved by the wage-system, which is not dissimilar to payment in kind, but even this device will not entirely solve the question of increasing the productivity of labor.

Natural premiums in the form of articles of first necessity will not produce the maximum effort from the side of the workingmen. First, our possibilities are limited in this direction, in view of the ever-increasing lack of commodities; secondly, the above mentioned naturalization of payment will not dispose of the accursed problem of food supply.

The fact that all workingmen in a certain line of production are receiving an equal amount of food, disregarding the amount of work they are doing, may be considered a negative factor. It could be avoided by replacing this system by a system of additional supply-cards or supply-shares in accordance with the intensity of labor. Many are against such "remunerations," and among its chief opponents are the members of the People's Commissariat of Supply. But under the present abnormal conditions the reward for intensive and productive labor in the form of articles of necessity as well as of food would offer a solution for the existing situation.

In the meantime we must see that the general question be put before us—the introducing of the natural payment in the form of the whole supply for the workingmen. Life is leading us along this path. Only in this way can the question of increasing the productivity of labor find its proper solution.

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About Russia

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ADMIRAL KOLCHAK is reported in recent issues of certain New York newspapers to have "died like a gentleman." When it was proposed to bind his eyes before his execution by the firing squad, he is said to have declined and faced the squad without flinching; they immediately fired the volley that ended his picturesque and adventurous career.

The manner in which such dangerous counter-revolutionaries as Kolchak take their medicine is important only in so far as their punishment is or is not in accord with the desires of the Soviet Government, and in that it may give some indication of the personal bravery or bravado of such individuals when faced with certain death. The latter is a point of no moment at all, except for those who may possess a biographical curiosity as to the peculiarities of counter-revolutionaries. But with regard to the former point, the degree to which the Soviet Government favors a certain execution, we must recall that in this case the execution was carried out (Feb. 7th, 1920) by the Social-Revolutionary groups who had just taken Irkutsk, and not by order of the Soviet Government, which doubtless desired that Kolchak should be given a trial in accordance with due process of law, so that the true nature of his crimes and treasons, his cruel government and his shameful deals with various Allied powers, might receive proper illumination. Our readers will remember that the Czar also was executed without orders to that effect from the Soviet Government—in fact, that his executioner was considered a mur-

derer by the Soviet Government, and therefore himself executed with several of his accomplices. We do not mean to indicate that the execution of Kolchak is similarly regarded, for we have no information to that effect, but it will be interesting to learn what comment the Soviet Government will have to make on this execution, when official review is taken of this act.

However this may be, we do not intend to deprive Kolchak of whatever credit there may be in "dying like a gentleman," if so he died. What interests us more at this moment is the manner in which others died at the hands of Kolchak or of his officers. When we remember that death before a firing squad is really a swift matter, and that the manner of one's taking off under such circumstances really admits of "gentlemanly" behavior, we shall be the better prepared to appreciate how slight was the opportunity to die "like a gentleman" that was given by Kolchak's henchmen to their Red prisoners.

Is it a "gentlemanly" death to be blown to pieces by the explosion of a fulminate of mercury cap after the injection of several pails of water into one's system? The grotesque ingenuity of the inventor of this punishment surely was not concerned with the "gentlemanliness" of the method. And this is one of the tortures resorted to by the officers of Kolchak's government in their treatment of prisoners.

We have just read in a Russian daily printed in New York City an account of the ways in which Kolchak's officers amused themselves in the torture of their prisoners. It seems so to us that in comparison with these devices, the devouring of Christians by wild beasts in Roman amphitheatres was comparatively humane.

Russky Golos (April 7) prints the following account, much of which is apparently taken from a Siberian paper.

ONLY now, when Siberia has cast off the heavy, hateful yoke of Kolchak, are all the horrors beginning to transpire which were perpetrated in that country under the authority of the "Supreme Government of All the Russians." The revolutionary journal *Nachalo*, appearing in Siberia, describes some of the things done there under Kolchak. The paper says the following:

"In the Mounted Chasseur Regiment about twenty modes of torture were made use of.

"First of all came flogging, which was performed with whips, with cold or heated ramrods and rapiers. Beatings were inflicted in a recumbent posture, as well as while the victim was suspended by his hands. The blows were directed so as to fall upon the stomach, the spine and elsewhere.

"After the floggings, long sharp awls were used

to penetrate from under the feet and in the nostrils.

"Practically no one could stand the awls; everyone begged and begged to be killed at once.

"But the polished Mounted Chasseur officers would reply: *Why, this is sudden, darling—why kill you, since you will die anyway when your blood runs dry; so—we want to try the other things.*

"And they did try another thing. By means of a special syringe, one or two bucketfuls of water were pumped into the victim's stomach, to make him confess and give other information.

"The victim would lose consciousness.

"Then these beasts in human form would place in his rectum a detonating cap taken from a hand-grenade and cause it to explode.

"Horror. One's blood congeals at the sight!

"The victim still showed signs of life.

"A new torture must be inflicted. A red-hot awl is bored into various parts of his body, including even the sexual organs.

"The work is not yet done. Information is no longer expected from the victim and, still showing signs of life, he is thrown into a ditch and covered with earth.

"The wounds of men tortured thus are scattered all over the Maritime Province.

"The tortures we here describe recall the days of the Spanish Inquisition.

"Captain Dostovalov, Commander of the Instructors' Company, 33d Regiment, on the Olga, beats the record.

"In an intoxicated condition, he would kick his victims to death with his spurs, digging the latter into their sides. This human beast on the Olga violated a number of women, whom he then—after the violation—would beat or choke to death with his own hands, after which he threw the corpses into the bay.

"Many of the Mounted Chasseur officers took particular pleasure in killing their victims not by shooting, but by blows with dull swords.

"The famous Riga torture-chamber, at the time of the Orlovsky Penitentiary, grows pale by comparison with the prowess of some of these Mounted Chasseur officers. Among the soldiers of the 33d Regiment the mere recollection of the Mounted Chasseur torture-chamber still calls forth horror.

"And all these things took place almost officially: it was impossible for Messrs. Rozanov and Smirnov not to know of them.

"The Kolchak Government received the support of some of our Allies. Let them now investigate and draw up accusations not only against the Kolchak regime, but against themselves also.

"The fall of Khabarovsk and Chita makes it possible for us to convince the world of what it was that took place in the torture-chambers of these

atamans, who, among the plain people, were simply called *bloodthirsty beasts.*"

The article is signed *S. Gorin.*

HISTORY is again proving herself kind to the newspaper press. When they wrongly report her doings, she sometimes remakes the facts to fit their records. Accounts in American newspapers a few weeks ago led us to believe that Denikin had accomplished his flight from Novorossisk and was already living in Constantinople. We even went so far as to believe the newspaper reports, although Heaven only knows why we did, and wrote what we thought was a sarcastic editorial on the subject. In a number of days it became clear that Denikin was still at Novorossisk, but last week we were again informed that he had really reached Constantinople, and this time the news was more detailed: he had been permitted to be present at the murder of one of his counter-revolutionary assistants, which took place in that city. Perhaps this second British cruiser that carried Denikin to Constantinople is nevertheless again a myth, but he will get there ultimately.

THE New York *World* of Tuesday, April 13, prints a slightly belated cable from Manila, in which Brigadier-General William S. Graves, Commander-in-Chief of the American Expeditionary forces, which recently evacuated Siberia, is reported as having declared at that city on April 9 that the Russian situation would adjust itself as soon as the Japanese should leave Siberia.

The *World* further quotes General Graves:

"Ninety per cent. of the people in Siberia are Bolsheviks," he said. "They are working for peace and the good of the country and in my opinion are trying to be fair and just to the people. The anti-Bolsheviks do not want the Japanese to leave because of immense concessions granted to them by the crown before the Russian debacle and which they would lose but for the presence of Japanese forces."

There is no doubt of the correctness of General Graves' statement above. Wherever the Soviet Government is in power, it leaves absolutely unmolested the right of local populations to self-determination—nay, it emphasizes this right and encourages the local population in its assertion. It is our intention to point out, in an article to be devoted to this subject in the near future, the manner in which this practice is carried out by the Soviet Government even with regard to populations of districts in which the immediate economic interests of the Soviet Government might seem to require swift and autocratic measures rather than the consultation of the wishes of the inhabitants. It must not be forgotten that many of Russia's richest resources are to be found in what were, or are, peripheral provinces, and yet no autocratic methods are used by the Soviet Government to retain such areas. And the Soviet Government often relinquishes to their populations resources that would be of great value to it.

RUSSIA. No. 1 (1920).

AGREEMENT

BETWEEN

HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT AND THE
SOVIET GOVERNMENT OF RUSSIA

FOR THE

EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.

Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty.



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[Cmd. 587.]

The Russo-British Agreement

THE British Government and the Russian Soviet Government, being desirous of affecting an exchange of combatant and civilian prisoners and of facilitating the return of their nationals respectively, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1.—REPATRIATION OF RUSSIAN COMBATANTS

The British Government will repatriate all Russian combatant prisoners in the British Empire or in any territory over which the British Government at present exercises direct authority.

ARTICLE 2.—REPATRIATION OF RUSSIAN CIVILIANS.

The British Government will repatriate all Russian civilians in the British Empire or in any territory where the British Government exercises direct authority, whether they are at liberty, interned, or imprisoned, except those committed for grave offences, who are willing to return to Russia, and who can establish their nationality to the satisfaction of the Soviet Government.

ARTICLE 3.—REPATRIATION OF CERTAIN SPECIFIED RUSSIANS.

The provisions of Article 1 and 2 will apply to Russians captured in the Caucasus or the Caspian and in Persia, whose names, so far as they can be identified, appear on a list of such persons submitted by the Soviet Government to the British Government.

ARTICLE 4.—REPATRIATION OF RUSSIANS FROM ARCHANGEL.

The British Government undertakes, subject to the provisions of article 8, to secure the delivery to the Soviet Government of the Russian combatant prisoners and civilian officials who are in the custody of the Archangel Government and who have been captured at any time since the landing of the British forces in North Russia. This undertaking will apply to all those whose release is desired by the Soviet Government and who themselves desire to leave the territory under the control of the Archangel Government. This undertaking will include also the persons whose names appear on the list already submitted by the Soviet Government, which list is set out in Annex (A) to this agreement, in so far as they can be identified.

ARTICLE 5.—TRANSPORT FACILITIES.

The British Government undertakes to provide transport facilities for all persons who will be repatriated in accordance with the provisions of Articles 1, 2 and 3 of this agreement.

The British Government further undertakes to render every possible assistance, so far as sea transport is concerned, if it should become necessary to do so, for the repatriation of Russian na-

tionals who are at present either prisoners in or who are unable to leave Denmark, Holland, Belgium and Switzerland, subject to the consent of those Governments to the repatriation of the persons concerned.

The British Government further undertakes to make representations to the Governments of the Baltic States for the granting of the necessary facilities for the safe conveyance of all persons who are to be repatriated in accordance with the provisions of the foregoing articles.

ARTICLE 6.—PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION IN BERLIN.

In the event of the establishment of an International Commission in Berlin for the repatriation of Russian prisoners of war in Germany, the British Government undertakes to support, so far as it lies within its power to do so, the claims of the Soviet Government to be represented on such a Commission and to have equal rights with other members of the Commission. These rights are understood to include communication with the Soviet Government by their representatives and the making of arrangements with the Commission for the speedy repatriation of those Russian prisoners of war at present in Germany who desire to return to Soviet Russia.

In the event of the Commission not being established, the repatriation of Russian prisoners in Germany to become the subject of negotiations between the Soviet Government and the German Government. The British Government on their part will acquiesce in any agreement concluded between these two governments for the purpose of effecting the above object.

ARTICLE 7.—REPATRIATION OF BRITISH PRISONERS.

The Soviet Government will repatriate all British combatants, including those who may subsequently fall into the hands of the Soviet armies within one month from the signing of this agreement, and all civilian prisoners, except those committed for grave offences, and all British nationals at present in Soviet Russia, as far as they can be identified, who may wish to return to any portion of the British Empire.

ARTICLE 8.—REPATRIATION OF RUSSIAN COMBATANTS OF THE ARCHANGEL FORCES.

In return for the undertaking given by the British Government in Article 4 above to secure the delivery to the Soviet Government of those nationals, captured in North Russia, whose names appear in Annex (A), in so far as they can be identified, the Soviet Government on its part will return to the Archangel Government all officers, doctors and military clerks of the 5th North Rifle Regiment and the 2nd Battalion of the Artillery

Division captured on the Onega who wish to return to North Russia, in so far as they can be identified. This undertaking includes those persons whose names appear on the list contained in Annex (B) to this agreement. Arrangements for this exchange of prisoners will be subsequently arrived at by means of direct communication between the military authorities on the spot.

ARTICLE 9.

The terms of this agreement to be carried out by Representatives of the British and Soviet Governments, and, until the completion of the repatriation of Russians under this agreement, the Soviet Representative will be given facilities to remain in some country of Western Europe, the place of abode to be agreed upon between the two Governments. The Soviet Representative shall be given facilities for communicating with his Government by wireless and also with the Soviet Representative on the Commission in Germany dealing with the repatriation of Russian prisoners of war, in the event of such a Commission being established.

Signed on behalf of His Britannic Majesty's Government:

JAMES O'GRADY.

Signed on behalf of the Russian Soviet Government:

MAXIM LITVINOV.

COPENHAGEN, February 12, 1920.

ANNEX (A).

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Krivenko, Ivan | 17. Morosov, Alexander |
| 2. Gulaieff, Andrew | Fokitch |
| 3. Levatchev, Nikifor | 18. Barsugin, Alexey Ivan- |
| 4. Ivanovsky | owitch |
| 5. Blochin | 19. Podshivalow, Grigory |
| 7. Klever, Ian | Illitch |
| 6. Massorin | 20. Michailov, Alexey Alex- |
| 8. Temesjnikov | androvitch |
| 9. Aksenov | 21. Lisskov, Peter Alexe- |
| 10. Prelovsky | witch |
| 11. Olunin, Porfiriy | 22. Rechotchev, Ivan Grigo- |
| 12. Varakin, Peter | riewitch |
| 13. Tchertov, Gavriil | 23. Rumin, Andrey Ivano- |
| 14. Edemskyi Dimitri | witch |
| 15. Okunev, Michail Alev- | 24. Gorontcharovsky, Egor |
| androvich | witch |
| 16. Bysov, Ivan Andiarno- | 25. Padorin, Ivan Petro- |
| vitch | witch |
| | 26. Martushev, Vasily |
| | Illitch |

ANNEX (B).

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Colonel Mikheieff | 6. Captain Salatko-Pet- |
| 2. Captain Matzievsky, | ristheff (5th Regiment) |
| Assistant to Colonel | 7. Lieutenant Evsieff (5th |
| Mikheieff | Regiment) |
| 3. Captain Klave (C. O. of | 8. Lieutenant Novikoff |
| the 1st Battalion) | (5th Regiment) |
| 4. Captain Solovsky (C. O. | 9. 2d Lieutenant Makhnoff |
| of the Battery) | 10. The Regimental Priest, |
| 5. Major Boldyreff (Chief | Sibirseff |
| of the Regimental | |
| Staff) | |

ANNEX NO. I

The representatives of the Soviet Government of Russia and of the British Government appointed to conclude an agreement for an exchange of

Combatant and Civilian prisoners and the repatriation of their respective nationals urge their Governments to carry into effect immediately the clauses of the agreement signed this day, February 12th, 1920, at Copenhagen.

MAXIM LITVINOV.

JAMES O'GRADY.

COPENHAGEN, February 12, 1920.

ANNEX NO. II.

In view of the difficulty of coming to an understanding with regard to British subjects who have been imprisoned for grave offences, we have agreed to sign the agreement in order to expedite the exchange of the prisoners and nationals outside this point of difference, leaving this special point open for further discussion.

JAMES O'GRADY.

MAXIM LITVINOV.

COPENHAGEN, February 18, 1920.

The Esthonian Treaty

ESTHONIA as the party of the first part and Russia as the party of the second part, animated by a firm desire to end the war that had arisen between them, have decided to enter into negotiation and to conclude, as soon as possible, a firm, honorable and just peace, and for this purpose have appointed as their delegates:
For the Government of the Esthonian Democratic Republic:

Jaen Poska, member of the Constituent Assembly,
Ants Piip, member of the Constituent Assembly,
Mait Puuman, member of the Constituent Assembly,
Jaen Soots, Major-General of the General Staff,
and

For the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic:

Adolf Yoffe, member of the Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Soviets of Workers', Peasants, Red Army and Cossack Deputies,
Isidor Gukovski, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat of State Control.

The above mentioned delegates, assembled in Dorpat, after reciprocally presenting their credentials, which have been found to be of the required form and in good order, have agreed on the following:

ARTICLE I.

The war between the signatories to this treaty shall cease from the day this treaty goes into effect.

ARTICLE II.

In accordance with the declaration of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic of the right of nations to self-determination, even as far as a complete severance from the state they were a part of, Russia recognizes the absolute independ-

ence and self-existence of the Esthonian state, renouncing voluntarily and forever all sovereign rights that Russia held, according to laws of the state and international treaties, over the Esthonian people and land, which shall be forever null and void.

All obligations on the part of the Esthonian people toward Russia flowing from their former connection with Russia are terminated.

ARTICLE III.

(1.) The frontier between Esthonia and Russia follows:

From the Gulf of Narva one verst south of Fishermen's house to the village of Ropsha, further up by the Mertwitskaya Rivulet and Rosson River to the village of Ilkino, from Ilkino one verst west of the village of Keikino, one half a verst west of the village of Isvos to the village of Kobylaki, the mouth of the Shchutschka River, the village of Krivaya Luka, the estate of Petchurki, the meeting point of the three branches of the Vtroya River, southern part of village Kuritcheki, together with its lands, the straight line to the middle of Lake Peipus, the middle of Lake Peipus one verst east of Island of Piirisaar (Porka), further by the middle of the strait to the Island of Salu, from the middle of the strait at Salu to the middle of strait between the Islands of Talabsk and Kamenska, west of the village of Poddubye (on the southern shore of Lake Pskov), the railroad watchman's house at the village of Gryadischtsche, west of the village of Shahintsy, east of the village of Novaya, the lake of Poganovo, between the villages of Babina and Vymorsk, one and one half versts south of the forester's house (north of Glybotchina), the village of Sprechtitch and the estate of Kudepi.

Note 1. The frontiers defined in this article are marked with red color on the map in appendix 1 to this article (scale: 3 versts to the inch).

In case of differences between the text and the map the text shall be considered as decisive.

The actual surveying and setting up of frontier marks between the signatories of this treaty shall be carried out by a special mixed frontier commission with an equal number of members from both sides. In surveying inhabited sections traversed by frontier, what sections shall vest in one or the other signatory of this treaty shall be decided by the above mentioned commission, according to the ethnographical, economic or local conditions of such sections.

(2.) The Esthonian territory east of the Narova River, the Narova River and the Islands of Narova River, as well as the whole zone south of Lake Pskov, between the above mentioned frontier and the line of villages of Borok-Smokny-Belkova-Sprechtitch, shall be considered a neutral military zone until January 1, 1922.

The Esthonian state shall not keep any military forces in the neutral zone, except such forces as

are necessary for frontier duties and for preserving order, and only in such numbers as defined in appendix II of this article. The Esthonian state shall not construct forts and observation posts, shall not establish stores with any military or technical supplies, except such stores as are necessary for the maintenance of the forces permitted by this treaty, and shall not establish bases and stores for any ships or aerial forces.

(3.) Russia shall not keep military forces in the direction of Pskov west of the line described by: the west bank of the mouth of the Velikaya River; the village of Sivtseva; the village of Luhnova; the village of Samulina; the village of Shalki and the village of Sprechtitch; except such forces as are necessary for frontier duty and for preserving order, and not in larger numbers than defined by appendix II of this article.

(4.) The signatories of this treaty shall not keep armed ships on the Lakes of Peipus and Pskov.

APPENDIX I.

(Map.)

APPENDIX II.

Both signatories are bound:

1. To withdraw their forces in district between the Gulf of Finland and the mouth of the Schuchka River to the frontier on their territory in 28 days from the day of ratification of peace treaty.

2. To withdraw within their territories their military forces together with all supply stores and property from neutral zones where they cannot be kept, according to art. III, sec. 2 and 3 of this treaty, except the forces and supply stores necessary for frontier duties and for the maintenance of order, in 42 days from the day of ratification of this treaty.

3. To withdraw in 42 days from the day of ratification of this treaty, all armed vessels on the Lakes of Peipus and Pskov, as the art. III, sec. 4 of this treaty demands, or to dismount all guns, torpedo appliances, and devices for the laying of mines and to remove all stores of ammunition from these vessels.

4. To maintain in neutral zones, where the military forces cannot be kept, during the first six months after the ratification of this treaty, 40 men, and after that period, 30 on every verst of state frontier. It is permitted to construct barbed wire fences on the frontier. For the maintenance of internal order there shall not be more than five hundred men in every neutral zone.

5. To keep on Lakes of Peipus and Pskov only coast guard vessels, which can be armed only with 47 millimeter guns and machine guns, two 47 millimeter guns and two machine guns on every vessel, while the number of such vessels shall not be more than five.

ARTICLE IV.

The persons of non-Esthonian origin over the age of 18, living on Esthonian territory shall have the right of option of Russian citizenship during one year from the ratification of this treaty, the father's citizenship being also applicable to the children under 18 years of age, and to the wife, if there exist no special agreement on this matter between husband and wife. The persons selecting Russian citizenship must leave the Esthonian territory in one year from the day the option is filled, but such persons retain the right to movable property and have the right to take such property with them. The persons of Esthonian origin

living on Russian territory have the same right of option of Esthonian citizenship during the same period and under the same conditions.

The governments of both signatories shall have the right to deny citizenship to above mentioned persons.

Note. In cases of doubt, persons are considered to be of Esthonian origin when their names, or the names of their parents, appear in the communal birth records or in the birth records of other institutions.

ARTICLE V.

If the permanent neutrality of Esthonia is recognized internationally, Russia is bound to recognize this neutrality and participate in the results of the maintenance of such neutrality.

ARTICLE VI.

In case of the international neutralization of the Gulf of Finland both signatories of this treaty shall join this neutralization on conditions worked out by all the parties interested in such neutralization, and defined by corresponding international acts. They shall also shape their naval forces or part of them, as may be determined by above mentioned international agreement.

ARTICLE VII|

Both signatories are bound:

1. To prohibit the maintenance of any armies, besides the armies of the government, and the armies of friendly powers that have made a military agreement (convention) with one of the signatories, but who do not wage actual war against the other signatory of this treaty. They are also bound to prohibit all assemblages and mobilization of persons on their territories by such states with the intent to wage armed war against the other signatory of this treaty.

2. To disarm the army units and naval forces on their territories that were not subject to their governments as of October 1, 1919; to neutralize and demobilize before January 1, 1922, all army and navy equipment, artillery and quartermaster's supplies (except provisions and raw materials), of engineering and aeronautics, such as guns, machine guns, rifles, ammunition, aeroplanes, armored automobiles, tanks, armored trains and other military property that belong to above mentioned army units or naval forces, except such military property and technical appliances that belong to signatories of this treaty or to other states and were loaned to the above mentioned armies and forces; the property and supplies that belong to other states must be transported away in six months from the day of ratification of this treaty. The disarming of the above-mentioned army and naval forces, as well as the demobilization and neutralization of the military stores and the whole property of the army that is not controlled by the government, must be terminated: the first 30 per cent. of all army and navy forces and properties, subject to disarming, neutralization and demobilization, in seven days from

the day of ratification of this treaty, later, in every following week—35 per cent of all mentioned forces and properties.

3. To prohibit the soldiers and commanding personnel of armies, not subject to the government, who are to be disarmed, according to sect. 2 of this article, to enter the government armies of the participants of this treaty in any capacity, including volunteers, except the following persons:

a) The persons of Esthonian nationality, living outside of Esthonian territory, but who select Esthonian citizenship;

b) The persons of non-Esthonian nationality who have resided until May 1, 1919, on Esthonian territory, but who do not select the Russian citizenship;

c) The persons of non-Esthonian nationality who do not select the Russian citizenship, but had served in the Esthonian army until November 22, 1919.

The persons mentioned in sub-sections a, b and c have the right to enter the Esthonian army.

4. a) To prohibit the states, who wage war against the other signatory, and organizations and groups aiming at armed war against the other signatory of this treaty, from using its ports, and territory for the transportation of anything that might be used to attack the other signatory of this treaty, such as: armed forces, military equipment, appliances and supplies of military nature, supplies of artillery, engineering and aeronautics of the above-mentioned states, organizations and groups.

b) To prohibit, except in cases foreseen in international law, the passage through, or stationing in its territorial waters, of any war vessels, gunboats or torpedo-boats, that belong to organizations or groups intending to wage armed war against the other signatory of this treaty, or to states that are in a state of war with the other signatory, if the intention of these vessels is to attack the other signatory, and if such an intention has become known to the signatory to whom the territorial waters and ports belong.

5. To prohibit the residence on its territory of any organizations or groups who pretend to be the government of the whole or a part of the territory of the other signatory of this treaty, to prohibit also the residence on its territory of the representatives and officials of such organizations and groups which intend to overthrow the government of the other signatory of this treaty.

6. The governments of the signatories of this treaty are bound to submit to each other, at the time of exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, all facts concerning: the positions of the armies which are not subject to their governments, their stores (movable and stationary) and their military and technical equipment, which were at the time of termination of military operations, i.e. December 31, 1919, on their territory.

7. For the supervision of the execution of all military guarantees, a mixed commission shall be established, the personnel, rights and duties of which are defined in the instructions contained in the appendix to this article.

APPENDIX.

Instructions to the mixed commission to be established, according to art. III, sec. 7 of this treaty.

1. For the supervision of the execution of all reciprocal military guarantees, as defined in art. VII, a mixed commission of the representatives of both signatories shall be established.

2. Four persons from both parties compose the commission, namely: the chairman, two military representatives, and one naval representative.

3. The duty of the commission shall be the actual supervision of the execution of all terms, defined in art. VII, sec. 2, as stated in following sections of this instruction.

Remark. The information, according to art. VII, sec. 3, shall be given to the commission for the adjustment of the differences that may arise, between the respective governments.

4. The commission shall receive from the respective governments or from the local organs of those governments all necessary information concerning the terms of military guarantees.

5. In order to ascertain the facts in the matter of the execution of military guarantees, the commission has the right to verify their information in localities, as stated in sec. 4, and, if necessary, to proceed to these localities and examine everything stated in art. VII, sec. 2.

6. For the maintenance of unrestricted intercourse between the members of the commission and their government, a direct telegraphic connection (Hughes apparatus) shall be established between Wessenberg, the headquarters of the commission, and Petrograd and Moscow. The headquarters of the commission on Russian territory shall be in Pskov, and a direct telegraphic connection with Reval shall be established. These representatives have also the right to send out telegrams and couriers without hindrance. The communications sent by telegraph or courier shall have the status of diplomatic correspondence.

7. The commission shall make a general report (Estonian and Russian) of the results of its work and its decisions, which shall be submitted to the respective governments.

8. If the commission has fulfilled its duties, as defined in sect. 3 of this instruction, and has finished the actual supervision, in the order prescribed by sec. 5 of this instruction, the activities of the commission shall be considered ended, but not before one month has elapsed from the day the respective governments have announced that the terms of the military guarantees, over which the commission had jurisdiction, have been fulfilled. Both governments may agree to prolong the existence of the commission.

ARTICLE VIII.

Both participants to this treaty reciprocally renounce all claims to the payment of military expenditures, i.e. state expenditures spent in conducting war, as well as claims of war losses, caused by the military operations against them or their citizens, including all requisitions undertaken on enemy territory.

ARTICLE IX.

Prisoners of war on both sides must be transported to their respective countries as soon as

possible. The order of exchange of war prisoners will be defined in the appendix to this Article.

Remark 1. Prisoners of war are the persons captured and not serving in the army of the state that has captured them.

Remark 2. Prisoners of war captured by the armies not under the control of the government and who do not serve in the ranks of these armies shall be transported back under general provisions.

APPENDIX.

1. Prisoners of war shall be permitted to go to their respective countries, as long as they do not wish to remain, with the consent of the government of the territory on which they live, within its boundaries, or to go to other countries.

2. The dates of the exchange of prisoners of war shall be agreed upon by the respective governments after the ratification of peace treaty.

3. When the prisoners of war are liberated they shall receive back their personal property which has been confiscated by the order of the government that captured them, as well as the unpaid and unaccounted portions of their salary.

4. Each signatory of this treaty agrees to repay the expenses which its former adversary had borne in maintaining its captured citizens to an extent such as these expenses have not been compensated by the work of prisoners of war in government or private enterprises. The repayment shall be made in the currency of the state that had made the capture.

Remark. The expenses of maintaining prisoners of war consists of expenditures on their food, clothing and other provisions.

5. Prisoners of war shall be transported to the frontier by echelons at the expense of the state that has captured them. The transfer shall be executed according to a prepared list on which is stated the first name, the name of the father, and the family of the prisoner; the time of his capture; and the army unit the prisoner served in when captured. It must also state in the record whether the prisoner has been punished during the time of his confinement for criminal offences, and, if so, for what offences and when.

6. Immediately after the ratification of the peace treaty a commission composed of representatives from both sides, for the exchange of prisoners of war shall be established. The duty of this commission shall be the supervision of the execution of the terms as stated in this appendix, the determination of the ways and means of transporting the prisoners of war to their countries, also the fixing of the amount of expenditures of prisoners of war transported home, according to the reports submitted by respective parties at the time of exchange of the war prisoners.

ARTICLE X.

Simultaneously with the transportation home of prisoners of war and interned civilians both signatories shall pardon them of offences that were committed in the interests of the enemy and imposed upon them by court decisions, as well as of all disciplinary punishments.

Persons who have committed the above mentioned offences and the disciplinary offences after this treaty is signed are not subject to this amnesty.

Prisoners of war and interned civilians convicted for offences not subject to this amnesty, before the ratification of this treaty, or after it, but not later than within one year after the ratification, shall be deported to their countries after they have served the sentence imposed.

Those who have been indicted for offences, not subject to this amnesty, shall be delivered to the officials of their country, together with all evidence of the crimes they are accused of, if the court decision has not been pronounced within one year from the day of ratification of this treaty.

ARTICLE XI.

Russia renounces all claims to former Russian money, property, and real estate, and all claims to compensation for the above mentioned property, whatever that property is, including military and other edifices, forts, harbors, vessels of every description, including warships, cargoes, etc., as well as claims to all kinds of former Russian rights over money, property, and real estate of private persons, provided the above mentioned property is located on Esthonian territory, or was so located at the time of the German occupation, i.e. on February 24, 1918; also claims to vessels, including warships that have come thereto during the German occupation, or have been seized during the war between Esthonia and Russia by the Esthonian or other naval forces, and given to Esthonia. All the above mentioned property is declared to be the sole property of Esthonia, free from all obligations from the 15th day of November, 1917, or, if Russia had acquired it later, from the day of such acquisition.

Esthonia shall acquire all financial claims of the Russian state against Esthonian citizens, if these claims are to be fulfilled on Esthonian territory, but only as far as these claims are not liquidated by counter-claims of the debtors.

The Russian Government shall give over the documents and acts that affirm the rights mentioned in this section to the Esthonian Government, but in case this is not done within six months after the ratification of this treaty, they are declared null and void.

Esthonia, on its part, shall not press any claims against Russia based on its former alliance with the Russian empire.

ARTICLE XII.

Without taking into account the agreements mentioned in art. XI.

1. Russia shall give Esthonia 15,000,000 roubles in gold, eight millions of which shall be delivered in one month and the remaining seven millions in two months from the day of the ratification of this treaty.

2. Esthonia shall not bear the responsibilities of Russian debts or any other obligations, including the responsibilities created by the issuance of paper money, state treasury notes, obligations, the series and certificates of the Russian Treasury, the guarantees of internal and foreign loans, the guarantees of loans of various institutions and enterprises, and all such claims of the creditors of Russia, in matters concerning Esthonia, shall be directed to Russia.

3. In regard to the compensation for bonds of

the Russian Government or for bonds guaranteed by that government, or for private bonds issued by societies and institutions which have been nationalized by the Russian Government; all those bonds which are circulated within the Esthonian boundaries, including claims of Esthonian citizens against the Russian Treasury, Russia shall recognize as belonging to Esthonia and Esthonian citizens, also all franchises, rights and privileges granted, or to be granted, to foreign states, to their citizens, societies and institutions.

Remark. The claim of Esthonian citizens against the branches of banks on Esthonian territory that were nationalized by Decree on Nationalization by the Central Executive Committee (Code of Laws, No. 10) on December 14, 1917, if such claims originated before the issuing the above mentioned decree, shall be considered as claims against Russian treasury, in so far as these claims can not be covered by the property that had remained in the possession of these branches.

4. The Russian Government shall deliver to Esthonia and shall give over to the Esthonian Government the property, including libraries, archives, school appliances, documents and other articles that belong to Dorpat University, as well as to all institutions of education and science, to governmental or social institutions that are, or were, located on Esthonia territory; also all documents, archives and other articles of scientific or historical value to Esthonia, insofar as the above-mentioned documents, etc., are in, or may come into, possession of the Russian Government, or its governmental or social institutions.

5. The Russian Government shall deliver back to Esthonia valuables of all kind, except gold and precious stones, bonds and valuable documents, such as: obligations, bills of exchange, etc., that were evacuated or removed from Esthonian territory by the government or institutions or by private or other organizations including educational institutions, if the Esthonian government officials give information as to the location of these valuables. If such information is not given, or if the given information does not lead to their discovery, the Russian Government shall recognize as the owners of these bonds and others articles, in the execution of the terms mentioned in sec. 3 of this article, the persons who submit sufficient proof that the bonds and other articles belonging to them were evacuated during the war. For this purpose a special mixed commission shall be established.

6. The Russian Government shall be bound to give the Esthonian Government all instruction and information in the execution of the terms mentioned in sect. 3, 4 and 5 of this treaty and every assistance in the discovery of the property, articles, archives, documents, etc., that are to be transmitted. All questions arising in connection with these matters shall be settled by a special commission into which an equal number of members from both sides enter.

ARTICLE XIII.

Russia declares that the franchises, rights, and privileges given to Esthonia and to its citizens by this peace treaty can not, in any case and under any circumstances, be considered as precedents in the making of peace treaties by Russia with other states which have arisen on the territory of the former Russian empire; on the other hand if, in making such peace treaties the above-mentioned states, they or their citizens are granted special franchises, rights or privileges, such franchises, rights and privileges shall also be extended immediately and without special agreements to Esthonia and Esthonian citizens.

ARTICLE XIV.

The settlement of questions of public and special rights that arise between the citizens of signatories of this treaty, as well as the settlement of specific questions between both states, or the states and the citizens of the other signatory, shall be performed by special Esthonian and Russian mixed commissions, which shall be established immediately after the ratification of this treaty. The composition, rights and duties of every such commission shall be decided and defined by both signatories of this treaty.

Under the jurisdiction of these commissions, among other matters, are the following:

1. The concluding of commercial agreements, also the settlement of questions of economic nature;

2. The settlement of questions that arise from the acts of former institutions of justice, of administrative archives and expeditions, of court or administrative deposits and of acts regarding the civil estate;

3. The settlement of questions that arise in connection with delivering the property of Esthonian citizens in Russia and Russian citizens in Esthonia, also the settlement of questions connected with the guarding of the interests of the citizens of one of the signatories in the country of the other;

4. The settlement of questions that arise in connection with the matters of property of the communes separated in the establishment of frontiers.

ARTICLE XV.

Diplomatic and consular communication between Esthonia and Russia shall be arranged on a date to be decided upon in a future agreement.

ARTICLE XVI.

Economic relations between Esthonia and Russia are defined in the appendix to this article.

APPENDIX I.

1. The signatories of this treaty agree that simultaneously with the conclusion of peace the economic war between them shall cease.

2. The participants agree to begin as soon as possible after the ratification of this treaty, negotiations for the conclusion of commercial agreements that are based upon the following principles:

a) Favorable treatment on the territory of one of the signatories to be accorded to the citizens of the other signatory, their commercial, industrial and financial enterprises and associations, their ships and cargoes, the products of the soil, of farms and industry, and also export of goods to the territory of the other signatory of this treaty;

b) No custom duties nor tariff taxes shall be levied on goods to be transported over the territory of the other signatory of this treaty;

c) Freight rates in either country shall not be higher than rates for local transportation of goods of the same nature over the same distance.

Remark. Until a commercial agreement is made commercial relations between Esthonia and Russia shall be arranged according to the principles stated here.

3. Esthonia shall provide Russia in Reval or in some other Esthonian port, where free ports are established, with areas and places, as large as the volume of Russian trade requires, for trans-shipping, storing and transfer of goods coming from Russia or to be transported thereto, and the charges on such areas and places shall not be higher than the charges paid by its own citizens for the same kind of accommodations of goods in transit.

4. The signatories shall not submit demands for privileges that one party may give to a third country, being in custom or any other union with it.

5. In case of the death of a citizen of one of the signatories, on territory of the other signatory, his movable property shall be given over entirely to the consular or other similar representative of his country for administration according to laws and rules of his country.

APPENDIX II.

1. The artificial diversion of water from Lakes Peipus and Pskov that causes the lowering of the average level of water over one foot, also enterprises which tend to raise the average level of water in these lakes over one foot, may be permitted only by a special agreement between Esthonia and Russia.

2. A special agreement between the participants shall be made regarding the fishing on Lakes Peipus and Pskov with devices that do not decrease the quantity of fish, also regarding the commercial fleet on above mentioned lakes.

APPENDIX III

1. Esthonia grants Russia the right to obtain electrical power by the exploitation of the waterfalls of the Narova River, provided that the compensation to be paid Esthonia and other conditions shall be defined in a special agreement.

2. Russia grants Esthonia the right to construct and exploit a direct one or two track railway, connecting Moscow with some point on the Esthonian frontier, together with means for the preliminary surveys and construction provided the duration of the concession, the right to purchase the railway before the terms of the concession end, and other conditions shall be defined in a special agreement.

3. Russia grants Esthonia rights over a million dessyatines of forest in the governments of Petrograd, Pskov, Tver, Novgorod, Olonetz, Vologda and Archangel on conditions to be defined in a special agreement.

ARTICLE XVII]

Both signatories are reciprocally bound to apply all possible means to secure movements of merchant ships in their waters, giving the necessary pilots at passages, keeping lighthouses in order, setting up the necessary marks, sweeping the waters of mines, applying special devices in limiting the mine fields, etc.

Both sides express a willingness to participate in the clearing of the Baltic Sea of mines, which shall be performed according to special agreement between the interested parties; in case this is not done the degree of participancy of both sides shall be determined by the court of arbitration.

ARTICLE XVIII.

The rights and privileges given by this treaty and its appendices to Esthonia and its citizens are applicable also to rural, district, municipal, social, beneficial, church, ecclesiastical and educational institutions, also to all kinds of juridical persons.

ARTICLE XIX.

In the interpretation of this treaty both texts—the Esthonian and Russian—shall be considered authentic.

ARTICLE XX.

This treaty must be ratified. The exchange of

the documents of ratification must take place in Moscow, as soon as possible.

The treaty of peace shall take effect from the moment of ratification.

Everywhere in this treaty where the moment of ratification is mentioned as the effective date of its terms, it is understood that the date designated is that upon which the signatories reciprocally acknowledge the fact of the ratification.

In confirmation of the above, the delegates of both parties have attached their signatures and seals to this treaty.

The original made and written in two copies in Dorpat, on the 2nd day of February, 1920.

(Signed)	J. POSKA	J. GUKOVSKI.
	A. PIIP	A. YOFFE
	M. PUUMAN	
	J. SELJAMAA	
	J. SOOTS	

Radios

WORK OF REORGANIZATION

[All over Russia the work of reconstruction is being pushed with a will. Even holidays and Saturday afternoons are devoted to voluntary labor by workers of all branches. Thus, May 1, which New York newspapers would have us believe is this year to be a Soviet "propaganda and sedition" day, is set aside by the Soviets—for work. Persons who get excited about the wickedness the Soviets are alleged to plan for May 1 should not forget that this holiday was established by the Paris Labor Congress of 1889, on the motion of American labor delegates.]

Moscow, March 12.—The railroad workers at one of the stations on the Perm railroad have decided to work 12 hours a day without extra pay for overtime. They are thus sacrificing all their leisure time in order to aid in averting a traffic crisis.

A great brick manufacturing plant is being set up in Daritban. It is to be large enough to supply the needs of the entire Volga district. It is calculated that production may begin in the spring.

A new decree has been issued by virtue of which all railroad workers who are now occupied at work in various institutions are recalled from their present situations to be again set to work on the railroads. In this way it will be possible to add to the railroad personnel an entire staff of employees who are especially well qualified. Among those who are occupied with other work are a number of first class railroad functionaries and engineers.

The reorganization of the Soviet power at Rostov includes a reopening of the schools. Most are already in full operation and the university is to open in the immediate future.

The typhus epidemic at Moscow is constantly decreasing as a consequence of the severe regulations passed by the Sanitary Commission. The number of new cases is about 50 per cent. less than at the same time last year.

The work in electrifying the Russian industry is now well under way. Many provincial cities already have their own electric plants.

The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party has decided to transform the festivities of the 1st of May into an All-Russian Work Day. *Pravda* in this connection states: "The enthusiastic support of intensive labor at this moment plays a role in the battle for Communism and for a brighter future that can be compared with the role played by May 1 under capitalism. The slogan of Soviet Russia is now 'intensive labor.'"

The Trade Union of Metal Workers has suggested to all factories and factory committees a discussion at public meetings of the form to be assumed by future trade organizations. This is to be the chief subject of discussion at the All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions to be held April 5. At this meeting all the workers thus will be enabled to take part in the discussion of all questions connected with economic reconstruction.

THE PUTILOV PLANT

Moscow, March 9 (Radio)—The Putilov works which for quite a time had been rebuilt for the production and reconstruction of railroad material, have not only accomplished the schedule work assigned to them for the month of February, but surpassed it. A 50 per cent. larger production was demanded for the month of February than for January. The surplus production was 65 per cent.

WAR ON FAMINE, NOT ON POLAND

Moscow, March 12.—People's Commissar Trotsky is at present in the Urals, organizing a Worker's Army. This fact by itself is sufficient to answer any question concerning alleged plans of aggression against Poland. We are preparing an offensive against famine, against cholera and typhus. But we are maintaining a defensive on all other fronts.

The Soviet Government on December 23, 1919, offered to open peace negotiations with Poland and expressed its wish to adjust all questions between the two countries in an amicable manner. The Soviet Government in the declaration of the People's Commissar dated January 30, solemnly stated its recognition of the independence of Poland, repeated its peace proposal, simultaneously indicating with precision the line of advance beyond which the Soviet troops would not go. In its declaration of February 2, the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Republic confirmed this political attitude toward Poland. For two and a half months the Polish Government has neglected to answer our peace proposal. Official Polish papers and political circles in close contact with the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs are demanding as a condition of peace a Polish boundary that would constitute a permanent military threat to Soviet Russia and to the Ukraine, as well as involve a national suppression of the Lithuanians, White Russians and Ukrainians and an economic exploitation of ten million peasants to the advantage of a handful of landed proprietors. Simultaneously the Polish army occupies an offensive and threatening position with regard to the Ukrainian Republic. The Soviet Governments of Russia and Ukraine, through their respective Commissars for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin and Rakovsky, take the liberty to admonish the Polish Government, as well as the Allied Governments, that it is their duty to open peace negotiations.

ZINOVIEV ON THE LABOR ARMY

Moscow, (via Vienna).—Speaking of changing the seventh Soviet army into a labor army, Zinoviev has remarked: "We know what we do. We cannot demobilize the army because the war is not yet over, and besides the most resolute measures are required for an effective struggle against the general destruction. How long we shall be compelled to keep the labor army is hard to say, and any guarantees in regard to an early dissolution of the army are impossible to give. In any event, the labor army will exist as such at least for a couple of years. An iron discipline is above all necessary. We will by degrees mobilize two millions of men for work. The objects of the labor army will be: breaking up peat; the restoration of the transportation system; planting and harvesting potatoes; the electrification of power in Russia; cleaning, repairing, starting of factories and technical institutions."

ON THE BLOODLESS FRONT

Moscow, March 12.—In connection with a statement made by a well-known writer concerning the call sent out by the Soviet Government to struggle for the reconstruction of the provisions system and the system of ways and communications, it is now reported that this call has not been without effect. It "broke the ice" and filled the broad masses of the working people with the certainty of victory. The first advances redoubled our energy on this "bloodless front."

The Section for Safety Devices of the Commissariat of Labor has elaborated a plan for organizing the various institutions for experimental investigations of labor problems, with the object of increasing production. It is intended to establish laboratories for physiological and psychological investigations connected with the work in shops and factories. The plan has been elaborated by a committee appointed by the Section for Safety Devices under the chairmanship of the well-known Professor Granovsky.

TWELVE HOURS FOR SOCIALISM

Moscow, March 3.—*Krasnaya Gazeta* states that the third automobile factory at Petrograd has established a twelve-hour working day. On account of this, the paper states, "At more and more industrial institutions the workers have volunteered to work twelve hours of the day. During the Czarist regime they would have refused to do this, since they would not have gained any advantage by doing so. The situation is now different. To prevent the return of the mournful past they are prepared to exert all their energies. The workers at the automobile factories are conscious that not only must the automobiles be turned out in good condition, but that their efforts are also aiding the cause of Socialism."

SANITARY RECONSTRUCTION

Moscow, March 3.—The second All Russian Congress of the Union of Physicians is now discussing the relation between the union and the People's Commissariat for Sanitation. A letter from the People's Commissar for Sanitation was read, giving the aim of the Sanitary system of the Soviets, during the Socialist reconstruction period, under which the health institutions must direct their energies toward relieving the conditions of the workers. The protection of the health of the worker must be the worker's own task. The People's Commissar for Sanitation urges a greater unity within the medical forces and the accomplishment of preventive measures on a large scale. It is necessary that private sanitary institutions and organizations be nationalized, as well as convalescent institutions and homes, for the best interests of the whole people. This will at the same time give the workers an opportunity to participate in the solving of this problem.

RUSSIA NEEDS WORKERS

Moscow, March 3.—In regard to the trade exchange with foreign countries, Steklov writes in *Izvestya* that it is highly important for Russia to receive machinery, tools, railroad cars, and locomotives from Western Europe. "Besides, we wish to receive from their countries skilled workers, as technical engineers, trade specialists, and on the whole, clever and practical workers. We need them just as much as we need machinery and tools. Those capitalist countries where industrial chaos and unemployment prevail will be able to supply us with sufficient reserves. There are already now many practical workers in Europe who feel themselves drawn towards Russia. Let us create tolerable living conditions for these workers—and Soviet Russia can do this better than any other country—and in this way we shall succeed in collecting workers for Russia who will be of invaluable use in the work of reorganization, and also in the future development of our economic life.

THE DEATH OF PODBIELSKY

Moscow, Feb. 26 (Delayed).—The People's Commissar for Postal and Telegraphic Affairs, Podbielsky, died yesterday of blood-poisoning. He was one of the most energetic workers of Soviet Russia and one of the country's most able organizers. His revolutionary zeal and enthusiasm were combined with great practical efficiency and organizing talent.

AN APPEAL FOR LABOR

Moscow, (via Vienna).—The Committee on Labor has addressed an appeal to the entire population, in which it emphasizes the necessity of establishing the general obligation to labor. All workers fit for work must be registered and distributed according to trades. As before the war with the enemy, the registration of all forces is necessary. The enemy confronting the people now is disorganization and death, and all forces which can be made into a new army of labor must be conscripted if necessary. Every single Soviet Institution should have its committee on labor. At every factory and every shop, at every mill, in every dwelling house, the factory and dwelling committee must take upon themselves the duties of their position.

SANITATION WEEK IN MOSCOW

Moscow, March 4.—The official authorities at Moscow have taken up an energetic campaign to improve the hygienic conditions in the districts of the city where improvement is most needed. A special week is being planned for this work, which will not be finished before the city is secure against danger of bad sanitation.

THE MOSCOW ELECTIONS

Moscow, Feb. 26, (Delayed).—Among the newly elected members of the Moscow Soviet are Bukharin, editor of *Pravda*, Kalinin, President of the All-Russian Executive Committee and Karl Radek.

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of

SOVIET RUSSIA

Will Contain, Among Other Features, The Following:

1. THE SITUATION IN LITHUANIA, BY V. S. *An authoritative article analyzing present conditions in Lithuania—social, economic and political.*
2. THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA, BY ELEL BEE. *A review of the history and present status of the Russian Co-operatives under the Soviet regime.*
3. KAUTSKY, MEYERBEER AND SOVIET RUSSIA. *An analysis of Kautsky's attitude toward revolutions, past and present.*
4. THE SOVIET LAWS OF MARRIAGE, GUARDIANSHIP AND SOCIAL STATUS. *The first installment of the code of laws dealing with domestic relations in Soviet Russia.*

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The Russian Cooperatives and the Soviets

By ELEE BEE

[The exact status of the Russian cooperatives has become an international issue. The Allied Powers issued a note in January stating that the blockade would be lifted to permit trade with the cooperative organizations. At the same time it was made plain that this involved no dealings whatever with the Russian Government. We print below an analysis of the relation between the cooperatives and the government, in the light of which the impossibility of such a policy is evident.]

EVER since the decision of the Allied Supreme Council on January 14 last, lifting the blockade with Russia as far as trade with Russian cooperative organizations is concerned, the press of America, no less than the press of Europe, has been occupied with the question of the present cooperative position in Russia.

At the present time the co-operative mission from Moscow is nearing London. It is composed of Mr. L. B. Krassin, People's Commissar of Trade and Industry; Mr. V. P. Nogin, Chairman of the Central Textile Board; Mr. L. M. Khinchuk, President of the Council of Labor Cooperatives, and Mr. S. M. Rosovsky, a member of the Governing Board of the All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies, a large staff of technical experts and clerical assistants.

It is rumored that some members of this delegation intend to visit the United States. So far as the interests of future Russo-American business relations are concerned, no effort should be spared to encourage and aid the realization of this intention. The delegation represents the most active and practical men in the Soviet Government of Russia and it would be, indeed, a calamity if they should return to Russia without having

formed a correct impression of the vast resources of America, which is capable of doing yeoman service in the work of Russian industrial reconstruction. In some quarters in the United States the affirmative answer to this demand, which will undoubtedly be made on Washington by the business community of the United States, is predicated on the relationship of the members of this delegation to the Soviet Government of Russia on the one hand and to the Cooperatives of Russia on the other. This relationship in turn can be best explained by examining the relations between the Soviet Government and the Russian cooperative organizations. We are prefixing this inquiry for the sake of clearness with a short account of the history of the cooperatives in Russia.

Though the roots of the Russian cooperative movement go back to the Middle Ages, the modern movement, based upon the principles of the English pioneers, is fifty-five years old. During this time the Russian cooperators have succeeded in reaching the foremost place amongst the nations of the world in developing and applying the Rochdale principles to the solution of the economic problems of the masses. Both in its magnitude and importance, the cooperative movement in Russia

has attained proportions as yet unknown elsewhere.

One of the earliest forms of primitive cooperation amongst the Russians is the *artel* (the word is derived from the Mongolian *artos*). This form of unified activity was known in Russia as early as the fourteenth century. It comprises *artels* of fishermen, woodmen, blacksmiths, masons and the like. Their principle was the execution of work in common, the equal division of the fruits of labor, and joint responsibility.

Modern cooperative *artels* made their first appearance in 1865, owing to the labor of N. V. Vereshchagin, who started on his own estate in the Government of Tver the first cooperative creamery. After the preliminary work by the instructor of the Ministry of Agriculture, V. F. Sokulsky, creamery *artels* began also to grow in Siberia.

Apart from the creamery *artels* stand the organizations of peasant craftsmen, engaged mostly in the production of articles of wood, hardware and agricultural implements. They are mostly located in the Governments of Kazan, Kaluga, Kiev, Moscow, Perm, Tambov, Viatka, Vladimir and Voronezh. They cover such crafts as carpentry cap-making, needle-work, tailoring, metal-work and shoemaking.

Agricultural cooperation began to develop in Russia in the early sixties of the last century. The first society of its kind was formed at Tuksum, in Courland. The organization of cooperative agricultural societies, like all the Russian cooperative movement, received a new impetus from the first Russian Revolution of 1905. The first Union of Agricultural Societies was founded in Livonia, and then followed unions in Esthonia, Poland, Petrograd, South Russia and Siberia.

In 1864 S. Luginin, after a visit to Germany, decided on his return to establish a credit cooperative society in his native village of Rozhdestvenskoye (Government of Kostroma). The credit societies began to grow in number and also to better their organizations. Under the guidance of A. A. Beretti the first credit union was organized at Berdiansk (Government of Kherson) in 1902. The first All-Russian Congress of savings and credit societies was held at Moscow in 1898.

The first democratic Consumers' Society, founded on Rochdale principles, was that organized by the workmen of the Kynovsky factory in the Government of Perm. The movement switched from the Urals to Petrograd in 1870, though some consumers' societies were in existence in the Government of Pskov as early as 1865. The first Congress of Consumers' Societies was held in 1896 at Nizhni-Novgorod.

Since the first Russian Revolution the growth of all the branches of the cooperative movement in Russia has been continuous and in really astounding proportions. It has become now the largest cooperative movement in the world. The figures for January 1, 1918, were as follows:

Cooperative Organizations	Number
Agricultural Organizations	8,500
Consumers' Societies	40,000
Creamery Associations	3,500
Credit Societies	26,500
Village Handicraft Artels.....	1,500
	<hr/>
	80,000

A very important part in this development was played by the All-Russian Cooperative Congresses. The first of these was convened at Moscow in 1908. However, the most interesting work was performed by the Second Congress, held at Kiev in August, 1913. More than 1,300 delegates were present.

On March 25-28, 1917 (old style), the third cooperative congress of all the branches of Russian Cooperators took place in Moscow. Only representations of unions and larger associations were present. Altogether the congress was composed of 600 delegates, from over 250 cooperative organizations.

The Third All-Russian Congress decided to form a permanent Council of All-Russian Cooperative Congresses, one of whose functions would be to call national and local conferences and congresses. The council, at the same time, is the center of all the Russian Cooperative Movement, representing it everywhere and looking after its interests. All the members of the council were elected by the congress and the headquarters were fixed at Moscow.

The activities of the council are detailed in the constitution and by-laws adopted by the Third All-Russian Cooperative Congress. This is the center from which all the new ideas and practical suggestions on the methods and practice of Russian cooperation as a whole must originate. It is the leading spirit of the movement, the executive of the decisions made by the cooperative congresses, the designer of methods for their realization. The council works out model constitutions and by-laws, advises any cooperative organization on all matters of business, watches and guards the development of cooperative organizations, and assists the growth of new cooperative forms of activity. The council also studies all questions affecting cooperation both from scientific and practical points of view and thus is concerned with research of a general economic, statistical and sociological nature.

The cooperative organization for collecting raw materials and for their marketing abroad is both ample and serviceable. Nearest to the producer stands a group of central cooperative federations organized for the marketing of agricultural products. The oldest is the Central Association of Flax Growers. Next come the Central Union of Fruit and Vegetable Growers, "Kustarsbyt" (manufacturers of cottage industries), "The Cooperative Grain" (cereals), the Creamery Union (butter, cheese), the "Cooperative Egg" (poultry products), and the Union of Hemp Growers. The purchasing organizations are: for producers, the

All-Russian Purchasing Union of Agricultural and Credit Cooperatives; for consumers, the All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies. The financial centre is the Moscow Narodny Bank. All the Boards of Directors of these organizations, the Creamery Union excepted, are in Moscow with affiliated unions throughout Russia.

Some of the federated unions are themselves exporters. Thus the Union of Siberian Cooperative Unions, "Zakupsbyt," stands forth as the principal fur exporter from Siberia. There are 80,000 cooperative societies with over 30,000,000 members in Russia today.

The turnover of the Cooperative Credit Associations in Russia is equal to six billion rubles per year, the turnover of the Consumers' Societies annually reaches the sum of nine or ten billion rubles, and the Producers' branch has an annual turnover slightly larger than that of the Consumers'.

As long ago as 1912, the Russian cooperatives entered the field of foreign trade. In that year, cooperatively-produced butter marketed abroad by the cooperatives appeared in London. At the present time, the Russian cooperative organizations represented in London are ten in number. The various central unions opened foreign offices and agencies also in New York, Paris, Constantinople, Stockholm, Christiania, Copenhagen, Helsingfors, Warsaw, Berlin, Marseilles, Harbin, Shanghai, Kobe, Yokohama and Hankow. The All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies has in addition branches in Northern Persia and throughout Mongolia. The Moscow Narodny Bank has a branch in London and an agency in New York. All the ports of Russia, such as Archangel, Murmansk, Vladivostok, Novorossaysk, Rostov-on-Don, Odessa, and Petrograd have branch offices of the Moscow Narodny Bank and of the principal cooperative unions.

Thus we see that by the time the proletariat seized power in Russia, the cooperatives there had become the principal economic factor of distribution and agricultural production. This position of the cooperatives had to be coordinated with that of the government, which had proclaimed and was actually inaugurating the socialist program. The cooperative leaders were faced with the problem of adapting their system, designed to resist the encroachments of capitalists on the economic rights of the masses, to the new role of aiding in the establishment of socialist methods of production and distribution. Lenin, as far back as December, 1918, formally called upon the cooperatives of Russia to join in this work:

"The Soviets," he said, "have arrived at the period of reconstruction, when the efforts of all the laboring classes are required, and the experience and knowledge of the cooperative organizations especially may prove a valuable support for their task. It has for a long time been the aim of the Soviet Government to call on all the co-

operative forces to join in the work of restoration of the economic life of the country, which aim it is attempting to carry out now."

The call was not heeded by the leaders of the Russian cooperatives. Bound by personal and social sympathies to the opposition political parties of Russia, having been high officials in many counter-revolutionary governments of Russia, they have been slow to respond to the exhortation of the leader of Russian laboring masses. As a result, instead of voluntary coordination, there came compulsory legislation designed to bring the cooperative system in line with the economic development of the socialized state.

Once again Lenin applies his now famous tactics of forcing his opponents to admit the logical consequences of their assertions and their conduct. At the same time, this policy tended to sharpen the social differences and to distinguish the proletarian sheep from the bourgeois wolf. In 1913 the membership of the Russian cooperative organizations comprised 85.8 per cent of peasants, 6.7 per cent of workers and 7.5 per cent of middle class elements. In 1918, these averages changed to 47 per cent of peasants, 45 per cent of workers and 8 per cent of middle classes. There lay Lenin's opportunity. A great propaganda campaign was begun insisting on the differentiation of the labor cooperatives. In 1918 a congress of labor cooperatives in Moscow decided to form a Central Council of Labor Cooperatives, with the same functions and duties as those of the All-Russian Council of Cooperative Congresses described above. For the time being it was thought wise to remain, so far as the business operations went, a part of the All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies. The latter offered the labor cooperatives four places out of twelve on the membership of its Governing Board. By the spring of 1919, however, the labor cooperatives formed the "Union of Business Sections of Labor Cooperatives," called for short "Centrosection." The labor members withdrew from the board of the All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies and the separation of the labor cooperatives from the others became an accomplished fact.

These labor cooperatives, from the start, were entirely sympathetic to, and worked in accord with, the Soviet Government. There remained the cooperative organizations, controlled by the old leaders, and these were the object of the legislation which we shall now carefully review. On April 11, 1918, a decree regulating the consumers' cooperative organizations was issued. There were to be only two consumers' cooperative organizations within an area designated by the local Council of Workmen and Soldiers Deputies, one Labor Consumers' Society, another for all the other classes of the Community. If there were more than one consumers' society, of the two types permitted by the decree, these had to combine with one of the

two above groups. The two remaining societies were brought into the structure of Soviet administration by the appointment of a special commissar on the Board of Directors in these societies. Furthermore, special cooperative sections were formed at the local Soviets of Workmen and Peasant Deputies. The cooperative stores, along with the private stores, were named "Soviet stores."

After five months of struggle the commissars in the cooperative societies found themselves powerless and the cooperative sections in the local Soviets were controlled to a large extent by the old cooperative element. Another decree, of November 29, 1918, was then issued, in order to remedy this anomaly. It was ordered that only persons entitled to vote at the Soviet elections would henceforth be entitled to vote at the election of cooperative Boards of Directors. With the enactment of this last law, the legislation concerning the individual cooperative societies was completed. The Soviet Government now had to deal with the larger question of incorporating these societies in the general structure of the new administrative order. This was done by a decree of March 20, 1919. The decree aimed at laying the foundation for a state machinery of distribution, making use of the existing distributive stores, with a view, in the words of the decree, "of utilizing the experience accumulated by distributive cooperation in the interests of the whole of the laboring population."

The decree provided for the association of all existing distributive stores in every locality into a communal organization. As a basis for this organization a labor society was formed in every rural distributive store. The distributing communes is entrusted and to a controlling council elected by the voters entitled to a vote in the election of the members of the Soviets. The local communes are federated into district, provincial and region unions, and the provincial delegates are charged with the election of the central body—the "Centrosyuz."

This communal organization is charged with the distribution of food and indispensable commodities. It has taken over the assets of all the distributing stores, whether cooperative or not. The payments made by the former members of cooperative stores on their shares were returned to them. All the employees of the cooperative societies became civil servants. This step made the distributing cooperatives of Russia the Department for Distribution of the Soviet Government. The final step, however, was taken on January 30, 1920, when the agricultural cooperative organizations of the producers were brought into the system. A new Central Cooperative Board was created, comprising delegates from all the central cooperative organizations of producers, the labor cooperatives and the consumers' communes. As a result the cooperative organizations became a sort of branch of the Supreme Economic Council

public, charged with the collection of products and the distribution of consumer goods and agricultural supplies. The Moscow Narodny Bank, the Russian cooperatives. By December 6, 1918, it was made a public bank of the Russian Socialist Republic. Its funds were incorporated into the People's Bank; the shares were cancelled; and the sums paid up on the shares were credited to the current accounts of the shareholders. The board was still composed of former shareholders, now depositors, and its operations were subject to approval by the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Socialist Republic. Its new title reads: "People's Bank, Section of the People's Bank." It is still to discuss the question of changes in the cooperative structure of the Russian Republic in conformity with cooperative principles and the economic laws of the proletarian administration of public ownership of the means of distribution. There has been manifest of late a clear tendency on the part of some of the Russian cooperative leaders to take the measures of the Soviet Government towards them at their superficial face value. These measures, in fact, did interfere with the existing structure of the cooperative organizations and therefore "the cooperators are anti-Bolshevik to the very extent to which the Bolshevik are anti-cooperators." This statement is a mere platitude, based on absolute ignorance of the situation. That most of the cooperative leaders are anti-Bolshevik is true, but is it true that the Bolshevik are anti-cooperative? It should be borne in mind that opposing the present leaders of Russian cooperatives does not mean opposing the cooperative principle. If the aim of the leading cooperators in Russia has become "safeguarding the self-activity and independence of cooperation," as A. V. Merkulov, of the All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies, said at the Cooperative Conference at Moscow, held in September, 1919, under any circumstances that may arise, this simply means that the leaders of the Russian cooperatives want to retain their economic machine merely because it is theirs and not because it is the system that will most benefit the Russian masses. If the Soviet statesmen had adopted this point of view, they would have shown poor statecraft and failed in their duty towards their countrymen. Let us then pass on to the consideration of economic laws defining the cooperative activities, and explaining the Soviet legislation in the light of impersonal facts, independent of political jealousies and personal bias.

Mrs. Sidney Webb, in her standard work, *The Cooperative Movement in England* (pp. 225-230), outlines the limits of cooperative expansion. These may be twofold—the conditions of life and the economic nature of the movement. The membership is necessarily bounded by the poverty of the

people and their irregular habits, on the one hand, and their fastidiousness and indifference on the other. On the economic side, "voluntary associations of consumers are practically restricted to the provision of certain articles of personal use, the production of which is not necessarily a monopoly, the consumption of which is not absolutely compulsory, and for which the demand is large and constant." The Soviet Government, by lifting the poorest classes into power and by crushing the wealthy, has removed the first barrier. As a result, the cooperative expansion in Russia became phenomenal. The Ali-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies jumped from 32,000 societies, with a membership of 10,000,000, in 1918, to 46,000 societies, with 15,000,000 members, an increase of 33 per cent in 1919. At the same time the cooperatives were called to undertake the duties of collectors of raw materials and foodstuffs, and distributors of consumers' goods for the whole of Russia's population. Here the Soviet government has expanded their work to a maximum limit of activity that would have been achieved by them, if ever, only after years and years of effort and struggle.

It is difficult to see whence comes the criticism that has been directed against the Bolshevik attitude towards the cooperatives. Our opinion is that it is mostly from the quarters unwilling to see that the standards and tactics of the cooperative movement, as worked out for the capitalist system, cannot be applied in a socialist state. The question that every honest cooperator in Russia has had to answer is this: is cooperation socialistic in its ultimate result or is it not? As Mr. O. T. Schmidt, People's Commissar of Labor, has said: "In issuing the decree the authorities went a long way towards introducing Socialism, believing, as they do, that cooperation is also a socialistic factor." If the Russian cooperators meant to answer this query in the affirmative, they ought to welcome all the decrees accelerating their transformation into organs of the socialized state. Again, if they choose to reply in the negative, they have no cause for complaint, for they were given by the Soviets the whole sphere of activities they could ever have hoped to cover with their work.

Let us finally consider two propositions. After all, the cooperative movement is a movement of small capitalists against big capitalists. There is no room in it for a proletarian. In the final end, then, the combined force of the small capitalists would have to be fought by the proletariat just as fiercely as the power of a few large magnates. The only way out of this situation which is open to the cooperatives is the adoption of a program making the cooperatives an economic weapon of the working class. That is just the position allocated by the Soviets to the cooperatives in Russia.

Again, cooperation does not solve the labor question. It does not vest the power in the hands of

the working class. It does not transfer capital to the producers. Its limited sphere of action does not permit the seizure of all the means of production. It even maintains the old relationship of employer and employe in its organizations. Witness the recent strike of thousands of employes in the English cooperative stores, and frequent labor and office help troubles in the cooperative undertakings in Russia. The labor question, then, would have to be solved in some way other than that offered by the cooperatives. One such way is that advocated by Karl Marx and attempted to be realized by the Soviets in Russia. Russian cooperative leaders might have written a glorious page in the world's history of cooperation by working out the correct principles of the cooperative attitude towards a socialist state in general and by devising in particular the methods of their adaptation to the complete control of consumers' goods, and the production, distribution and collection of agricultural products. They have spurned this opportunity and the honor of this achievement belongs to the Soviet statesmen. The foreign representatives of the Russian cooperatives, now resident abroad, have this opportunity still open to them, and the future alone will determine how they will act in transferring to the state authorities a monopolistic function of foreign trade—a function entirely outside of the scope of the cooperative societies composed of the actual consumers of commodities or services supplied through their former organizations.

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Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK.

IN my last article I tried to explain the significance of the recent aggressive movement of Japan in Eastern Siberia. The occupation of the city of Vladivostok and a series of sanguinary clashes between the Russians and the Japanese produced a considerable confusion in the public opinion of this country.

A certain fear was expressed as to the possibility of the annexation of the Maritime region, as well as of part of Siberia, by militaristic Japan just at the moment when the American troops had completely evacuated that part of Russian territory. The material which I have had in my possession has been mostly short dispatches of Japanese origin, as well as cables from London, the value of which is well-known. Nevertheless I have had opportunity to collect some important information, which, together with my knowledge of the Far East, and of the Japanese in particular,* has facilitated an understanding of the real situation in Eastern Siberia as far as possible, and therefore I stated, without the slightest hesitation, that the Japanese troops *coup d'état* in Vladivostok might be considered as "of local significance, more likely reprisals than a proper military operation" (*Soviet Russia*, No. 16, April 17, 1920).

A careful study of the Russian Siberian newspapers which are anxiously watching each Japanese movement made it quite clear that some of the dispatches referring to the development of military operations in the Far East have been withheld from the American public. This suspicion has been borne out by the facts.

In the New York *Sun* of April 18, there appeared a cable from Vladivostok, of April 11, with a week's delay, in which it was said that the Russian "Provisional Government refuses to conduct any negotiations with the Japanese until the protest issued April 6, demanding an apology from the Japanese, is answered. This situation developed when the Japanese asked the Provisional Government to order the Russian railway men to return to work on the railways."

We have not heard a word about such a state of affairs in Vladivostok, and the general public opinion was that after the treacherous Japanese attack in the night of April 4-5, the most important fortress of Eastern Siberia became a military trophy of Japan. In reality, we can now see that the Russian Provisional Government, which as was reported, had taken to the hills, remained still strong enough not only to resist the enemy, but even to reject the proffered negotiations, and requested support by calling the railway workers

to work in order to help the Japanese start their general evacuation of Siberia. It is more than naive to suppose that the Japanese command, in spite of all its impertinence, should have appealed to the Provisional government to establish railway communications for a new concentration of the Japanese army. That the situation of the Japanese forces in Khabarovsk was also unpleasant can be understood by reading the same cable, in which "the Japanese state that they have blown up the great bridge over the Amur River at Khabarovsk, being forced to take the utmost measures for defence against partisan troops approaching from the west. The Japanese in Khabarovsk are in a difficult position." (*The N. Y. Sun*, April 18, 1920). Another delayed dispatch from Vladivostok, of April 10, appeared in the *Globe* of April 17, informing us that "heavy fighting between the Russians and Japs is continuing in Khabarovsk and other cities of the Maritime Province," and that "there is an unconfirmed report today that Khabarovsk was captured and burned with considerable loss of life." The readers of this dispatch, especially after having read a heading, "the Japs have seized many Towns," may suppose that Russians have also lost Khabarovsk, as they have lost Vladivostok; but, remembering that the Japanese garrison was in Khabarovsk, and that the bridges across the Amur River were blown up by Japanese in order to defend that town, it becomes probable that if the Japanese have captured Khabarovsk, they have captured it from themselves.

So it becomes clear that the Russians have taken the town from the Japanese, releasing from Japanese captivity the weak Russian garrison, which had been seized unexpectedly by the enemy as was the case also with Vladivostok and several other towns occupied by the Japanese in the districts of Eastern Siberia.

On the other hand, we read a most amazing report in connection with Vladivostok, dated also April 10:

"Disarmed Russian soldiers, with Japanese guards, continue to march through the streets of Vladivostok. At the same time, the armed Russian police are increasing in numbers. Red flags reappeared today on the public buildings and official automobiles." (*The Globe*, April 17, 1920.) "With the province disarmed," continues the dispatch, "it certainly will be unnecessary to bring more Japanese soldiers to Siberia," declared a representative of the Tokio government to Junius B. Wood. (*The Globe*, April 17, 1920.)

The fact that the Mikado's bandits have disarmed the local garrisons of certain towns and replaced them with Russian armed police, being short of their own men, is still far from proving that

* B. Roustam Bek was a prisoner of war in Japan during the Russo-Japanese War, and afterwards, for two years, traveled through Japan. [Editor.]

a province is disarmed in which a huge partizan army of Ussuri, Amur, and Trans-Baikal Cossacks, now Bolsheviki, as well as the original Red guerilla detachments, is in full activity and is operating according to instructions from the Revolutionary Headquarters Staff, whose whereabouts is known only to Moscow.

It is very probable that the Japanese have tried to make a last effort to utilize the remainders of the revolutionary element of the region, and supported them as much as they could. But experience has already proved how little that element may be depended on, especially those men who take the first opportunity to desert to the Reds.

The name of General Goldireff (must be Boldireff), mentioned in a dispatch (*Globe*, April 17) as a person appointed on Japanese suggestion, as the head of the local Zemstvo army, supports this supposition of mine and, on the other hand, the declaration of the Japanese diplomats that "Japan does not desire a protectorate over a portion of Siberia and neither General Oi's staff nor diplomatic representatives of the imperial government are working with any such purpose in view," proves only the weakness of the so-called Zemstvo forces as well as of the Japanese themselves. Consequently, in the *New York Sun* of April 18, we notice a special cable from Tokio, saying that "General Oi, commanding the Japanese forces in Siberia, has been instructed to cease military operations there, pending the arrival in Siberia of a special commissioner with definite instructions". . . "The decision to send such instruction to Gen. Oi," the report said, "was reached yesterday by the Hara Cabinet in a special meeting."

On the other hand, I was informed yesterday, from a reliable source, that there are serious labor troubles in Japan, and rumors have reached Wall Street of a serious Japanese crisis. It was said also that some leading American business men, being alarmed by these rumors, approached the Japanese governmental representatives in order to learn more details of this alleged crisis in Japan, but have not succeeded in obtaining any satisfactory answer.

In reality, the situation of the Japanese must be near disaster, and the sooner they let Russia alone and return home the sooner will they establish some tolerable condition of temporary peace in their own country. Temporary, I say, because with imperialistic and militaristic states a permanent peace is an impossibility for a peace-loving and unaggressive country like Soviet Russia.

Generally, people who have lived in Japan have very pleasant reminiscences of that country and its population. The Japanese appear to them very polite, well brought up, hospitable and clean. Every one and everything is smiling, in Japan, to the newcomers, and only the merchants have a bad reputation, even amongst their own kinsmen. The Japanese newspaper men also are very little respected in Japan and represent a low class of so-

ciety, in spite of their education and extreme politeness.

Nevertheless, there is no nation in the world which is so hated by its neighbors as is the case with Japan. Why? The answer is not hard to give.

The military-imperialistic ruling class of Japan is the cause. The Japanese parliament does not represent the people; in the general elections, one man in thirty only has the right to vote.

The middle class in Japan is not organized at all, and has no power whatsoever; it has existed not longer than fifty years.

There is no organized agricultural class in Japan, as is the case, for instance, in Russia and Germany. But if the middle class had been in existence in Japan, it would have had to bring about a revolution, first to increase the power of the people's representation, and then, to overthrow the existing aristocratic bureaucracy.

The press in Japan has no power, no influence over the masses at all, and the government does not pay any attention to it.

The military party rules the country altogether; the conquest of Corea, China and Siberia is its real aim. It is to prepare for this realization that the children of both sexes are educated in the schools; the soldiers are drilled in the regiments. The whole Japanese population, with the exception of a minority of the industrial workmen, are practically infected with fanatical imperialistic ideas. The so-called Japanese patriotism is elevated to a cult, and even the most disgusting spying, on the part of the children, on their parents, brothers, sisters, and other relatives, is encouraged by the law and customs. The most disgraceful denunciation of one man, by another, to the police, is highly praised.

I have witnessed this while living in Japan and studying the Japanese.

In my travels throughout the world, I never met any nation with such a militaristic spirit as I found in Japan; the notorious German militarism is nothing in comparison with the universal militarism of the people of the Mikado, who is not only their ruler, but also considered as their God on earth.

Since 1868, when the disloyal hereditary ruler, the Shogun, was overthrown by the Japanese military aristocracy, and the emperor was enthroned in his place, the military party came to power and since has gradually increased its hold, disregarding the constitution and the legitimate desires of the people for constitutional alterations.

Military-imperialistic Japan can be disarmed only by means of revolution, but unfortunately, thanks to the weakness of the Japanese working classes, this can scarcely be done from within in the near future. The Japanese militarism must be beaten and annihilated on the battle field, either in Siberia, or in China, or in Corea, and perhaps somewhere on the Pacific Ocean. When Japan will lose

its imperialistic army, then the working people of Japan will have a chance to overthrow their despotic ruling class of aristocratic soldiery.

The movement amongst the Japanese workers is growing—it is true—and this prevents the Japanese government from taking decisive steps in Siberia at the present moment. They must have their armies at home to put down revolution, and, once they shall have disposed of their revolutionists, they will repeat their attempt, perhaps in coalition with certain imperialistic-capitalistic countries to fight Bolshevism in Russia.

The Russian newspaper *Nachalo*, published in Nikolsk-Ussuriysk, in its issue of March 3, describes a demonstration which took place in the Ueno and Shiba parks in Tokio. The Yuai-Kai Party was celebrating the national feast of Kigen-tsetsu. The numerous flags bore revolutionary inscriptions, amongst which were "From slavery to free citizenship," and "Heed the voice of labor." The president of the Yuai-Kai, Comrade Suzuki, was one of the noted speakers.

"The snow which covered Tokio," he said, "has melted in the warm feelings of the working people for revolution . . . The universal franchise has been rejected by the government," he declared. Finally, as is usually the case in Japan, the mounted police arrived and without difficulty dispersed the crowd of 10,000 workmen.

But however weak and irresolute this movement may be, it does exist, and can only grow, and will in no case diminish, and in their weak efforts the working classes of Japan are nevertheless a check to a certain extent, on action abroad of their militaristic government, and we must not neglect this fact.

On the other hand, the Japanese problem in Siberia meets a great obstacle in an awakening China, which is speedily mobilizing both morally and physically. According to the *Journal de Peking* of March 1, 1920, the Chinese newspapers have published the text of a telegram sent to the Canton (South China) Government by Tanshaci, asking the government to come to an agreement with the northern peace delegation, and an immediate abrogation of the existing China-Japanese military treaty.

This treaty was signed in order to protect their mutual interests against the common enemy—Germany. "This enemy no longer exists," writes Tanshaci, "Soviet Russia can by no means be considered an enemy, merely because such a treaty is in existence and because Japan is practically at war with Soviet Russia. China and Russia have an enormous mutual frontier, extending for several thousands of miles. Both peoples have always been friendly to each other. It would have been an absurdity had China interfered in Russian affairs, thus supporting the aggressive instinct of certain countries. Therefore Peking (in Northern China) must annul the treaty which was prolonged

by the supplementary treaty of February 1 and March 5, 1919.

"The delegate of Southern China, Tanshaci, finds dangerous for the internal peace of the country the existence of such a treaty, especially at a moment when military Japan is planning a war against Russia, camouflaging her real intentions with the pretext of protecting her Mongolian and Manchurian frontiers."

"We must not forget," writes this Chinese statesman, "the lesson of the Russo-Japanese war, which was, as it was alleged, for the preservation of the sovereignty and integrity of the territory of China and the independence of Corea, and which ended in the annexation of Corea, and a Japanese 'protectorate' of Manchuria. If, in the impending new Russo-Japanese war, Japan should be victorious—then Mongolia and Manchuria would be lost to China and the situation in Eastern Turkestan would be very serious."

This would be a real disaster, not only for China, but for all the world.

Happily, Soviet Russia is too strong and may prevent this disaster.

Supplementary Note

April 20.

According to a cable from Kharbin, dated April 13 (*The World*, April 19), Chinese troops are fighting the Japanese on the railroad west of Harbin.

The Japanese troops, together with the remnants of the Kolchak and Semienov bands under General Voitzehovsky, have occupied several railway stations to the south of the city, thus trying to establish a defensive line near the Trans-Baikal border.

General Pao, of the Chinese army, has practically seized the central control over the Chinese Eastern Railway, and even the head of the Inter-Allied Technical Commission, Mr. John F. Stevens, the American engineer, powerless to do anything under the present condition, is ready to start home.

On the other hand, the Japanese are quite unexpectedly confronted with another enemy. The Czecho-Slovaks, whose evacuation the Japanese army pretended to protect, have begun hostilities against their protectors. There has appeared in the press on several occasions, a report of clashes between Czecho-Slovaks and Japanese after the fall of Kolchak, and it seems that the local Czecho-Slovak troops are now openly supporting the Bolsheviks.

On the Polish front where hard fighting in several sectors is reported, the Russians "have beaten off the enemy's advance," a recent message says, while in the Borisov region, as well as in the region of Kamenetz-Podolsk, northeast of Uschitza, the Red troops are successfully advancing. This shows that Kamenetz-Podolsk is cut off from the Polish army. The crisis for Poland has come.

The Fifth Act of France's Russian Policy

BY OUR PARIS CORRESPONDENT.

PARIS, March 28.

In the English drama of the time of Goldsmith, the fifth act was always the sudden denouement of the action: the father, stubborn throughout the previous four acts, suddenly repented, allowing his daughter to marry the young man of her choice, who, it suddenly turned out, was not poor and nondescript as we had thought him to be but the rich and titled son of a nobleman in disguise. And everything ended happily before the curtain came down. Something of this sort has been happening to France's policy with regard to Soviet Russia. The debate in the French Chamber on March 25 and 26 was the commencement of the fifth act—a fifth act required by the dramatic action rather than by the inner conversion of the characters.

M. Louis Barthou, experienced politician and pillar of the Bloc National, set off the fireworks with a sensational speech demanding that France "come out of metaphors" and "face realities." The speech was received with great applause by the left and extreme left, but disconcerted if not scandalized his friends of the Bloc National. As he was outlining the errors of the French policy of metaphors—"cordon sanitaire," "barbed-wire fence," etc., a voice from the left shouted out: "Why, you talk like Captain Sadoul!" Which was true enough. Captain Sadoul was condemned to death for having been among the first to tell the truth about the French policy in Russia, but now, after months and years have passed, M. Barthou says the same thing and receives only a mild censure from his friends. The dramatic movement of the piece has progressed.

"M. Lloyd George," said M. Barthou, "encourages the Italian policy; he encourages commercial relations with Russia. Now, gentlemen, let us take care to protect our own interests, let us take care also to protect our prestige; surely we shall be the last to come, but I should not like us to risk coming too late."

M. Barthou was followed by M. Margaine, radical deputy from the Marne (radical not in the American sense, but corresponding more to the American term: Progressive Republican). He told how the Soviets had their origin in the organization of work in groups and insisted that Bolshevism was the only solution which the Russian people had found to free themselves from the Czarist regime and the tyranny of financial oligarchies. A few months ago, such words would have been regarded as Bolshevik propaganda, and the speaker would probably have been investigated by the secret police. M. Margaine invited the French Government to address itself directly to the Soviets and not to continue the puerile policy of conversations with special cooperatives.

The next day, when M. Marcel Cachin, the leader of the Socialist group, took the floor, he found that his customary words had already been spoken by the deputies who had preceded him. At every debate it had been Cachin's task to defend the then unpopular cause of Russia, and it was not so long ago that a Socialist interpellation resulted in a savage reply from Clemenceau: "We shall never treat with the Soviets!" If one wants to go back to the interpellation of last September, when Longuet's attack on Pichon's Russian policy almost caused a riot in the Chamber—how much water has flowed under the Pont de Concorde since then! Even when M. Cachin took up the plea for the poor Russian "prisoners" tortured in the prison camps of France and Northern Africa, he found he had good company on his side. Such a notorious anti-Bolshevik as Claude Anet, who had taken part, with the French Military Mission in Russia, in the plots against the Soviet Government, has been demanding, in the Paris press, that justice be done to these unfortunates.

On M. Millerand, the President of the Council, falls the role of the English father in the play who must now consent to the marriage of his daughter, Commercial Intercourse, with the supposed villain, the Soviet Government. M. Millerand declared that the Allies must march together in their Russian policy (in short that they must save their faces together or else the appearance would create a scandal), and that the Allies had asked the League of Nations to send a committee of investigation into Russia to find out the truth.

M. MILLERAND: They tell us: "Look what England and the United States are doing. If in theory they condemn as you do the Soviet Government, see what they are doing in reality to facilitate for their business men and for their industrials the means of entering into relations with Russia, of informing themselves as to what is going on." Who tells you that the French Government is acting any differently . . .

M. PRESSMANE (Socialist): It is a good beginning.

M. MILLERAND: . . . that it also does not preoccupy itself with the thought of tomorrow. Who tells you that if business men or industrials desire to obtain information upon the commercial and industrial activity, which tomorrow they will be able to carry on . . .

M. PRESSMANE: Workers also!

M. MILLERAND: . . . the government does not help them with the means of so doing?

With regard to the Russian prisoner question, M. Millerand declared that the government had started (at last) to attend to it, and that it is negotiating with M. Litvinov at Copenhagen and has at the same time increased the food ration of the prisoners. But M. Ernest Lafont, Socialist, has information that the instructions of the government in this regard, after fifteen days, remain yet to be carried out, and Varenne demands why these men who want to go home should not be allowed to do so. M. Millerand replies that France

is waiting for the 900 Frenchmen to be released first from Soviet Russia—a reply as steeped in hypocrisy as the statement of M. Berthelot in a radio* to Chicherin that the French Government had offered to half of the prisoners the possibility of returning to Russia.

M. Millerand, in the course of his speech, touched on the delicate question of the reputation of Kolchak and Denikin. For some time in the French bourgeois press there has been going on a campaign of truth-telling, as a sort of preparation for the climax of *denouement* on the "democracy" of Kolchak. General Laisies and others have returned from Siberia and exposed in long articles in the *Matin* the whole story of how Kolchak fooled Pichon and Clemenceau. They tell what was known to everyone who did not wilfully wish to conceal the truth from himself—that Kolchak's government was about as democratic as that of the old regime, that he never had the remotest support from the people, whom he robbed, oppressed and

* Reproduced in *Soviet Russia*, vol. II, No. 11.

butchered. *La Cause Commune*, Burtsev's counter-revolutionary organ, has been letting out piteous wails that they are maligning the sacred memory of the dead—Kolchak immediately, before he was arrested, had caused 81 prominent Socialists and Social-Revolutionists to be put to death by one of Semionov's representatives!—because it now suits the purposes of French policy to do so. This charge has a good deal of truth in it. For Pichon certainly could not be deceived by Kolchak's democratic pretensions unless it suited his purposes to be deceived. And now the French Foreign Office, while permitting the publication of the truth and the preparation of public opinion for a new change in policy, still publicly defends Kolchak. "I do not wish," says Millerand, "to associate myself with these accusations directed against the memory of the unfortunate Kolchak and against Denikin." And the *Temps* echoes this pious sentiment, recalling to the world that Clemenceau and Lloyd George had once honored Kolchak with the title of ally. So much the worse for Clemenceau and Lloyd George.

Revolutionary Repertoire

By A. LUNACHARSKY
Russian Commissar of Education

IN my previous article I pointed out that there is an exceedingly small number of revolutionary plays, and an important problem of the Theatrical Department is to materially increase this number. We do have recourse, and in future will no doubt continue to fall back upon the practice of selecting plays through competitive channels, but we might as well admit at the outset, that, outside the sphere of the juvenile theatre, this method has thus far failed to give any appreciable results worthy of mention. We have read a number of manuscripts by new authors, as well as short plays published in the provinces, but up to date not one of them has struck my fancy, and I should indeed hesitate to recommend seriously any of these plays for stage presentation. We must wait and hope for new plays of revolutionary character.

Neither is foreign literature sufficiently rich to furnish us with revolutionary plays suitable to our needs, and those already translated into Russian can by no means be considered satisfactory in all respects. Of course, Verhaeren's "Dawn" is a splendid work, but, having little scenic merit, it requires a good deal of rearranging. I have not seen yet an effective stage version of "Dawn," but believe it quite possible and desirable that such a version should be prepared.

I have already written about "The Weavers," and Buchner's "Danton." I am not acquainted

with the new play, featuring a phase of Danton's life, that is now being produced in Petrograd. As far as I could gather, our Petrograd comrades have given this play a rather cold reception.

A fairly satisfactory play (which I have not yet seen) is said to be the "Legend of a Communist," produced by the Petrograd Heroic Theatre. Plays of proletarian life, such as Hauptmann's "The Weavers," Delle-Grazie's "Miners," and possibly Mirbeau's "Les Mauvais Bergers," can, with few reservations, be recommended for dramatic presentation at theatres frequented by workmen and Red Army soldiers. All these plays, however, concerned chiefly with the struggle of capital and labor in strikes, and representing thus a past phase, will hardly evoke a keen interest in the new theatregoers.

One still encounters in the Western literature a limited number of revolutionary plays not yet translated into Russian. These plays should be translated and at present the attention of the Repertoire Section has been especially turned to this field. I have been continually urging to obtain in the shortest possible time from abroad the following plays of profoundly revolutionary character, which must be translated into Russian: Barnevold's "Cosmopolis," Jules Romain's "The Army in the City," St. Jean de Bougelier's "Slaves," some plays of the dramatist-anarchist, Otto Borngreber, Sam Bennelli's "Gorgons" and

Hans Ganz's "Morning." Unfortunately, the plays just mentioned, which might be valuable material for the popular propaganda theatres, as well as for the State Experimental Theatre, have so far not only not been translated, but, in spite of all my efforts, have failed to be procured from abroad.

Among the plays that have been recently published by the Repertoire Section (prior to my assuming the directorship of the Theatrical Department) there are a few deserving special study.

First to be considered is Karl Gutzkow's "Pugachev," a masterful melodrama, highly adaptable to the stage, and, provided there is good acting, bound to evoke deep interest in a healthy popular audience. The play is not faultless and has a few serious defects: it is based on Russian history and life, and written by a man superficially acquainted with both. Consequently it produces a strange impression on the Russian reader, for there is in the play neither historical nor ethnographical truth.

Still better is Potcher's "Freedom." This play the Theatrical Section recommended for performance during the "soviet propaganda day." The State Publishing Department, at our request, pushed the publication of the play, but the book failed to make its appearance on time. However, we intend to make use of this play on other revolutionary holidays. The play possesses all the merits to make it become easily popular, especially for regional performances, performances at the front, etc. The Potcher play is written in the old revolutionary spirit and now and then French patriotism makes itself felt. However, since this patriotism originated in the fire of the Great Revolution, the patriotic sentiment may be forgiven.

The play is simple, unpretentious, and does not aspire to realism; yet it is highly artistic, scenic, very literary, and should be considered as one of the best revolutionary plays in our possession at this juncture.

I must confess, though not without a feeling of shame, that the translation of the play turned out by the Theatrical Section (of which I am the principal head), is rather poor. I have taken steps to assure that in future translations shall be executed with more care. G. Polyakov is a fine translator, but he evidently did the work in too great a hurry. At each turn one finds outrageous Gallicisms, which will break the tongue of any actor. It is to be hoped that the actors will correct this and change the absurd, purely French constructions into readable and simple Russian.

Very much less fortunate was the play "Lassalle," by Sem-Benelli, just from the press. The author is a brilliant Italian dramatist. With Bracco (in his last play) they are considered the best dramatists of Italy and representative dramatic poets of Europe. The play, however, is technically weak. Historically it is sufficiently cor-

rect, but its psychology is primitive, the struggle of the personages is one continuous boring speech, the images are dull, and the action develops clumsily. In selecting the play a conspicuous circumstance was considered: the play is from the pen of an eminent writer and is concerned with a great revolutionist; besides, it is written with warm sympathy for Lassalle. From a political standpoint, it is more or less perfect and to a certain extent we get a fine picture of Lassalle. Hence, there can be no objection to the production of the play. However, it seems to me that the play, owing to its literary and scenic defects, will hardly last long in the repertoire of the theatres that desire to become really popular.

Combining at this juncture my promise to explain the intentions which have guided the State Experimental Theatre in selecting plays with today's task to point out some of the plays in the revolutionary repertoire, a few words should be said about "Diderot's House," a play obtained by me which will open our Experimental Theatre. I found this play quite by accident while rummaging among the books in the Yaroslav market. The translation of the play, whose author is altogether unknown to me, is by the well-known translator, Weinberg, and is brilliantly rendered in verse. The play was originally printed in 1875. In the 40 years that separate us from its first printing, no one has spoken about it, either here or in France. In France I heard nothing about it. And yet the play is excellent. In it are given very vivid characterizations of Diderot himself, his brother the abbe, and the famous insolent flunkey, Rameau, is painted in colors reminiscent of the portrait of the man as painted by Diderot himself. Not so good, but yet excellent, are the characterizations of Voltaire, Rousseau and others. The play is written in the charming style so peculiar to the French, in dialogues of sparkling verse, which makes it possible in a piquant episode of Diderot's life to reveal to us all the depths of his soul, the difficulties of his vocation, and to evoke in the reader, and still better, in the spectator, the aspirations of youth. For, feelings of hope—hope for a spring that is to come, perhaps after the death of the first sparrows that herald the spring—runs through this charmingly clever play. Though the Revolution, in this play, is interpreted from the standpoint of a struggle with ignorance and religious bigotry, and in spite of the fact that in this play our northern Semiramis is revealed in a comparatively favorable light (and an historically true one), the play should, nevertheless, be added to the revolutionary repertoire.

We hope to be able to give at the State Experimental Theatre a more or less model performance, and thus, better than with a mere commendation, to introduce the play to a number of theatres in the capitals and provinces. A new edition of the play is forthcoming.

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POLAND, after having repeatedly expressed a lack of confidence in the peaceful intentions of the Soviet Government, now shows to what extent her own intentions are peaceful, and how necessary it has been for the Soviet Government to be on the watch against new Polish aggressions. The Associated Press correspondent "With the Polish Army at the Front" sends the following message, dated April 15, and printed in New York newspapers April 19:

In an active service flight today the Kosciusko squadron, the American air unit operating with the Polish forces, flew ninety miles behind the Bolshevik lines and raided the Jitomir railroad junction, southwest of Kiev.

The Americans flew low and attacked the railroad yards crowded with troop trains, dropping bombs and using their machine guns.

This is what has come of the dream of peace between the Russian Soviet Government and the "Polish Republic." And who is to blame, the Russian Soviet Government or the "Polish Republic"? And it was on April 10, Lenin's birthday, that peace negotiations between the two governments were begun!

* * *

ELSEWHERE, however, peace is gradually approaching realization. The treaty signed at Dorpat, nearly three months ago, by representatives of the Russian Soviet Government and the Government of Esthonia, is a full agreement between the two countries, covering all essential points of their international relations. Our readers will remember the full text of this treaty in our last issue, which we obtained by translation

from an Esthonian newspaper. While the signed copy of the treaty is a printed document with parallel pages in both languages (Russian and Esthonian), and while we therefore have every reason to believe that there are no errors in the translation printed by us last week, we shall not add the translation of the Esthonian Treaty to our "Soviet Russia Pamphlets" (see announcement elsewhere in this issue) before we have had an opportunity to compare the Esthonian text from which our translation was made, with the official Soviet Russian text, which we hope soon to have in our possession.

* * *

GREAT BRITAIN'S progress towards peace with Soviet Russia is more rapid than that of the other great powers, possibly because Great Britain's government recognizes the necessity of finding raw materials for the industries of that country, now very much under-supplied with raw materials. However, that may be, the treaty concerning the interchange of prisoners, reprinted in our last issue from the official British document, is an excellent introduction to the assumption of peaceful relations between Soviet Russia and Great Britain. When the Trade Commission, consisting of Krassin, Rozovsky and Nogin reaches Great Britain from Soviet Russia, we shall probably see the beginning of negotiations terminating in a complete trading relation between the two countries.

* * *

ITALY appears to have signed a similar treaty with Soviet Russia to the one lately terminated between Soviet Russia and Great Britain. We simply reprint, in part, the New York Times item (April 19) on the subject:

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 18.—An agreement has been reached between Maxim Litvinoff, on the part of the Russian Soviet Government, and Signor Bombacci, an Italian Socialist Deputy, for the repatriation of prisoners, both civil and military, according to a published Copenhagen telegram to the Messagero of Rome, according to authentic information reaching Washington today.

[A special dispatch to the New York Times from Milan, dated April 16, told of the conclusion of such an agreement.]

There have been unofficial intimations that the Italian Government is approaching a point where it will be ready to deal with, if not recognize, the Soviets of Russia, and the negotiations which have been in progress at Copenhagen are regarding as lending color to the reports. The Messagero says that the agreement between Litvinov and Bombacci has been accepted by the Italian Government, and that a representative will shortly be delegated to sign it, most probably by the Italian Legation at Copenhagen. The Soviet authorities are understood to have delegated one Vodovosov to represent them in Italy.

The number of Russian prisoners in Italy is estimated at 5,000, while Italians in Russia, mostly civilians, are estimated at 400.

The terms of the agreement provide for the transportation of all Italians in Soviet territory, both civil and military, desirous to return to Italy, except con-

demned criminals, while only those Russians who signify their desire to return to Soviet Russia and agree to remain in Soviet territory will be permitted to return.

Italy agrees also not to oppose the return of any Russian resident in Italy who expresses his desire to return to Soviet Russia and who is authorized by the Soviets to return. Transportation is to be furnished to Odessa or other ports selected by the Lenin Government.

We now have two examples, that of Great Britain and that of Italy, of cases in which negotiations concerning the exchange of prisoners were the form under which it was undertaken to open commercial relations between Soviet Russia and other countries.

* * *

LATVIA seems franker, however, in approaching the subject, than are the representatives of larger powers. The negotiations begun last week between Latvia and Soviet Russia seem to concern themselves at once with serious economic questions, instead of first taking up the matter of liquidating the prisoner question, one of the remnants of the war situation. However, in view of the scant amount of news usually transmitted on the subject, we are not certain that there has not perhaps already been an agreement between the two countries on the prisoner question.

However, our readers will be interested to review the summary of last week's negotiations that appeared in the *New York Times* on April 19:

Moscow, April 17 (Associated Press).—The first day's interchanges at the peace conference between representatives of Latvia and Soviet Russia here developed divergencies in views, the adjustment of which may be a matter of many weeks.

Chairman Seeberg of the Latvian delegation laid down the fundamentals which he said Latvia considered should serve as the basis of the negotiations. He mentioned eight points, the first of which was recognition of the complete independence of Latvia and the establishment of a frontier in accordance with natural boundaries. The other points were:

Second, mutual renunciation of claims for the payment of the costs of the war; third, mutual renunciation of interference in internal affairs of one nation by the other; fourth, protection of the rights of property of Lettish nationals in Russia and recognition of repatriation rights; fifth, restitution of property and securities removed by Russia; sixth, the participation of Russia in compensation to Latvia for losses sustained in the Russo-German and Russo-Latvian wars; seventh, recognition of the proportional claim of Latvia to the Imperial Russian Government's holdings and gold funds; eighth, the use of Latvian harbors by Russia in return for equivalent compensation.

For the Russian Government, Adolph Yoffe, head of the Soviet delegation, insisted that ethnographic considerations alone should determine the boundary lines between the two countries and that the question of property rights in Russia by Latvians and the repatriation of nationals must be considered in the light of Russian laws. Russia, he said, disclaimed any obligation to restore the property of Russians resident in Latvia before the establishment of the Republic. The claim of compensation for losses must be rejected in principle, the Soviet plenipotentiary said, while Latvian claims to imperial funds should be a question for separate discussion.

As to the use of Latvian harbors, M. Yoffe declared it was a right possessed by Russia and that the ques-

tion of compensation for such use was absurd, as free transit would be more beneficial to Latvia than to Russia.

The sittings are not open to the press, according to the desire of the Latvians, it was stated.

It should be noted that the apparent desire to avoid publicity in the details of the negotiations is not expressed on the part of Soviet Russia, but on that of the Latvian Government.

* * *

RUMANIA, which has not figured very prominently in the press reports of recent weeks, appears also to be inaugurating peace negotiations with the Soviet Government. European newspapers dated March 18 and later dates, printed a telegram from London (March 17), stating that the Rumanian Prime Minister Vaida had informed the Russian Soviet Government that the two Rumanian representatives who had been sent out in order to participate in these negotiations had already reached Warsaw, and that Prime Minister Vaida considered that city to be the place best adapted for the negotiations. The names of the representatives reported as having arrived in Warsaw were Bodmirescu and Bolutza. Vaida is furthermore said to have suggested that the Russian Soviet Government obtain contact with these two men, by communicating with the Rumanian Minister at Warsaw, and that it notify the Rumanian Government at Bukarest of this consummation.

This news is not altogether bad news, since it indicates the necessity, which even the new small imperialistic powers are under, of pretending some degree of peacefulness in their relations with Soviet Russia. But the manner in which the Rumanian Government proposes to carry out its alleged peaceful intentions is peculiar, to say the least. When Bulgaria, during the war recently waged between the Entente and the Central Powers, negotiated with the former in order to arrange a separate peace, it is very probable that neither Bulgaria nor the Entente proposed that the negotiations take place at Berlin or Vienna. This appears to be exactly the situation between Soviet Russia and Rumania, two countries approaching a condition of peace between them, one of whom proposes to the other that peace negotiations take place in the capital of a country which is engaged in a predatory war on the other! How can Soviet Russia negotiate at Warsaw with Rumania? How can she even trust her delegates in the power of the Polish feudal militarists?

Accordingly, Soviet Russia has paid little heed to this proposal, emphasizing her previous suggestion that the negotiations take place at Kharkov, in Ukraine, a country situated geographically between Soviet Russia and Rumania, and all the more suitable as the scene of such parleys when we remember that Ukraine, owing to this geographical situation, is necessarily vitally interested in the outcome of the negotiations.

Official Communications

Spitzbergen

The Norwegian Foreign Office has made public the text of a note received from the Russian Commissariat for Foreign Affairs protesting against the assignment of Spitzbergen by the Allied Powers to Norway without the consent of Russia. The following transcript of this note is taken from the *Social Demokraten* (Christiania) of February 17:

The Russian Soviet Government learns with great astonishment from a radio-telegram from Paris, dated February 11, that the governments of Great Britain, Japan, the United States of America, Denmark, Holland, Sweden and Norway, have concluded an agreement which decides that Spitzbergen shall belong to Norway.

The extreme importance of the Spitzbergen Islands not only to Norway and Sweden but also to the Russian people has always been recognized by all governments. From the beginning of the twentieth century Russian fishermen and whalers have visited Spitzbergen to just as great an extent as the men engaged in the same pursuits from other nations. The international position of Spitzbergen has repeatedly been the subject of agreements between Sweden, Norway and Russia, and between the governments of these countries and certain other governments. By a note of June 29, 1872, the United Kingdom, Sweden and Norway, renounced, for the present and for the future, annexation of Spitzbergen; and Norway has at several later times repeated her declaration in this matter. The Spitzbergen Islands have generally been looked upon as neutral and not belonging to any state or country, and at a conference held in 1914 in which Belgium, Denmark, France, Russia, Holland, Great Britain, Norway, Germany, Sweden and the United States of America participated, only the regulations governing the control and use of these islands were discussed.

The recent decision to place Norway in entire possession of Spitzbergen has taken place without the participation of Russia, and Russia declares that it does not consider the grant as valid. It is impossible not to be struck by the difference between a policy of upholding the principle of a presumed international agreement and the entirely arbitrary ceding of an actually neutral group of islands to the possession of a particular state or nation, and this without the participation of certain other states or nations which have hitherto always participated in treaties and agreements relating to the subject. The contracting parties to this agreement have concluded their negotiations without even notifying the Russian Soviet Government, which represents the will of the working masses of Russia in the persons of the fishermen and whalers who own homes, fishing stations and whaling stations on Spitzbergen.

As the Russian Government already declared at the time when the Aland question was under discussion by the conference of certain powers at Paris, it recognizes the inevitability and the necessity of changes (as it has proven by its recognition of the independence of all Asiatic peoples), but at the same time it will not allow under any circumstances that other states and nations shall dispose of its international relations without its knowledge.

It once more protests against the manifest desire of certain powers arbitrarily to dispose of the destinies of other nations, and the Russian Soviet Government again declares that no international agreement that has been made without its participation has for it any political or judicial validity.

A Soviet Note to Georgia

The following note was dispatched on February 15, by M. Chicherin, Russian People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, to M. Gegechkory, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Georgia:

Soviet Russia learns with great amazement of the arguments with which the Gegechkory Government justifies its refusal to participate in the defense against the merciless enemy of the Russian and Georgian toiling masses—the Czarist General Denikin and his agents. The Gegechkory Government is, of course, well aware of the fact that Denikin, as well as, in general, the entire volunteer army, are aiming at restoring the old centralized united and indivisible Russia, which would crush all subject nationalities, including the Georgians. Can Soviet Russia consider sincere those statements which allege that the popular masses of Georgia are not concerned in and can be indifferent to the struggle between Denikin—the upholder of the restoration of the old regime—and Soviet Russia, which has always carried out the principle of the right of the toiling masses of all peoples to self-determination? The principle of “washing their hands of” this struggle, which the Gegechkory Government claims as its own, was not however, followed by them in the case when certain units of the Soviet army in Northern Caucasus, who were retreating before superior forces of the Volunteer army, sought refuge on Georgian territory; they were seized and shamelessly surrendered by the agents of the Gegechkory Government to Denikin's executioners. Having at first fully supported the German imperialism during that period when it threatened to restore the old order in Russia, and having maintained at the same time friendly relations with the aggressive Turkish imperialism, even going so far as to send official congratulations to the Turkish representative in Baku after the unheard of bloodshed which had followed the Baku insurrection; and having become this year a base for British imperialism through its agents: Denikin, Kolchak and Yudenich, who in vain tried to drown the Russian revolution in blood—the Government of Jorday and Gegechkory consistently followed not the policy of “washing their hands,” but the policy of alliance with the counter-revolutionary forces who threatened the very existence of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic of Russia. And even now, at the very moment when in the radiogram addressed to the Soviet Government the Gegechkory Government assumes the pose of an indifferent spectator with regard to the struggle against the last remnants of the champions of the idea of restoration of the old despotism in Russia, this same government is carrying on negotiations with Churchill and Foch, with the view of the latter's utilizing Georgia as a base for new attempts to attack the Workers' and Peasants' Russia. If the Gegechkory Government at the same time expresses hope that it will ultimately succeed in establishing friendly relations with the Soviet Republic, it acts in reality in an altogether different spirit, carrying on negotiations with those who have not as yet ceased fighting against Soviet Russia. The Soviet Government aims to establish lasting peaceful relations with all peoples, and the struggle which it is carrying on is of a purely defensive nature. It has quite convincingly proven that it unwaveringly maintains the principle of national self-determination for the toiling masses of all peoples. However, it does not care to receive verbal assurances which do not agree with the facts. It strives to actually create peaceful and friendly relations with its neighbors. If the Gegechkory Government really shares our aspirations it is up to them to prove this first of all by deeds, by with-

drawing the aid which they are furnishing to the enemies of Soviet Russia, by rejecting the offer of military support from the Entente for a struggle against the Soviet Republic, by preventing the landing of English troops on Georgian territory, and by taking a direct and active part in the struggle against the common enemy of the toiling masses of Russia and Georgia.

CHICHERIN,

Peoples' Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

No Compromise

The conservative newspapers of Norway on Saturday, February 28th, printed a telegram from New York, reproducing a report of the Associated Press correspondent in London. This telegram stated that Soviet Russia, in its latest peace proposal to America, had declared itself ready to introduce the principle of bourgeois democracy into Russia and to convoke a Constituent Assembly. Likewise, Soviet Russia was alleged to be ready

to withdraw the decree repudiating the Russian foreign debt, and to pay 60 per cent. of the debt as well as the income of it, while an English-American syndicate was to obtain concessions in platinum and silver mines.

Social Demokraten in this connection sent to the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, an extract from this telegram requesting from him an expression of opinion. The press bureau received the following answer sent by radio:

"The Soviet Government has not the remotest idea of abolishing the Soviet system and returning to bourgeois parliamentarianism. This would be an absolute surrender. We renounce any such idea. With regard to the repudiation of the debt, we declared in our note of February 14, 1919, that the nature of our concessions would be determined in the course of the negotiations, and these concessions will decrease progressively in the measure as the other side postpones a final settlement."

CHICHERIN.

Radio Dispatches

NORTH RUSSIAN CORRESPONDENCE

Moscow, March 12.—In the occupation of Archangel the Bolsheviki took possession of the correspondence of the former Russian government, from which it is clear that the government made unheard of exertions in order to obtain the support of England, but in vain. Among others, there was found a telegram from General Miller to Sazonov, in which it was stated that Bolshevik propaganda and the many losses of the population had awakened feelings of hopelessness as well as the view that it was idle to struggle longer. The alteration in the attitude of the troops became clear on February 8, when three regiments passed over to the Reds.

MARCH REVOLT CELEBRATED.

Moscow, March 14.—On March 13 in the Uritsky Palace at Petrograd, a solemn session of the Soviet took place, devoted to a celebration of the third anniversary of the March revolution. The session was opened by Bashevich, who presented a warm greeting from Zinoviev to the Petrograd Soviet. Yoffe next spoke emphasizing the importance of the March revolution as a stage in the breaking up of the old Russia. He also presented his impressions of the day before the revolution when he was in far off Siberia under sentence of deportation. Finally he recalled the memories of the heroes of the March Revolution and asked those present to rise as a tribute to them. The orchestra meanwhile played a revolutionary funeral march. Then a number of workers presented their impressions of the March Revolution. The

chairman of the Communist League of Youth, Kononov, said: "The Red Youth went hand in hand with their older comrades to advance on the path of revolution; and now they do not lag behind you; they are come to fight by your side and continue your work." The Soviet resolved to send the following telegram to Trotsky as a greeting: "On the 3d anniversary of the downfall of autocracy the proletariat of Petrograd send to the leader of the invincible Red Army their greetings. The Red troops which have vanquished the enemies on all fronts, are now under your leadership waging war on the bloodless front, waging war against famine, cold and the disorganization of the food supply. In this battle also the victory is ours."

INCREASE IN COAL PRODUCTION.

Moscow, March 9.—*Pravda* reports that the production of coal in the coal mines of Chelva-binsk has doubled as compared with the last month. 180,000 poods of coal are being produced daily.

ART AND THE WORKERS.

Moscow, March 20.—At a conference of the artists of Moscow a resolution was adopted stating among other things: "Only the active creative labor of the working masses can blaze new trails for art and kindle fresh impulses for it."

ON THE BLOODLESS FRONT.

Moscow.—The reserve army up till March 1 repaired 53 locomotives and 230 railroad cars.

RADEK ON GERMAN COUP

Moscow, March 12.—In connection with the present situation in Germany, Radek has the following to say in *Izvestiya*:

"When the Germans signed the Versailles Treaty the masses of the people were little concerned with the matter. They wanted peace, and the Versailles Treaty, regardless of whether it was a good one or a bad one, did provide peace. The indignation of the bourgeoisie over the Versailles Peace was to a great extent a surface matter. The opposition to this peace came chiefly from the officers corps and the intelligentsia with nationalistic leanings. But now the practical operation of the Versailles Treaty is beginning. French troops have occupied upper Silesia. Danzig has been taken by English troops. Germany has lost not only the Polish districts it once seized, but also territory with German population. The Germans are suffering from national oppression in the districts occupied by the French and the Poles. The masses of the people are beginning to move. In this way the soil is prepared for nationalization.

"In addition, the Allies have demanded the delivery of 900 officers, including the Crown Prince, Ludendorff and Hindenburg. A real punishment of those guilty for the war should be meted out by the working class alone, without waiting for any order from the Allies. A person of influence has written 'the shame is not in that Germany which has been beaten to the ground is to be compelled to deliver up the Germans guilty for the war into the hands of the English and French imperialists, but rather that we have not already hanged them from the lamp posts of Berlin.'

"Three months later a parliamentary election is to take place. In these months the leaders of the Revanche party will not appear in the eyes of the country as ardent politicians, but as the leaders of the German people, against whom an enemy lusting for revenge has raised his hand. The Allies are thus aiding the leaders of the Revanche policy to obtain a predominance of votes in the elections, in other words, to obtain power. Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad. The opinions of all observers coincide in declaring that Germany stands before two possible convulsions: A workers' revolution or a military coup.

"The Allies are working for a military coup in Germany which will certainly accelerate the workers' revolution."

[The Radek mentioned above is Karl Radek, formerly Special Representative to Germany of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. M. Radek was charged by the German Government with revolutionary activity and was imprisoned in Berlin for nine months pending trial. He was subsequently acquitted when it was proven in court that he did not favor any "abortive attempts at revolution" in Germany. M. Radek has been a close student of German politics for years. He has now returned to Russia and is taking an active part in national affairs. M. Kopp, now Representative to Germany of the Russian Republic, has succeeded to the position left vacant by M. Radek.—EDITOR.]

THE HUMANITY OF THE RED ARMY.

Moscow, March 14.—A captured White artillery officer named Toquin has sent the following letter to the local Soviet paper: "It is maintained in the camps of the Whites that of those who are captured by the Reds very few remain alive, and that officers are treated shamefully and subjected to every sort of torture, etc. But when our regiment was captured we had an opportunity to observe that the opposite was true. The Red soldiers did not even go so far as to jeer at us. The Whites maintained that the Reds are accustomed to undressing their prisoners of war entirely, but we have observed that even if some one wishes to obtain from a prisoner, let us say, an English cap, he will give in return another cap. In fact, it is surprising how great is the degree of consideration shown in the treatment of prisoners by the Reds. It is quite difficult, moreover, to convince oneself that what you observe is a reality and not a dream."

A PEACE OFFER TO THE CZECHS

Moscow, Feb. 27, (Delayed).—People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, has sent a note to the Czecho-Slovak Republic in which he again assures that country that the Russia of the Workers and Peasants honestly and seriously hopes that the working masses of Czecho-Slovakia will prevent their being dragged into a war against the freedom of the masses of the Russian workers, in the service of the personal interests of private individuals who are diametrically opposed to the wishes and interests of the Czecho-Slovak people.

The Soviet Government turns to the people of Czecho-Slovakia and to their government with proposals for taking up peace negotiations.

RUSSIAN HEALTH ACTIVITIES

Moscow, March 20.—At the All-Russian Congress of Local Health Boards, a resolution was adopted stating that only the workers themselves can make the health measures effective through their trade unions and other organizations. The conduct of this work is incumbent upon People's Commissar for Public Health, but the trade unions have the right to propose candidates for administrative positions.

RECONSTRUCTION IN RUSSIA

Moscow, March 20.—In Kazan the third anniversary of the fall of Czarism has been celebrated by opening the bridge over the Karna, which was destroyed during the Kolchak retreat. The work of repairing was concluded a month earlier than planned.

TROTSKY TAKES KRASSIN'S PLACE.

Moscow, March 24.—The All-Russian Central Executive Committee has appointed Trotsky as Commissar for Communications during the period of Krassin's absence in Western Europe.

Recent Documents

RUSSIA'S INDUSTRIAL ARMY.

[*The question of the resumption of commercial relations with Soviet Russia stands in the foreground among the interests of all countries. Everywhere the question will come up of what Russia has to offer to other countries, and what forces it can place at their disposal to take part in the reconstruction of the world. An intelligent insight into these complex questions is afforded us by the following statements regarding the mobilization of the industrial proletariat, and the running of industry on a military basis. These statements were brought forward by Trotsky at the Third All-Russian Industrial Congress on January 24 in Moscow. We quote the most important of them.*]

1. The tremendous industrial decline of the country resulting from the Imperialist war and the advance of counter-revolutionists against Soviet Russia, finds immediate expression in the complete disorganization of the basic factors of production, of technical expedients, of raw materials, and especially of workers and of fuel.

2. For the present, we cannot hope to get much machinery, coal and skilled workers from other countries, not only because of the blockade, the outcome of which is now very uncertain, but particularly because Western Europe itself is completely exhausted.

3. The lever necessary again to raise the industrial life of the country is, then, the existing working-power, its organization, its distribution, and its immediate use.

A. *The Industrial Proletariat.*

4. The Industrial Proletariat, which is the dormant political power, must now concentrate all its attention and energy on the organization of industrial life, and the immediate participation in the progress of production.

5. For this purpose, it is necessary to collect the skilled and specialized workers, calling them back gradually from the army, from the Soviet organs behind the front, even from Soviet industries and communes, from home enterprises, from the villages, and most of all from private enterprises.

6. In order to draw skilled laborers to work, their living conditions must be improved. Furthermore, the industrial associations must try to influence them to participate, and in cases where that is of no avail, compulsory measures must be used.

7. The carrying out of these measures, like all work which calls for a development of industry, can show positive results only if the associations are well organized, and have at their disposal a strong staff of reliable and responsible workers, who are ready to carry out an iron working-discipline.

8. Vigorous steps must be taken immediately for the expert training of the coming generation (from 14 years on), in order to meet the demand for skilled workers later. For this purpose, a strong department must be added to the Commissariat of Public Education, endowed with full power to co-ordinate all boards and institutions of this nature into one system.

B. *Unskilled Labor.*

9. The industrial conditions demand more labor than ever before, so that unskilled workers—consequently the peasants—must be drawn into industrial and transport work.

a) At the present time the supply of machinery is extremely low. The machines are worn out, and can only be restored to a slight extent. Owing to the great lack of machinery, the coming rise in production will, in many branches of industry, call for a great increase of human labor, especially unskilled.

b) The cutting and hauling of wood, which, for some time to come, must be the chief fuel supply, the chemical extraction of peat and schist combined, as they have never been made use of before, and lastly, the revived activity in the coal, naphtha and brass districts, call for immense numbers of unskilled workers.

c) Work in the Soviet industries, especially in regions devastated by the bourgeois war, will increase the demand for manual labor, both permanent and seasonal.

d) Temporary seasonal work, such as snow-shovelling, building barracks, replacing and improving bridges and traffic routes, will likewise call for much labor.

10. Industry, transportation and commerce in general, can be assured of the necessary labor only by making the work obligatory.

Sections 11-20 deal with the conditions under which this obligatory labor is to be immediately put into effect.

C. *Organizing Industry on a Military Basis.*

21. In building up an association over the remains of a very much confused and disorganized industry, transition to a systematic basis is inconceivable without the application of compulsory measures relating to the backward elements of the peasantry and working-class. The means of compulsion at the disposal of the state form its military power. Consequently, the organization of work on a military basis, in some form or other, is an unconditional necessity for every association which is built up on the principle of compulsory labor.

Compulsory measures will be less and less needed as the system of socialization of industry develops, and the conditions of labor become more favorable, and as the educational level of the coming generation is raised.

22. Under the present conditions of Soviet Russia, such military organization means that industrial questions (those relating to the intensity of work, careful handling of machines and instruments, conscientious expenditure of material, etc.), must be given just as careful consideration as questions of warfare. The city and country people must recognize that the prevention of idleness, evasion of work, and unreliable work is a question of life and death to the whole country, and this view must be attained in the shortest possible time, even if the most stringent methods are necessary.

23. In this direction, a far-reaching propaganda, in speech and in writing, must be formulated, in order to overcome this industrial inactivity and its consequences on the basis of existing material, rather than looking for something new. (The broadest possible measures must be adopted, for a watchful control over all the phenomena of industrial life, and by drawing non-partisan conferences of laborers and peasants into the fight against confusion, bureaucracy and idleness.

The most active part in this work, besides that carried on by the party, must be undertaken by the associations, to which the best workers, who have now had military training, must return.

24. The formal organization of separate enterprises and branches of industry, which at the present moment are of particular importance, or which have been especially disorganized through the general confusion, is in each case brought about by special decrees (of the defence Soviet). Such organization aims to assure the enterprise of temporary labor, and to introduce a rigorous regime, whereby far-reaching disciplinary rights will be granted, if the building up of the enterprise cannot be brought about in any other way.

25. Owing to the large numbers of unskilled and industrially unorganized workers necessary for transport, maintenance and building work, etc., organization of work on a military basis is essential, at least at first.

26. The principles of labor organization, and the necessary discipline—of outside as well as inside compulsory measures—can be applied to the hundreds of thousands and millions of practical problems only with the help of the class-conscious, determined, and convinced workers, especially those that have been through a military training, and who are accustomed to organize the masses, and—under the most difficult conditions—to lead them.

27. The principles for the carrying out of compulsory labor bring up practically the same questions of organization that lie at the bottom of the formation of the Red Army and the establishment of Soviet power: to assure the backward peasantry of natural leaders and organizers in the form of class-conscious proletarians, and provide the great mass of them with trained experts. Inasmuch as the army was an important experiment

in such mass organization, their methods must be adopted (naturally with the necessary modifications to suit the demands of labor organization). Thus the experience of those workers must be used, who will now give up their military work for industrial work.

28. As one of the steps in carrying out this compulsory labor and its extensive application, the released military divisions must be used for industrial purposes, even to the extent of complete army formation. For example, the Third Army has been converted into the First Industrial Army, and this experiment is to be made with other armies as well.

(The last sections regulate the preliminary conditions for the industrial arrangement of troops and entire armies.)

At the above mentioned All-Russian People's Industrial Congress, Trotsky proved the need of industrial mobilization with the following arguments: industrial mobilization does not in any sense mean an encroachment on personal freedom. Industrial freedom in the capitalist state has always led to the exploitation of the worker. The Soviet Government is already preparing for the mobilization of the workers. From now on the entire military administration will be turned to industrial work. All the people in one district shall form an industrial group, like every unit in the Red Army. The best elements of the working-class had to turn the knowledge they gained during the war to the demands of industry. An industrial army should be formed in the Ukraine, and another in the North Caucasus, to increase production in the naphtha districts. In the north, the 7th Army must be set to peat-cutting.

And Trotsky continues: "If the workers devote all their energy, their intelligence, and their revolutionary enthusiasm to the industrial tasks, whatever they have sacrificed for the defense of the Republic, will go to give Russia a place in the world that will astonish her enemies and rejoice the hearts of her friends."

Pravda, the leading Communist paper, makes the following comments upon this speech:

"Until now it was only the voluntary worker who performed his work on Communist Saturdays. Just as our Red Guard became the Red Army, so will these volunteer Communist workers form a revolutionary army of workers, for the good of the industry of our country. We must organize the whole industrial proletariat according to a regulated division of labor."

GORKY AND RADEK

The next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA will contain an open letter from MAXIM GORKY to those who hate and fear the Soviet regime and a letter from KARL RADEK to the Polish Socialist Party discussing the possibility of peace between Poland and Russia.

SIBERIAN COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.

The following appeal was issued by the Far Eastern Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) organization immediately after the overthrow of the Kolchak regime in Vladivostok early in February. It explains the reasons why the Communists in Siberia have not set up Soviets at once but have, rather, given their temporary support to the Zemstvo organs of government.

COMRADES: PEASANTS, WORKERS AND SOLDIERS.

The Far East is experiencing vast and portentous events. The Kolchak power, based on the plunder of national wealth, on most cruel shooting, on the ugliest and greediest administration, fell through the whole of Siberia under the mighty blows of the Red Soviet Army.

Miserable remnants of the Kolchak regime in the persons of Semienov and Kalmikov, those atamans covered with the people's blood, are living their last days. The renowned Siberian executioner, General Rozanov, was overthrown on January 31st in Vladivostok by a rebellious garrison with the aid of partisan squads.

The partisan squads, in coordination with the revolted government troops under the direction of Comrade Pevsner, surrounded Khabarovsk, where the blood-thirsty spider, Ataman Kalmikov, was entrenched. Blagoveshchensk is already taken by partisans. The same fate awaits the robbers' nest of Ataman Semienov—Chita. The day is approaching when we shall again unite with Soviet Russia, after having been torn away from her for almost two years.

However, notwithstanding these enormous victories, the Soviet regime has not yet been established in the Far East. Many comrades,—peasants, soldiers and workers are asking in amazement why it is so—"Why is the power transferred to the maritime Regional Zemstvo administration, and not to the Vladivostok Soviet"? This is the most serious question at the present time and it must be answered satisfactorily.

Soviets were not organized in the Far East for several reasons. First, because of the presence in this region of a great number of foreign troops, especially Japanese. These foreigners are the most serious obstacle to the establishment of Soviet power. It is true that some foreign forces are withdrawing from here, but in their stead the Japanese are sending more and more fresh forces with ammunition and great quantities of supplies, who are alleged to be guarding our railroads and helping the Czechs to withdraw from here. However, everyone of us understands that all these assurances are impudent lies, resorted to for the purpose of concealing the true aim in the sending of Japanese troops. The transportation of tens of thousands of Japanese soldiers deprives our railroads of the possibility of solving their actual problems, and the presence of a great number of foreign soldiers is highly detrimental to the economic life of the state. But the main danger in the influx of Japanese troops lies in their imperialist tendencies, i.e., in their intention to transform our region into a Japanese semi-colony which would serve as a market for the poor goods of the Japanese merchants, and for drawing on the natural resources of our region.

Predatory aims with regard to the Far East were cherished by the Japanese even before the Russo-Japanese War, and now these tendencies are increasing and assuming enormous proportions.

These predatory tendencies are one thing, and the objective surroundings which make it possible to seize territory are another. The Japanese seem to lack the latter; they are somewhat tardy. It is understood that the military party can risk undertaking any adventure, but it must know that its enterprise will end in failure and revolution.

Another reason which prevents us from establishing Soviets in the Far East is our complete isolation from Soviet Russia. We do not know its exact strength; we do not know its intentions regarding the Japanese, and therefore we must first attain such conditions here which will enable us to unite with Russia as soon as possible, and to make of our distant region a component part of Soviet Russia.

The above clearly defines the stand we are to take—we should not give the Japanese an opportunity to seize our region, which will not happen if we temporarily transfer the entire power to the Regional Zemstvo administration.

We, Communist-Bolshevik, remaining loyal to the principles of the Soviet regime, under these existing conditions rally to the support of the power of the Regional Zemstvo administration on condition that it immediately begin peace negotiations with Soviet Russia, and send the foreign troops out of our region.

We consider that a temporary transfer of power to the Zemstvo is a stepping stone to the Soviet regime.

Comrades: peasants, workers and soldiers; the day is approaching when your wishes will come true; when all your needs will be satisfied; when the Far East will again have a Workers' and Peasants' Government in the form of Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies. But, comrades, you must remember that it cannot be done today; the present moment demands from you strict revolutionary tact and most stringent discipline. In the interests of the workers' and peasants' revolution the Far Eastern Committee of the Russian Communist (Bolshevik) Party appeals to you to organize everywhere into communistic bodies, to be in close touch with us and to heed the voice of our party.

THE FAR-EASTERN COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST (BOLSHEVIK) ORGANIZATION.

Soviet Russia Pamphlets

We have just begun the publication of a new series of pamphlets, to be called by the above title, of which the first has just been issued. It is:

The Labor Laws of Soviet Russia

With an Answer to a Criticism by

WILLIAM C. REDFIELD

Stiff Paper Cover, Ten Cents Each

Those who have read the Labor Laws as printed in *Soviet Russia*, Vol. II., No. 8, will observe on reading this pamphlet that a great number of improvements have been made in the text, for which we did not have time when the laws were published originally.

SOVIET RUSSIA

Room 304

110 W. 40th St.

New York, N. Y.

Press Cuttings

JEANNE LABOURBE.

Early in 1919, possibly in February, a French woman named Labourbe, was executed for carrying on propaganda among French forces of occupation. It was said at the time that the soldiers or sailors who had been ordered to fire at her, had refused to do so, and that she had then been shot with revolvers by two French officers. We reprint below two interesting articles from *Le Populaire* and *L'Avenir International*, respectively, one of which is a daily, the other a monthly, both appearing in Paris.

I.

Fine language is being emitted by our contemporary, *Le Journal*, in these days. Commenting on the accusations against M. Janin, a French general, for having handed over the evil M. Kolchak, the Russian Admiral, to the Irkutsk revolutionaries, this newspaper organ that has been successively inspired—even to the most obvious heights of patriotism—by the specific virtues of M.M. Letellier, Senior and Junior, Charles Humbert, Pierre Lenoir, etc., utters the following words "Broad daylight should at once be let in on this matter, for the honor of the French Army admits neither of a Judas nor of a Pilate."

How heroic are these terms! . . . Could they have been better expressed?

The advantage of most fine words, and of these particularly, is the manner in which they at once put us at ease.

I am therefore completely at ease to recall the comments with which certain of my friends, as well as myself, a year ago credited a report representing two French officers as having been the murderers of Jeanne Labourbe, a French teacher, who was assassinated by them one day when she, together with a number of Bolshevik plenipotentiaries, came to Odessa charged with a certain mission. Their "high act" is apparent, and yet, to the present day, no official denial has been published.

Whatever may be our sadness, and even our disgust, we owe it to truth to remark that the epithets we chose and handed out to these two gallant men were not sufficient to stir them in their imperturbability. We are still waiting for them—for they are surely more impressed with their responsibility than the German landsknecht who murdered the humane and pure Edith Cavell—to explain their "victory" and to proclaim aloud in the face of the whole world the sentiments and the ideals which they were serving on that occasion.

But their discretion in this connection is beyond all our hopes. We are ignorant even of the names of these conquering heroes.

I can very well believe that this is simply an indication of that reserve which is always adopted voluntarily by so-called "men of the world." And I also can understand that in suppressing their names, the two thunderbolts who so gloriously conquered Jeanne Labourbe will explain particularly that these names are famous and that they are already illustrious in the heraldic records. But could we have doubted it? And which of us could have imagined that these two valiant men have not had at least two ancestors who burned and trampled down women at the Bazar de la Charité? But the noble language uttered by *Le Journal* suddenly makes us feel that in being satisfied with so little, we were quite insufficient to meet the demands of the heroic age in which we are still being permitted to live.

Having been thus brought to realize our true condition, we find it rather peculiar that the two van-

quishers of Jeanne Labourbe should permit the entire officers corps of which they are members to be credited with an honor which after all belongs to them alone.

"The honor of the French Army admits of the presence neither of a Judas nor of a Pilate" says *Le Journal*. Do not suspect for a moment, that unless we ask of them, *Le Journal* will press the nobility of its language to the point of saying with us: "The honor of the French army will no longer admit the presence of Troppman and Pranzini."

And we are already applauding the zeal which this newspaper will display in order to demand "full light without delay" on the Jeanne Labourbe affair, behind which—as has been the custom with everything since August 2, 1914—two heroes are concealed.

Now the occasion is at hand. The admirable unexpected occasion to shed this light absolutely. And of course, it is to the vernal and purple Clemenceau that we owe this occasion.

Before taking, very much against his will, his long and ill-earned vacation, this survivor of so many spring times, who borrows from so many deserted cradles the illustration of what will be his epitaph, has handed over to an Assize Court, Victor Cyril, who in his preface to the album "Les Crucifies" recalled the assassination of Jeanne Labourbe, as well as A. Galbez, who has lent the animated talent of his drawing to immortalize this unique victory for the Russian Soviet Republic.

If any logic could find its way into what M. Charles Maurras calls "order" we should without doubt remark that this preface and this drawing were possible only because it was possible for two French officers to murder a French teacher, and because an open legal indictment of the assassins ought in all justice to have preceded an indictment drawn up against Cyril and Galbez, who if they were guilty at all, were guilty merely of a simple statement of fact.

I shall not insult Cyril and Galbez by producing in their defence axioms by which all mouths, and particularly those of the governing class which best repressed such liberty, are proclaiming a liberty of thought, of art and of their means of expression. Cyril and Galbez are not such men as to need compassion; they rather demand envy. I confess that for four years I have been tempting the fate which will be handed out to them, and I do not despair of some day sharing it.

We might have feared, since the living move no more rapidly than the dead, that the trial of the assassins of Jeanne Labourbe would never have reached the state of an indictment, not to mention the state of pleading, but thanks to M. Clemenceau, it will reach this stage.

It is hoped that these assassins will not wait to be compelled to give their names, and that tomorrow these names, which their discretion now conceals from us, will have been fixed upon our memories. There they will live in illustrious company.—*Le Populaire*, Feb. 3, 1920.

II.

A. Galbez and Victor Cyril are indicted, one for his drawings, as collected in the album "Les Crucifies," the other for a preface written for this album. Their indictments are particularly based on a drawing recalling the assassination of Jeanne Labourbe (formerly erroneously spelled Laborde).

In *Le Populaire* of Feb. 3, Georges Pioch brands the infamy of the assassins of this French teacher, who were guilty in the same way as were the assassins of Edith Cavell. We take the liberty to review the facts:

La Vie Ouvriere of July 23 mentioned an article taken from *l'Exploité*, of Brussels, which narrated, following an article in *Pravda*, that when the French

troops arrived at Odessa, they were met by a delegation sent out by the Soviet Government to dissuade them from fighting against the Russian people, who asked only to live in peace with the French people. The Bolshevik delegation, among whom was a woman, Jeanne Labourbe, a French teacher, were arrested. It is reported that in the evening French officers took them away in an auto under the pretext of changing the place of their imprisonment, led them to a cemetery and there shot them with their revolvers, including Jeanne Labourbe. The story had been given by one of the original delegates, a Serbian, who had succeeded in escaping in the darkness of night.

We reprinted this story in the August number of *L'Avenir International*, simultaneously expressing our doubt that any official approval would ever be given for a prosecution of this crime. Among other comments we made allusion to the state of lethargy in which the "League for the Rights of Man" had been slumbering since the start of the war.

After reading these reflections our comrade, Andre Girard, received a note from the "League for the Rights of Man," which asked him for data on this matter.

After he had sent a reply, our comrade received the following letter, containing the governmental version of the Labourbe affair:

PARIS, December 17, 1919.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE:

I have the honor to inform you that our President, M. F. Buisson, has received the following letter from the Minister of War:

MONSIEUR LE PRESIDENT:

The Minister for Foreign Affairs has transmitted to M. le President du Conseil, the Minister of War, your letter dated October 15, in which you request to be informed concerning the circumstances accompanying the death of Mme. Jeanne Labourbe which took place at Odessa on the occasion of the debarkation of our troops at that city.

The following is the information to be obtained from the report that has been drawn up on this matter:

February 19 a Bolshevik delegation was sent to Odessa by the Soviet Government with the object of inciting mutinies among the French troops and to arouse them to rebellion and desertion. The Russian police then operating at Odessa was specifically under the orders of the Russian general who was Governor of the city. At the very moment that a meeting was taking place the Russian police had the members of the Committee arrested; a number of the latter fired at the police agents and the entire group was executed on the spot. It was only later that the French command learned that a French woman was among the victims. This was probably Mme. Laborde.

Such are the facts. Furthermore, they took place earlier than March 3, 1919, the date on which the state of siege was proclaimed and when the Russian police passed under the control of the French military authorities.

These details will permit you to present the facts in strict accord with truth.

Yours very . . . etc . . .

(Signed) LE CHEF DU CABINET CIVIL.

Kindly accept, my dear colleague, the assurance of our most cordial and devoted sentiments.

(Signed) *The General Secretary,*

HENRI GUERNUT.

P. S. We should be much obliged to you if you would communicate to us any remarks that you may wish to make on the subject of this letter.

We need hardly call attention to the impudent question with which the P. S. closes this letter, and which would seem to indicate that this formidable "League for the Rights of Man" considers its function to be that of a mere letter box. The thing we should like to know is what the French Government intends to do about the matter. We are publishing the above letter for the edification of our indicted comrades, in order that they may be warned against the denials that will be issued to contradict their statements.—*L'Avenir International*, February, 1920.

PEACE OFFER TO U. S.

The New York *Sun* of April 9, published the following special cable from its Tokio correspondent. This is the only announcement that has appeared in the American press of a second peace offer from the Russian Soviet Government to the United States:

Tokio, April 8.—A second Soviet peace offer to the United States has been handed to the American representative in Vladivostok. It is signed by George Chitcherin, Soviet Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, and says the Bolshevik victory in Siberia can be construed only as a protest by the Russian people against foreign intervention in their national affairs and against the allied invasion.

It refers to the desire of American business men to resume trade with Russia, as a proof that the American people want peace, which would be of greatest benefit mutually to the United States and Russia.

NORTH RUSSIA CLEARED OF WHITES

The following news item, from the *Social Demokrat* (Christiania) of March 27, shows that the Soviet forces have now complete control of all North Russian territory. The Red Army has now reached the Norwegian frontier on the Arctic Ocean.

VARDO, March 26.—A motorboat pilot who arrived here last night from Petchenga reported among other things the following, concerning the fall of the city:

Petchenga was occupied by the Bolsheviks without any loss of life. The Russian gun-boat fired only a few shots to frighten the enemy. The monastery, and the building of the telephone, telegraph and post office in the city were burned to the ground by the Finns. The force which is approaching the city from the land side consists of a Finnish battalion organized in Murmansk. About 350-360 White Finns, among whom are Consul Lampio and Captain of Chasseurs Hekola, have been taken prisoners. Everything is quiet in the city. Consul Lampio and Hekola, who came to Petchenga from Vardo on the day the city was taken by the Bolsheviks, had with them a great number of trunks, presumably containing military plans and mail matter. One trunk was filled with Norwegian, Finnish and Russian money. All these things were confiscated by the Russians.

The fall of Petchenga completes the elimination of counter-revolutionary troops from the entire north Russian coast.

The Red Finnish battalion from Murmansk has cut off the withdrawal of White Finns through the valley of the Pasvik.

An unconfirmed rumor reports that the Finns have intercepted a telegraphic order of the Bolsheviks to stop pursuing and to await the result of the peace negotiations. Another unconfirmed rumor, however, reports that the Bolshevik forces are attempting to cut off the retreat of the Finns by advancing from Sunigal to Hestfossen.

RUSSO-FINNISH RELATIONS

The following article deals with the discussions between the Russian and Finnish governments over certain territory lying between the two countries, and discloses the Soviet principle of self-determination applied in practice. It is taken from the *Folkets Dagblad Politiken* (Stockholm).

Helsingfors, March 4—The Finnish News Bureau has obtained information from authentic source that during the last week the army of General Skobeltsin on the Olonez front, is being totally disbanded. Thus the remaining troop detachments were compelled to seek refuge further in the rear. Some of the troops retreated northward, others, (almost 2,000 men), mostly Karelians from Olonez, decided to take refuge upon Finnish territory. They have retreated towards Repola and Porajarvi, where a few squads of Finnish soldiers have been stationed for more than a year, for the protection of the villages in that section. The retreating White troops were pursued by the Bolsheviks. It was to be expected, therefore, that in these districts, especially in Porajarvi, serious battles would arise the extent of which could not be estimated in advance.

Against this eventuality the Finnish government took measures to strengthen its guard along the boundary, and decided at the same time on Saturday to send a wireless to the Foreign Commissariat in Soviet Russia. It was emphasized in the telegram that the districts in question had never belonged to Soviet Russia, but, on account of the right of self determination of the people, had endeavored to come under the protection of Finland. When the people of Olonez-Karelia had availed themselves of this right and began to arrange their own affairs the Finnish government expressed the hope that the troops of Soviet Russia would not enter these districts. As parts of the remaining army of Skobeltsin from this territory entered Finland they would be disarmed.

Wednesday forenoon a reply to the telegram arrived from Soviet Russia, in which Chicherin states that the Soviet government has not had or attempted to exercise any power or authority over Repola or Porajarvi because Finnish partisans have established themselves there almost immediately after the formation of the Soviet government in Russia. On the other hand, the question will be left open as to whether the population of these districts really wishes an alliance with Finland. In concord with the wish of the Finnish government the Soviet government has given its troops which are stationed in the vicinity of these territories an order not to enter them. The hope is expressed in the telegram that the White Russian troops which cross Finnish territory may be disarmed and taken to a concentration camp. But this situation cannot continue forever, and it is therefore desirable that this as well as other questions may be subjected to direct negotiations between the two governments. The sooner this happens the more advantageous will be the terms Finland may expect.

Immediately after the arrival of the telegram the Chief of the General Staff and the Foreign Minister conferred with the President. The promise of the Bolsheviks to discontinue their attacks was conveyed by telegraph to the Finnish commands in Repola and Porajarvi. A wireless message was sent to Chicherin to the effect that the Foreign Minister had received his telegram and that the Finnish commands in these two places had been informed of the promise of the Soviet government to discontinue their attacks. The remainder of the army of Skobeltsin will be disarmed as soon as they enter Finnish territory. The peace proposal of the government of Soviet Russia has not been considered by the Finnish government because the crisis occurred about the time the Soviet telegram arrived.

FINNISH AGGRESSION

The *Folkets Dagblad Politiken* (Stockholm), of March 2, 1920, prints the following article, which gives a somewhat detailed description of recent aggressive acts against Soviet Russia by the Finnish White Forces:

Through the breaking of the White Russian front in northern Russia a new state of affairs has developed quite suddenly in the former so-called East Karelia and in the Murman Districts. The short, but bloody, reign of the White Russian reactionaries is probably entirely ended by this time. Not only the towns of Murmansk, Kantalahti, and Kem behind the White Russian front have, as a result of the rising of the Reds, gone over to the Bolsheviks, but also the White Russian front at the northern end of Onega Lake has been entirely shattered by the Red Army.

But west of the railway region the situation is still uncertain. Upon this region, which is mainly populated by Karelians, the White Finns have cast their covetous eyes for a long time. Already in 1918, when Mannerheim and his cohorts were busy with slaughtering the workers of Finland, he gave a solemn promise not to put the sword in the sheath before East Karelia was "free." However, he did not keep this promise. One year later, in the spring of 1919, the White Finnish volunteers, supported by the government, and the Lantdag, made an attack in Olonez-Karelia, the extreme southern part of East Karelia. After rather fierce battles which lasted a couple of months, they were driven out, however. Further north a few remained under the protection of a notorious chieftan named Isotalos, in the Porajarvi district, where they fortified their position. The troops of Isotalos formed, in a way, a continuance of the White Russian front at the Murman railway which then, as now at its breaking was almost at the northern end of Onega Lake. The position at Porajarvi was also a defense for that place and the Repola districts, which were located behind it, and which were occupied by the Finns in the beginning of 1919, and all but incorporated with Finland.

North of the Repola district the so-called Archangelian Karelia begins. Even there the White Finns had tried to penetrate early in the summer of 1918, in alliance with the Germans, and had already occupied parts of the district near the Finnish boundary, among them the most important village of the territory, Uhtua. But in the latter part of the summer of the same year they were driven out partly by the Karelians themselves, who had made an alliance with the English, partly by the well-known Finnish Murman legion, which was in English service. After the English had withdrawn their troops from Murman the Karelians had a dispute with the White Russians remaining there, who had by force conscripted some Karelians into war service, and had also oppressed the population. By and by five or six of these villages constituted themselves a sort of peasant republic calling themselves the Uhtua republic. Later on the White Finns had, by offering various economic advantages, tried to win the "republic" to their side, but without decisive results. A couple of months ago even the White Russians tried to conquer the district, but were driven out by the Karelians. Recently a committee in Finland for White Finnish agitation in Karelia tried to persuade the White Finnish government to equip a larger expedition for the occupation of this part of Karelia. Farthest north, on the borders of the White Sea, there is the so-called Petchenga district, which a month ago was occupied by the White Finnish expedition which is still there.

Through the recent acquisition of the Murman railroad by the Reds, all these White Finnish enterprises have suddenly appeared out of the darkness. The Soviet government which was earlier inclined to transfer these districts in Karelia to Red Finland, after a vote of the people had been taken, will not, for obvious

reasons, have the White Finns within the immediate vicinity of the important Murman railroad. In a radio telegram of February 23 to the English government the Soviet government demands that all northern districts which earlier belonged to the Russian Empire shall without exception be delivered immediately to the Soviet government, including the Karelian and Murman districts, also the coast district as far as to the boundary which until 1914 existed between Russia on one side and Norway and Finland on the other side. Thus it is clear that if the White Finns do not yield immediately there will be an open conflict between Red Russia and White Finland.

This is evident from certain military preparations. The Red troops have attacked Porajarvi and taken a few villages. An ultimatum has been given to the White troops to evacuate immediately Russia. Troop consolidated at the Finnish boundary at Suojarvi are also reported. The preparations of the Finnish government are as yet unknown, but it is stated that the troops at Petchenga are to be increased and that military preparations within the country are going on. This is the more probable, judging from the increased persecutions of workers, especially the Communists, of whom, according to a statement made, in Helsingfors alone about 31 different trades. Among them are nine city heim seems to have reappeared. It is not improbable that Finland is now about to be thrown into war by the blackest reactionary forces, against Soviet Russia. It will then be a fight for life, not only at the fronts, but also in Finland itself, because the most bloody outbreak of the White Terror will inevitably follow the outbreak of the war.

UNION OF ARTS AND CRAFTS

The following article on the organization and development of the "arts and crafts" movement in Moscow and vicinity is taken from *Economic Life* (*Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*), the organ of the Supreme Council of National Economy, of December 24, 1919:

The oldest of the arts and crafts unions was originated in Moscow, September, 1913, and since then has developed uninterruptedly. The foundation of this union was the organization of 13 co-operatives in the Province of Moscow. It was organized at the initiative of V. V. Khisnyakov.

The main problem of the union is to improve the material and moral standard of the craftsmen.

The work in the arts and crafts co-operative of Moscow went on very slowly in the early days of its existence. There was no credit, not a sufficient number of people, there was also no confidence that the work would be successful. Nevertheless the union was growing and had by the year 1918 about 19 unions in its association. The years 1918 and 1919 saw the full development of the union's activity in all its directions. By the first of January, the number of unions included in this co-operative amounted to 45; by the first of December of the same year this number had increased to 93. According to information which is far from being complete the total number of workingmen engaged in unions (*artels*) reached 20,000. The welfare of about sixty thousand persons of both sexes is closely connected with the activity of the co-operatives.

At the present time the union includes co-operatives in the following provinces: in the provinces of Moscow, Vladimir, Kostroma, Tula, Ryazan and Yaroslavl. The co-operatives which make up this union may be divided into two types: (1) co-operatives whose members are working in their own homes, (2) co-operatives whose members are working in a common industrial workshop. Of the first category there are 71 associations;

of the second, 22. The number of associations in the common workshop is not very great. The number of members in them is about 12-50 and only four associations have a membership somewhat over 100. But the associations of the original type are quite large; the average membership is about 100-200; there are associations which count about 350 members, and one of these has about 815 members, according to the latest data.

The union includes associations of various lines. The 93 associations making up the union registered about 31 different trades. Among them are nine city co-operatives and 84 rural.

The sale of the productions of the Arts and Crafts associations is in the hands of special representatives, who are working under the control of the administration; the association also organized the work of providing the material for production. The whole administrative work of selling and obtaining the necessary materials is under the control of the craftsmen themselves.

The union is divided into several departments: instructional, technical and statistical-economical (since 1919). During the last year the union organized six-weeks' courses in productive co-operation and accountancy; the recitations closed on December 6th. The associations sent to these courses 34 students who received scholarships.

The economic activities of the union for the year 1919 may be expressed in the following data: the sale of the craftsmen's productions brought in about 50 million rubles; the unions were supplied with materials costing about five million rubles. The sale of the products was organized in the following way: all trinkets, the cost of which is about 1-4 or 1-3 of the selling price, are given to the All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' League. Many products are given over to the People's Commissariat of Supply and of Health. More than three millions in military orders were executed. All the other products are sold with the permission of the Supply Commissaries by various national and social institutions. It is very hard to obtain material for production because the various centers and national institutions look with suspicion on the requests of the unions for materials. This fact is hindering the activity of the union to a great extent.

FINNISH PEACE SENTIMENT

We print below a dispatch from Helsingfors, Finland, which throws light on the sentiment in Finland toward peace with Soviet Russia. It would seem that even this most reactionary country begins to be eager for peace with its eastern neighbor. No country has more to gain from peaceful relations with Russia, and it appears that the people of Finland are beginning to realize this. The dispatch is taken from the *Folkets Dagblad Politiken* (Stockholm), of March 6, 1920.

Helsingfors, March 4.—According to statements the Socialists seemed to be willing to agree to a coalition government, mostly on account of the question of peace with Soviet Russia. They may not make claims for the position of Minister of State, but insist upon being represented in proportion to their strength in the Riksdag. Foreign Minister Ritauori, the speaker of the Riksdag, Relander; Professor Antti Tulenheimo; Professor R. Ehrich and Direktor V. A. Lavonius are mentioned as candidates for the Ministry of State. Ritauori is considered as being the most popular candidate. As future Foreign Minister the *Swenska Tidningen* mentions Professor Verner Soderhjelm. The bourgeois party groups will discuss the question Friday evening.

NEWS NOTES FROM RUSSIA

The following items of current interest were translated from recent issues of *Swit* (Vienna):

The Labor Army in Caucasus.

A new army has been organized whose task it is to work in the mines, at pumps and in the naphtha regions in the neighborhood of Stavropol and Kuban and to transport the naphtha thus obtained.

Labor Army Deserters.

The Workers' Council at Moscow decided to treat deserters from this labor army in the same manner as the deserters from the army fighting at the front.

Land Distribution.

The All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Soviet, in accordance with the provisions of the statute issued February 15, has taken all the large estates from the peasant land owners. A part of the grounds which formerly belonged to the sugar planters will be rented to the landless peasants.

Uprising in Siberia.

A communication from Omsk dated December 31, states that in Nikolsk Usurysk (Eastern Siberia) an uprising broke out in the garrison. This was brutally crushed by the Japanese troops. Many soldiers of the garrison succeeded in escaping. The leaders were arrested and many were shot.

The Vicissitudes of Kiev.

During the revolution Kiev was captured by enemy troops ten times. (1) In October, 1917, Kerensky's government captured Kiev from the Bolsheviks; (2) the second of December, the Ukrainians, Vinchevsky and Hroshevsky drove out Kerensky; (3) in January, 1918, the Bolsheviks, after a two-weeks' bombardment of the city captured it back from the Ukrainians; (4) in February, 1918, the Germans drove out the Bolsheviks; (5) in April, 1918, Hetman Skoropadsky crushed the *Sichovniki* (a Ukrainian military organization); (6) in November, 1918, Petlura with the *Sichovniki* conquered the Hetman; (7) in January, 1919, the Bolsheviks drove out Petlura; (8) in August 1919, Denikin took possession of the city; (9) Denikin drove back the Galician Ukrainians from near Kiev; (10) in October, Denikin was defending the city, but the Bolsheviks captured it in December, and this time there is every indication that it will remain in the hands of the Soviets.

Red Army Bonuses.

Workmen of Red Latvia have assigned through the co-operative organizations 500,000 rubles to the account of the Revolutionary Council for the purpose of dividing it among the most aggressive divisions at the Red Front.

APPEAL OF THE INTELLIGENTZIA

Moscow, March 4.—*Izvestiya* publishes an appeal signed by professors, academicians, representatives of the financial world, and other intellectuals, in which the hope is expressed that intellectual and commercial relations may soon be resumed with Russia, as well as that armed intervention in the internal affairs of that country may cease. The signers, who have organized a League of Intellectual Workers, are appealing to the public opinion of Europe for aid in bringing about Russia's spiritual, economic and political rejuvenation.

PEACE SENTIMENT AMONG CZECHS

The following estimate of peace sentiment toward Soviet Russia among the Czechs is translated from *Freie Tribune* (Vienna) of March 6, 1920:

The Czech workingmen have shown in many important demonstrations their attitude toward the peace proposal of Soviet Russia. It was decided unanimously everywhere that a state of peace with Soviet Russia be proclaimed immediately and exchange of commodities take place. Not only the workingmen of Czechoslovakia, but also the representatives of other social classes of the population, such as even so ultra-reactionary a clergyman as Zahradnik, are in favor of peace. The vital importance of an unhampered exchange of commodities with the Russian Soviet Republic is everywhere recognized, and preparations are being made to accumulate such articles as agricultural machines and implements, tools, instruments of precision, hardware, clothing, etc., so that the shipment of raw materials and food-stuffs may begin the moment free commercial relation with Soviet Russia is resumed.

GERMAN PRISONERS RETURN

The following account of the return to Germany of prisoners of war is translated from *Die Rote Fahne* (Vienna) of March 5.

Berlin, March 4.—The Reichszentralstelle for civilian and war prisoners reports: The first batch of 600 returning invalids, as well as women and children from Soviet Russia has already been received at the demarkation line. The arrival of this batch in Germany may be expected very soon.

The Next Issue of

SOVIET RUSSIA

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The First of May in Moscow

By ALEXANDER CHEREPNIN.

[We have no means of knowing what form of celebration will take place in Russia on International Labor Day this year, but we print the following article by Alexander Cherepnin describing the celebration of May 1, 1919, in Moscow. The article was sent by official wireless and is translated from the French.]

The Congress of the Second International at Paris, in establishing thirty years ago the first of May as the festival day of the united world proletariat, did not consider, even approximately—the minutes of the congress bear witness to this—the role which the first of May would play in the work of proletarian unification.

Beneath the first joyous rays of the Spring sun which had bathed Moscow on that day after a spell of gray weather, the well-ordered columns of the laboring masses started to march in the morning through the radial streets towards the center of the city, the celebrated Red Square. At their head marched the Councils of the Battalions, followed by the ranks of the organizations of work-mens' battallions, the young people and the children; the columns closed up with detachments of all the branches of the Red Army. Above them floated red banners with various devices; the refrains of the Internationale blended with the fervid sounds of the military bands, forming together only a single throbbing roar. The emblems of labor borne in the hands or on chariots, were interlaced with red flowers; rosettes of red ribbon, also, adorned the cannon which roared dully. They seemed to be endless, these columns which emptied

into the gulf which is the Red Square, near the walls under which repose the champions of the October days. From the balconies and the wide-open windows garlanded with red, joyous acclamations were shouted. From the neighboring streets ran the tardy paraders. A little before noon the Red Square was black with people, there were tens of thousands, men, women, children,—crowds of children.

The children,—they have really become as it were the *ides fixe* of the Russian proletariat. Not a day, not a meeting, but that it is a question of the children; and that they are preoccupied in the most touching manner with the youngest of these successors to the Russian Revolution, for whom and in whose name the new world is being built. I shall not at all stress here, since all know, the formidable sums, the efforts, employed to nourish, clothe, teach the children; surround their education with such conditions as the world has not yet known. I shall cite but one act, which will, however, illustrate perhaps better than all the others, this care for childhood always living in the spirit: in the course of a recent session of the Moscow Soviet several deputies—and such a touching thought is certainly worth noting—demanded of

it a decree to place on the list of state necessities the provisions for children, already sufficiently abundant and varied, before those of the Red Army.

It is to the children, also, that a considerable part of the opening speech by Comrade Lenin was devoted yesterday—the solemn First of May. In speaking of the great struggle that will still be necessary to maintain the revolution, the leader of the Russian proletariat, among other things, said: “Only our children shall not know any conflict.”

The other orators considered the important questions of the moment in their relation to the festival of the First of May. Beneath the warm rays of the May sun, in the vast space of the Red Square, the words of the representatives of the International sounded clear and intense. And if many of the French words in the speech which was so forcefully pronounced by the representative of the proletariat of France sounded strange in the ears of the audience, their meaning was familiar, comprehensible. And they seemed so new, so intoxicating, these words on the conflict, under that radiant sun, near those cathedrals and those ancient walls of the Kremlin. There, where every stone bears the trace of the struggles of the people against Czarism, where the first Streltzi were executed, where fell the head of Stenka Razin, where today are the common tombs of the October days, where, under the gilded domes of the old palaces the mysteries of autocratic history have fled—the appeals for the establishment of universal labor, fraternity, of the universal commune, took on a fresher, a more vigorous accent—and these appeals made appear slighter, more secondary, the problems formulated by the devices inscribed on the banners: the necessity for increasing effort in the last combat, to the end of dispersing by a powerful and decisive action the rest of the band of White Guard adventurers and fawning Czarists. This task, a task of “affairs,” a task of every day, one felt would be accomplished just the same, with the infallible force of the steam hammer lowering

itself at a light touch on the lever. All these pressing every-day affairs were drowned, overwhelmed, so to speak, in the sentiment with which one felt himself imbued, of the immensity of the task from this very moment accomplished, the thought that other hearts, leagues away, beat at that hour in unison with ours, that we are not at all alone, and that every new hour, every new day, increases the ranks of our fraternal army.

The beautiful weather permitted the battalions to organize the entertainment part of the festival in a very original manner. All the amusements took place in the open air, in the grand squares, at the junctures of the principal streets of the city, in the gardens where the first verdure is just coming out, and from which emanates the perfume of the still wet earth. Is there need to say that here again the children had the first voice? As usual, they had been served a good meal, bonbons, and they had been offered spectacles, concerts, theatres, circuses,—the gentle, harmonious music of numerous orchestras did not cease until a very late hour of the night. At all more spacious corners traveling troupes of clowns, acrobats, singers, gave performances to the great joy of numerous crowds of spectators. The best artists of Moscow took part in the spectacles which were given that day, everywhere on the stages of the city. At nightfall the sky was lighted with thousands of multicolored fireworks.

Up to a very late hour of the night one could meet here and there isolated groups of celebrators, either surrounding an orator finishing a pronouncement on the significance of the proletarian festival, or promenading, and singing with an expression of profound gravity, the “Internationale.” The militants, aged in battle, recalled other first days of May, those of the past, which were celebrated in ravines, in forests, in the eternal fear of the Czar’s gendarmes. The reality which lived there among the vows, that radiant day, that warm May night, those joyous cries, “good festival, comrade”,—all that seemed a marvelous, an extraordinary dream.

Maxim Gorky Addresses the Monarchists

I have received a number of letters from various persons. All of them have been written in a tone of mortal terror and dismay. I feel that those who wrote them have all experienced many dark hours, many dark days; that their hearts undergo torture; that their restless thoughts do not let them sleep.

“What has become of the good Russian people? Why did they suddenly turn into wild beasts, craving for blood?” a lady writes me on a perfumed sheet of paper. “Christ is forgotten, his ideas are desecrated,” writes Count P. “Are you

satisfied? What has become of the great doctrine of love of your neighbor? What has become of the sacredness of church and religion?” asks K. Bruytam, from Tambov.

Some are bold and curse, others sigh and complain.

All are excited, broken down, full of fear at the thought of this tragic and great epoch.

Not having the possibility of writing individual answers to these letters, I am answering them all together. Dear Sirs and Dear Madames: The days of punishment for your criminal indifference to the life of the people have come to pass. All

that you are experiencing now, all that which tortures you so, is fully deserved by you and I can only say and wish you one thing:

Let those horrors of life, which you yourselves have created, take on still deeper and more intense forms. Let your hearts become still more restless!

Let tears drive sleep away from you! Let a storm of madness and cruelty rage over our Fatherland and burn you!

You deserve this. You will be exhausted, but it may happen that all that which is wholesome and honest in your souls, will be purged of the slime and the baseness which was implanted there, in your souls, to which you have paid so little attention. Your souls are full of vileness, lies, a thirst for domination and of all low instincts.

Dear Madames: You want to know what has come over the people. They have simply lost patience. They were too long silent. They endured violence, without murmuring, for too long a period of time.

Their servile backs have carried the burden of the masters for too long a time. Now they can bear it no longer. Still they have not shaken off entirely the burden which was placed on their shoulders. You are getting frightened too soon, Madam! Between us, what else were the people to do but turn into wild beasts? What have you done for them to expect different results? Have you ever taught them anything good; have you sown in their souls seeds of virtue?

During their entire lives you utilized their labors, their last loaf of bread, without even understanding that you were committing a crime. You were living without asking what you were living on; without inquiring where lay the force that fed you. By the brilliancy of your attire you kindled the envy of the poor and the unfortunate. When you went to your country homes and lived side by side with the peasants, you looked down upon them from above, as though they were an outcast race.

They, however, understood. They are good-natured. But you made them wicked. You held your feasts, in which they, the outcasts, could not participate. And yet you want them to be grateful! Your songs, your music could not afford pleasure to the hungry people. Your frivolity, mixed with contempt for the peasant, could not awaken in his soul a respect for you. What have you done for him? Have you tried to enlighten him? No, you have rather tried to obscure his mind!

And you wanted him to be wise after all this? Oh, no, you did not even think of it. The peasant in your eyes was a sort of cattle. When you spoke to him you treated him as a savage. You did not even want to behold a human being in him. Is it a wonder then that he has now turned into a wild beast?

Madam! Your question expresses not only ignorance of life, but also the hypocrisy of a criminal

who feels his guilt, but does not want to confess his crimes publicly.

You knew, you could not help knowing, how the peasant lived. A human being who is being beaten must avenge himself sooner or later. A human being who is treated mercilessly has no pity for anybody. This is clear. Moreover: it must be so.

How can you look for mercy, for compassion, in the heart in which you sowed vengeance? Madam! In Kiev the good old Russian folk threw out of the window the celebrated manufacturer Brodsky. The governess was also thrown out. But the tiny canary, which was in its cage, was not harmed. Do reflect on this occurrence. This little bird awoke a feeling of pity for it at a moment when human beings were being thrown out of the window. Evidently, outraged hearts still have room for pity. But this pity is not for human beings, as the human beings in question did not deserve it. That is where the whole horror and tragedy lies.

Madam! Are you still fully convinced that you have a right to demand humane treatment, when you yourself have all your life been merciless to your fellow-creature, not considering him a human being, your equal? You are writing letters. You are educated. You have probably read books, in which the life of the peasant is described. What can you expect from the peasants, when you, knowing their lives, did not do anything to alleviate their suffering? Now you are the unfortunate one and you are writing with a hand trembling with fear, writing to a man who—as you might have known—can neither take away your fear, nor alleviate your suffering. No, indeed no! Such are the ways of the world; hearts are places for compassion.

But life in a country, where the people were being beaten up by whips and knouts; in a country where ribs were broken and where people were being crippled for the sake of amusement; in a country where oppression had no bounds, where violence was assuming such forms that one could go out of one's mind with the horror and shame of it—in such a country compassion cannot be found. The people, brought up among the agonies of hell; the people, brought up on beatings and violence, on the fist and the knout—such a people cannot be softhearted. The people, on whose bodies the policemen tread, can tread on the bodies of other people. In a country where inequality has so long reigned, it is difficult for the people to introduce the reign of justice.

We cannot demand that the man who never saw justice should be just. Everything is clear in this world, in which you Madam and your social set have permitted the reign of violence without even a protest. These people feel a slap more keenly than it was felt fifty years ago by the valet of your father.

The people have developed. In the process of

their development, self-respect has grown. Nevertheless, they were still treated as slaves and looked upon as cattle.

Madam! Do not demand from the people that which you did not give them. You have no right to claim the mercy of the people. This people was oppressed. It is being oppressed even now by those who retained some sort of power over them. Now, when Czarism and capitalism brought

the country to revolution, all the dark forces of the people came into play. All that which was buried for centuries exploded, and vengeance seethes on all sides. Nevertheless, the country has another force, a bright force lit up by the great thought, inspired by the radiant dream of justice, liberty and beauty, but, Madam, why should I describe in words the beauty and the greatness of the sea for the person who has no eyes to see it.

Women and Children in Soviet Russia

[We reprint below an article from a recent issue of a German newspaper. It is the most comprehensive account so far published of the activities of the Soviet Government for the protection of the women and children of Russia.]

Scarcely had the Russian proletariat and peasantry wrested the political power for themselves, when the revolutionary government began to take a special interest in the social conditions of mothers and children. The Soviet Government was dominated by the conviction that it is the most sacred duty of society not only to relieve the untold suffering of countless women and children, but also to preserve and develop the priceless future through the physical and spiritual welfare of mother and child.

The administration of the laws concerning mothers and children were entrusted by the government to special sections—departments or under-secretariats of state, as they are called in western Europe—which are under the People's Commissariat for Social Welfare. This ministry is a new creation of the Revolution. As long as Czarism reigned, the propertyless classes, when they were overtaken by need, were thrown on the humiliating charity of the rich, and the philanthropy of benevolent societies. This charity was not only bitter to take, but often also very scanty: mere drops on the burning stone of the people's suffering, which evaporated without appreciably alleviating their suffering, much less banishing it.

Among the triumphs of the first revolution of the Russian proletariat in the year 1905, was government health insurance for industrial workers. The victorious counter-revolution of 1906, however, saw to it that this attempt at social legislation remained in its pitiable beginnings. Only through the revolution of October-November, 1917, were the needy raised from dependence on alms to the position of just claimants for their rights. The proletariat dictatorship did away with penny charity and in its place established the obligation of the State and Society to provide for all needy working men and women.

The organization of the People's Commissariat for Social Welfare is controlled by the provisions concerning social welfare for the working people in the decree of the Council of People's Commissars. These provisions apply without exception to

all productive workers who support themselves by their own labor, and not by the exploitation of the labor of others. Owing to the introduction of the universal obligation to work and the conversion of capitalistic enterprise into common property all the present idle, exploiting bourgeois will become workers, and the social welfare law will, in the near future, apply to the entire population of Russia.

We may well review a few of the provisions of this decree because they benefit the working and professional women, complete the government protection of women workers, and thus take a step in the direction of the protection of mothers.

The social welfare provisions apply in all cases where the workers can no longer be assured of their support as workers, regardless of whether it is a question of permanent or temporary disability or difficulty. In cases of illness, accident, injury and mutilation, infirmities of every kind arising from old age, unavoidable unemployment, etc., the unfortunate have a claim as a matter of right upon social assistance. In the event of involuntary unemployment support will be provided until new employment is obtained, and, moreover, at the rate of the lowest average wage in the locality.

Benefits for permanent and complete incapacity for work will be allowed when more than sixty per cent of the working faculties are defective. The monthly payment in this case is twenty-five times the average daily wage in the locality. Incapacity to the extent of 45-60 per cent gives a claim for three-fourths of the full sum; 30-45 per cent, one-half; 15-30 per cent, one-fifth. Those incapacitated as a result of illness, accident, etc., receive support until the time of their recovery, in the amount of their previous earnings. The same applies to expectant mothers during a period of eight weeks before and eight weeks after confinement, if they perform physical work, six weeks for all others. Absolutely free medical treatment for women with child, before and after confinement, is assured by the general decree, and also,

of course, free assistance by midwife and physician during confinement.

The administrative organs for social welfare are to take measures looking towards the prevention of disease, accident, etc., and to provide the people with medical advice and treatment of every nature, from immediate assistance in the case of sudden illness, to treatment by specialists in hospitals, sanitariums and health-resorts. In addition the worker receives free of charge medicines, remedies, sanitary articles, artificial limbs, etc.

From this general declaration it is evident that extensive social provision is made for the welfare of the workingwoman, the professional woman, and the housewife. It is plain that these measures mean renewed and preserved health and strength for the tasks of motherhood.

Let us now turn to the various establishments for the protection of mother and child, which are under the control of the two separate sections of the Ministry for Social Welfare.

The first steps towards the establishment of these institutions were taken as early as December, 1917, only a few weeks after the proletariat, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, had gained political power. Always in sympathy with expert comrades, women and men—among them Alexandra Kollontay—the government at that time formed a committee of five members for the protection and security of mothers and children with this task to perform: "To treat the questions which bear on the protection and security of motherhood as social functions, as well as the protection of children as an immediate and pressing duty of the State; and to take immediate action in this direction."

The committee was to establish within the central organization of the People's Commissariat for Social Welfare a separate section for the protection of mother and child. This section was to be furnished with all material bearing on the question, and also all available resources, including the balance of a fund of the already established All-Russian Health Resort for the protection of mothers—a welfare institution which had been supported by public contributions.

Further, the committee thus formed was given the task of immediately establishing an All-Russian State Center for the Care of Mothers and Children, in the rooms of the Emperor Nicholas I. Institute for Young Women, and the Alexandra Young Women's School, which were to be fitted up as "Palaces for Motherhood." The Committee for the Protection and Security of Mothers and Children, of which Comrade Alexandra Kollontay was a member, approached its work with as much wisdom as energy and spirit. Its extensive working plan made necessary the establishment and activity of further social organs. The field of work was so broad and many-sided that the earlier single section for the protection of mothers and children had to be divided into sub-sections under state-

secretariats, each of which now has its own limited sphere of activity, although naturally they all work in close co-ordination.

The Section for the Protection of Mothers and Infants has already established a considerable number of homes and asylums for the woman with child. Here the expectant mother can live the last weeks before confinement, doing light work or enjoying careful attention, according to her condition. Institutions for assistance in confinement are open to the women, where in their difficult hours they may obtain the aid of midwives and physicians—and very many of the Russian midwives are far better instructed in their profession than their west-European colleagues, and possess considerable medical knowledge.

In these homes the expectant mothers are instructed in the care and feeding of infants. There are special wards for the sick, to lessen the danger of contagion, as well as to provide the necessary treatment for the patients. When the mother has been delivered, she leaves the maternity home, and may be transferred with her child to an infants' home, which is under the supervision of children's specialists. For children whose mothers have died there are special nursing homes, where they are nursed from the breast.

In factories and shops the section establishes day nurseries in conjunction with rest-rooms where the mothers can nurse their infants. Similar institutions are established in the country during the summer, for the women who work in the fields. The section has its own milk stations, which furnish milk for mothers and children, and it controls and supervises the handling of milk for infants and children. It organizes courses for the men and women who conduct the homes for mothers and infants. Here they can prepare themselves as specialists.

Above all, the section for the protection of children has in its care the bringing up of children who are public charges; abandoned, orphans, children born out of wedlock, children of beggars and prostitutes, of mothers and fathers who have been, because of drunkenness, criminality, etc., deprived of parental rights, etc.

Then come the provisions covering three kinds of abnormal children; for the physically abnormal, the mentally abnormal, and the morally defective. The last includes all children and minors who have committed a misdemeanor or crime, and who, in accordance with the law of January 17, 1918, are not placed on trial and judged, but are handed over to the People's Commissariat for Social Welfare. Among the duties of the section is included the establishment of children's homes and asylums, which are to take the place of the family for the homeless children. There the education is based on the principle of vocational instruction and the self-reliance of the child. The homes and asylums contain, therefore, not only playgrounds and playrooms, libraries and reading rooms, but also work-

shops, gardens, breeding-yards for small animals, etc. When the children have reached a certain age—provided they are not abnormal—they must attend the regular schools and educational institutions. They remain in the homes until 17 years of age, and then begin life for themselves, although the State still watches over them and provides social assistance through various representatives as guardians.

The People's Commissariat for Social Welfare carries on its work for the protection of mothers and children in cooperation with the Ministry for Popular Education. In the first place a network of popular kindergarten institutions has been planned which is to extend over all Russia. Here they are to take the children who are not yet of school age, from 4 to 8 years old, and constitute the first preparatory grade of the uniform school. For children from 4 to 6 years old attendance in kindergarten is voluntary, for children from 6 to 8 it is obligatory. The kindergarten is based on the consideration, among others, that commonly the children beginning school are not sufficiently developed and prepared to pursue their studies with profit. In the kindergarten the children are to be prepared for them, without too great a strain upon their delicate health.

As affairs stand in Russia, it is not sufficient to organize institutions, and furnish them with money. There is a dearth of trained workers and such forces must be developed. The Commissariat for Popular Education has, therefore, decided to hold in Moscow and a number of provincial cities courses for men and women who wish to act as

assistants in the kindergarten schools, as well as courses for teachers who have completed their pedagogic instruction, who will direct the education of children too young to start school. The courses for the assistants are to take six months, those for the experienced teachers longer. At the same time a school for attendants in the day-nurseries was founded in Moscow. A model nursery for the infants of workingwomen was to form part of this school. Instruction is free for the attendants and teachers in the nurseries and kindergarten schools.

In the period from January 1, to June 30, 1918, the sum of 22,730,000 roubles was expended in the housing plans of the Russian Soviet Republic for foundling homes, maternity and infant homes, children's asylums, nurseries, etc. In the second half of 1918 the People's Commissariat for Social Welfare expended in all 600 million roubles. The estimated cost for the first half of 1919 is about two milliards of roubles. In consideration of these sums the depreciation of the Russian rouble and the great social distress must be borne in mind. The social distress is the harmful legacy of Czarism and Capitalism as well as of the world war; as well as the fruit of the hermetic isolation of Russia from world intercourse through the blockade enforced by world imperialism. But, in spite of this, there remains a vast amount of social welfare activity, courageously conceived, and being executed by the best forces at the cost of great sacrifices.

This performance deserves as much wonder as emulation.

Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK.

NEW YORK, April 26, 1920.

MAJOR SANFORD GRIFFITH, an A. E. F. officer, who served on the Armistice Commission on Industrial Restoration, gives a rather amazing summary of the situation on the Polish front in the *Globe* of April 23, which must not be passed without notice.

Major Griffith believes that "the much heralded drive against the Poles is merely a manoeuvre by Lenin to hurry peace with his most stubborn military opponent."

"The Russian offensive on Poland was timid," says Major Griffith, "more to give impetus to Bolshevik unrest spreading in western Europe than

to realize immediate military gains." . . . "The military objectives were slight and the Russian forces used were inferior to the troops on the eastern front."

So, according to Major Griffith's military logic, the Russians, who are fighting the Polish army in order to force the militaristic Polish Government to conclude an early peace, are using not only troops inferior to those of their eastern front, but are undertaking a manoeuvre while neglecting to realize immediate military gains, and are directing their operations to "slight military objectives," while, at the same time, "the Russians hoped, however, for enough local gains to improve their hand in the peace negotiations with the Poles."

Major Griffith discovers also that the Russian offensive on Poland is complicated by the operations on two fronts, namely: the front which extends north of the Pripet Marshes, and the front south of those marshes. He considers the Pripet Marshes "an impassable barrier in any but the frozen season," and in this he is quite right.

CORRECTION.

In the "Military Review" by Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek, printed in the last issue of *Soviet Russia*, (No. 17), the sentence, "It is very probable that the Japanese have tried to make a last effort to utilize the remainders of the revolutionary element of the region . . ." should read "reactionary element."

When we recall that it was just during the frozen season that the Polish offensive began in that region, and that the Poles, as we know, attacked the Russians in the Mozir district in the beginning of March, we cannot agree with Major Griffith that the Russian counter-offensive is complicated by the fact that, owing to the melting conditions of the Pripet marshes, they have become, as Major Griffith states, an impassable barrier. On the contrary, I regard this as a great advantage for the Russian army. First of all, the single Polish front is thus divided in two. The central part of it, which finds itself separated from both flanks, is being finally engaged by the enemy. This central Polish army, which is fighting in the Mozir region, has in its rear the same "impassable barrier," mentioned by Major Griffith, while both Polish fronts, the northern as well as the southern, are threatened fiercely by the Russians, and pushed far back to the Polish frontier.

The more important front for the Poles is the northern, says Major Griffith, and "it is here that they have concentrated their troops. Control of the neck of land over Smolensk opens for them the doorway to Moscow, fifteen days' march distant."

"That territory," says the Major, "the Poles call the key to their house. They demand it as an essential to their own security. They point out that all of the great Russian invasions have passed this way and that Napoleon's campaign was largely fought here."

The Russian General Staff knows very well that the Poles are expecting a Russian counter-stroke directed straight against their northern forces. But, as they are far from any intention of copying the Napoleonic campaign, "the Soviet forces on the other hand have preferred to strike from the south. There they have the broad plains of Podolia from which they can strike at the heart of the Polish food supply region."

"The Russians had another important consideration in striking here," admits Major Griffith, "in that they could concentrate most easily on this front the heavy artillery captured from Denikin."

By way of comment on these accurate reflections, I can say that the heavy blow of the Red army, inflicted on the Poles in Podolia, was due mostly to the fact that it came upon the Polish Headquarters Staff comparatively unexpected, and was all the more advantageous to Russian strategy, because of the complete victory of the Russian army over the invaders in South Russia. The debacle of the Denikin hordes and the failure of the Allied intervention was a real catastrophe to the Polish military calculations and finally changed entirely their carefully prepared plan of invading Russia, with Moscow as their strategical objective.

It is too late for the Poles to undertake a new regrouping of their armies. They have already penetrated very far into Russian territory and, deprived of means of communication, and having

thrown out a long front, they found themselves on the defensive, but now again return to an offensive being misled by their French advisers.

"The Poles," says Major Griffith, "have nothing to gain by prolonging operations. . . . They need a peace which will permit them to consolidate their present territorial gains (?) They are divided on the question of embarking on new military adventures in the direction of Moscow. But all agree on the real need of peace in the near future."

"The Poles," continues Major Griffith, "have 300,000 of their army thoroughly equipped for the field, but their stores would not last longer than two months during operations. The army is a burden many times larger than the country can possibly carry for a length of time."

So that we at last can see that we were right in our former articles: in categorically protesting against the official declaration that the Polish army is 750,000 strong and fully equipped to accomplish its task of aggression in Russia. The truth is gradually coming out. On the other hand, Major Griffith tried to convince his readers that the Poles have a number of the fighting troops equal to those of Russia. "The Russians," he says, "have some twenty-two divisions in line, in all some 300,000 men. Nine of these are to the north of the Pripet and thirteen are to the south."

The Poles have an equal number of fighting troops on the battle front and, according to the statement of the Major, most of them are concentrated on the northern front. "In addition, some 200,000 are in depots and training in the rear, a total army of some 500,000." These 200,000 men in training can be considered as strategical reserves, which scarcely could be used in the field, and are required for guarding the extensive Polish frontiers against Germany, Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania, as well as for maintaining the general order in the country. I have also in my possession very interesting data about the Polish forces, published in the Polish newspaper *Swit*, in Vienna, of February 20, from very creditable military sources, which throw some light on the situation of the Polish front.

There were six countries which the Entente wished to use for the "cordon sanitaire," to shut off Soviet Russia, viz: Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, Rumania and Finland. Esthonia recently withdrew from this combination, after concluding peace with Russia and Finland.

Since Mr. Stackelberg became President of the Finnish Republic, the majority of the people have declared themselves against war with Russia, but some sort of hostilities have taken place along the northern part of the Russian frontier, with the Finns.

The Esthonian military force is well organized, but numerically not strong. Only 30,000 Esthonians, under General Deninson, are in the army

fully armed and equipped by the English. These soldiers, however, were thoroughly in sympathy with the Bolsheviks, and finally Esthonia was obliged to sign peace with Soviet Russia.

The military strength of the Letts was lately estimated at 20,000 men, and, in spite of all difficulties, the Letts are about to make peace with Moscow.

Lithuania, after the defeat of Denikin, withdrew her promise given at Reval, and deserted the anti-Bolshevik coalition, considering it to be more profitable to go against Poland, whose army had occupied the greater part of Lithuanian territory. With only about 12,000 men as their whole military force, the Lithuanians, without Russian support, cannot fight the Poles, and therefore they automatically became the allies of Soviet Russia during the Polish campaign.

Rumania still observes neutrality, and has 126,000 men in all her military forces.

As *Svit* declares, Poland has a well organized army of 250,000 men.

On the Bolshevik front, from Dvinsk to the Dniester, the following army corps are holding the lines: 1, 50,000 men under the command of General Shepticky. This line is extended from Dvinsk, in a southerly direction, and ends at the railway line Kobrin-Gomel. These forces are confronted with the Lithuanians and with the Russians on the Molodetchno-Polock line; 2, the group under General Listovsky, 12,000 strong, is occupying a front between the Kobrin-Gomel railway line and the railroad of Kovel-Sarny, comprising also 5,000 men of General Zygodlovich; and 3, the forces of General Tvashkevitch are holding the line from the Kovel-Sarny railway to the River Dniester, to the number of 60,000. In total, there are facing the Russians and Lithuanians 122,000 men, and about 28,000 tactical reserves at several points of the battle front.

Besides these forces, the Poles have at their disposition a reserve army 100,000 strong, with its chief headquarters in Warsaw. The Commander-in-Chief is General Haller.

The Polish army is divided into three parts: a) the forces mobilized from the former Austrian regiments; b) the forces which formerly belonged to the German army (Posen); and c) the so-called Haller army. The latter is considered as the best fighting unit having at its head the crack Posnansky Regiment. In Haller's army about ten per cent of the officers are French.

The inner political situation in Poland cannot be considered as secure. On several occasions, I have pointed out the fact that the revolution in Poland is already in progress. The Polish newspaper *Glos Robotniczy*, of Detroit, gives a great quantity of material to strengthen a belief in an early revolution in Poland. The bourgeois newspaper *Kurier Warszawsky* already at the end of January speaks agitatedly of the growth of the Bolshevik movement among the Polish workmen

and peasants. "Happily for our army," says this paper, "60 per cent of our men are illiterate and therefore cannot read the pamphlets and other propaganda which are distributed in masses amongst our troops (*Kurier Warszawsky*, 29 Jan., 1920). Every day hundreds of men are shot in the Polish army for desertion and it has been reported that an entire company, which was ready to go over to the Bolsheviks, were destroyed to the last man by the loyal Polish troops.

From a private letter of an American Pole serving with the occupational forces in Pomerania, we have learned of a very significant fact. When the soldiers of the Polish army in Germany understood that they were to go to the Russian front, they energetically protested against fighting Bolsheviks and asked to be immediately returned to America.

The recruiting for the Polish army in Poland, as can be seen from the Socialist Polish press, is accompanied by an indescribable lawlessness and the most savage atrocities on the part of the Polish authorities. Even the women are pitilessly persecuted by the new law of compulsory work.

And in the presence of such conditions, Major Griffith considers the Polish military organization as inspired "with an enthusiasm which makes them an effective fighting force" against the Red Army on the Polish front, of not less than a million men, having in their rear inexhaustible reserves, discipline and real revolutionary enthusiasm.

We must not neglect the fact that while all the world is trembling at the prospect of revolution, all its armies in the field are entirely dependent on the conduct of the working people at home. While strikes are the greatest menace to any imperialistic-capitalistic government, and especially to those which are in a state of war, Russia is absolutely free from all these troubles. Her armies can fight their enemy without any fear of revolution at home; no strike can trouble Russia any longer and complicate the supply of war material and ammunition or fresh reserves to the fighting forces.

There cannot be a strike in Russia, because nobody would strike against himself. This cannot be said of Russia's enemies.

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The Polish Demands

AFTER the sweeping "victories" of the Poles over the Red armies, reported with such great joy in the press of this country a month or so ago, there ensued with regard to the Russo-Polish situation a silence, only now and then interrupted by scanty news of a vague nature which, however, indicated that the Soviet Government was not much perturbed by the Polish buffonade, and that Russia, while constantly emphasizing its sincere intent of stopping the military operations and negotiating peace, was also at the same time using pressure of a military nature to convince the bellicose Polish statesmen and war managers that it was not its military weakness which induced it to offer and insist upon peace. The military "arguments" on Soviet Russia's part must not have been altogether devoid of influence—accompanied as they surely were by new approaches for an amicable settlement—for in the *Times* of April 20 we read,—quite unexpectedly considering the veil thrown over Russo-Polish affairs,—that the indefatigable Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Patek,—indefatigable at least so far as his traveling abilities are concerned—has again journeyed from Poland to the "West," this time to San Remo, in order to present to the "protectors" in the Supreme Council the plight of Poland and to obtain "permission" concluding a "separate" peace with Soviet Russia.

The bewildered reader who might ask why Poland, which had already been solemnly "warned" by the Supreme Council to desist from territorial demands on Soviet Russia such as are far beyond what had been granted to Poland by the peace treaty of Versailles, should yet need "permission" to conduct negotiations and to come to an agreement with Soviet Russia, must not forget the trivial fact that for professional diplomats the tongue is but an instrument to conceal their thoughts and intentions. We have no actual information on the subject, but we should not be surprised if the quest of Mr. Patek represents but a new demand for material support for Poland from the Allies and a stronger emphasis of the fact that if the Polish propertied classes are ready to spill the blood of the Polish workers and peasants for the Allied cause of making Soviet Russia "harmless," they want the price to be paid in cold cash and not in promissory notes. Whether the Allies are in a position to pay the Polish war bill is another question, the decision of which will determine the feeling with which Mr. Patek will return to Warsaw and report to his colleagues in the art of government of his "success" as it will no less influence the position of and determination with which the Polish peace envoys will insist upon obtaining satisfaction of their "stern" demands.

To be sure, according to the *Gazeta Warszawska*

(Warsaw) Mr. Patek himself considered the peace conditions offered to Soviet Russia by Poland as being merely of the nature of a trial balloon—he is reported as having said that diplomacy was but a form of barter—in which it was necessary to set out by putting forward the highest terms in order to make it possible to reduce them during the negotiations. On our part we may designate the Polish peace conditions as a mere bluff, the bluff of a gambler who with defiant mien hazards his last money on high stakes in order to conceal his bankruptcy. Such and no other must be the impression of anyone who analyzes the conditions offered by Poland to Soviet Russia, even if he is only superficially acquainted with the present situation of Poland. As these conditions have received but little attention in the American press, we wish to dwell upon them in brief, accepting the version in the form purporting to come from the Polish Legation at Washington and published in the *Times* of March 27.

1. Russia must renounce sovereignty to all territories obtained through the partitioning of Poland, the western Russian frontier to revert to that of 1772, before the first partitioning of Poland. The territories and peoples in the regions between the Eastern frontier of Poland, as decided by negotiations, and the old frontier of 1772, are to fall under a Polish protectorate, to assure such peoples of the right of free decision as to their future fate and national connections by general vote.
2. Russia must recognize the independence of all the States which on the western frontier of Russia, have established de facto governments.
3. Russia must agree to refrain from any propaganda whatever on territories forming part of the Polish States.
4. Russia must indemnify Poland for the devastation of lands and industries caused by the over-running of Poland by Russian armies since 1914.
5. Russia must return to Poland all locomotives and rolling stock, including the thousands of railway carriages taken from Poland by Russia since the beginning of the war in 1914, this rolling stock to be returned in good condition, or the value of such rolling stock in cash.
6. Russia must indemnify in cash all Poles inhabiting Russian territory whose properties have been destroyed.
7. The exchange of war prisoners must be undertaken and the free return to Poland of all emigrants is to take place from the moment of the signing of the armistice.
8. Russia will supply trains so that the Polish Army in Siberia may return to Poland, and this with the honors of war, with ammunition, arms and food.
9. Russia must return to Poland all the archives, the works of art, libraries and collections taken from Poland, from the first invasion of Poland during the first partitioning of the Polish State up to the present time, this applying equally to both public and private collections.
10. As a guarantee that Russia will keep these conditions, the Polish Army will occupy the Government of Smolensk, together with the town of Smolensk, from which territory it will withdraw as soon as Russia has fulfilled the last condition of peace with Poland.

11. The peace treaty must be ratified by a duly elected Russian representative Diet.

There can be no doubt that of the eleven "demands" put out by Poland the bitterest struggle will centre around the first. As absurd as are some of the other demands, so far as their justification is concerned, they relate to matters of minor importance, and their settlement reduces itself to paying a certain sum as "ransome" or "smart" money, without involving any matters of principle and meeting, as they surely will, with counter-demands from the Russian side; while two or three of the points are surely included as "demands" in order to save the face of the government before the "people" in case others fall flat, as these points have been proposed by the Soviet Government itself a long time ago and are for the most part included in the Esthonian treaty published in *Soviet Russia* of April 17.

The case with point one is different, however.

We must state at the start that, according to our belief, the Soviets would not balk at renouncing the Russian imperial rights to territories lying on the border line of Russia and inhabited by non-Russian population, insofar as these border peoples have their own established governments and express a desire to sever their connection with Russia, as this attitude constitutes the Bolshevik political program—proclaimed as soon as they got into power, its most recent realization having found its way into the Esthonian treaty. But the Polish demand means something else. It means not only a renunciation of Russian rights to the non-Polish regions—no question will arise of course of renouncing Russian rights to Polish provinces—included within the Polish frontiers of 1772, but also a restitution of Polish rights to regions which first of all were not ceded to Poland by the treaty of Versailles, and which—and this is more important—are themselves aspiring for independence. The Poles or, more correctly, the Polish nationalists, contend that such renunciation and restitution would mean but righting the historic "crime" committed against Poland of partitioning her territory among the three despoilers and that Poland has a "historic right" to these lands that had been torn away from her by sheer force. We venture to suggest that an international court of equity, if existing, might have looked with a goodly degree of suspicion upon property rights as antiquated as these. But this is not the point. The Soviet leaders can by no means share in the ideas and notions of "historic rights" which are in direct contradiction to their position in the matter of national rights. Recognizing fully the right to self-determination of those peoples which were formerly a part of the Russian empire, up to the point even of severance of their connection with their "mother" country, the Soviet leaders do not infer such national rights from any "historic rights" of a nation, but from the actual needs and wishes of the people who themselves inhabit the

particular region, without any regard to any "historic rights" whatsoever of any nation or nations that might claim priority rights to the land. In the case of Poland, whatever might be her rights to the frontiers of 1772, the decisive point is the wishes of the people inhabiting these places, who must by no means be prevented from attaining their own independence if they so will, or even remaining in a union with Russia. And if the Soviets are to renounce the Russian imperial rights to these lands, they will renounce them, not to Poland, but to the respective independent peoples. It must also be added that if we insist upon the "historical" ground, who knows but it might be Lithuania that might claim the "restitution" of these Ukrainian, White-Russian, Lithuanian, and even Lettish lands. For the Poland that has come out of the world war can by no means be regarded as the legal successor of the old Polish Republic that was partitioned for the first time in 1772. One must not forget that the Polish Republic was by the agreement of Lublin (1569) a union of two states, Poland and Russo-Lithuania, the now disputed lands having belonged before the union to Lithuania. And for that matter, the Lithuanian nationalists deny completely any right to Poland to these lands, not even that devolving from the union at Lublin, as the Lublin agreement was imposed upon Lithuania by trickery and force and the union was exploited by Poland against the best interests of the native Lithuanian and Russian element.

We do not of course attach any importance to these quibbles, except in order to point out the flimsy character of such "historic rights" and to emphasize the fact that the business of "righting" historical "wrongs," if pursued, can have no end, as every new "correction" of history invariably involves the commission of a new wrong.

But does not Poland also promise self-determination to these people ("free decision as to their future fate and national connection")? Does not the whole affair thus reduce itself to the formal question from whose hands these peoples are to receive their independence? Not at all. Poland insists that in the interim these lands are to fall under her protectorate, which can only mean that the "general vote" of the people that is supposed to take place in these regions would have to proceed under the benevolent protection of the Polish armies of occupation. To picture the conditions under which the "free will" of the people would have to assert itself would be to impose too much upon the reader within the limits of this article. Those interested are referred to accounts of what is already going on in the non-Polish regions occupied by the Polish armies—we shall speak of it in the future—as well as to accounts of the condition in the Upper Silesia and Teschend Silesia districts, where plebiscites are taking place as to the future connection of these lands, with Poland

or Germany, with Poland or Czecho-Slovakia.* In Teschen, for instance, seeing that the result of the "general vote" might go against the Poles, Polish newspapers are inciting to war against Czecho-Slovakia, as are Polish military men, one of whom, General Litinik, having said "where the vote will fail the sword will correct." If this is the feeling toward the Czech Republic, which is a power that cannot be considered lightly by the Poles, one may be sure that the Polish militarists and nationalists will not use too much ceremony with regard to some fragments of states that might wish to run "amuck."

It is not too much to say that Soviet Russia will not agree to a subjugation by Poland of Lithuanian, Lettish, White-Russian and Ukranian lands and peoples. By the irony of fate it was the German designs upon Poland that formed the first stumbling block in the Brest Litovsk negotiations. And if the Polish annexationists desire now to repeat the feat of Germany at Brest-Litovsk, they should not forget that between the military situation of Russia at the beginning of 1918 and that of the present there exists as great a difference as, to say the least, between the military strength of Germany of that time and that of the present day Poland. If thus the arrogant behavior of General Hoffman could have produced at times—as related by Trotsky in his book—a "refreshing" impression, the arrogant rattling of swords by the generals Pilsudsky or Szeptytsky can but create an impression of blatant impotence.

Unless matters take an entirely different turn, it is impossible to believe that Poland will obtain the consent of Soviet Russia to point one of her terms.

Point two of the Polish demands will surely create no controversy if it is meant in good faith. Should, however, the Polish "diplomats," expect, under cover of this point, to slip through the recognition of the abortive Petlura "government" with its seat at Warsaw, they are bound to meet with disappointment. Thanks to his dickerings with the Poles (and the French), Petlura has lost even what little influence with the Ukrainians he used to have, and has now even less claim to a rule over Ukrainian lands than the Poles themselves, the latter having an army to support the claim while he is being kept up by the Poles at their capital only to guarantee the title to a Polish protectorate over Ukranian regions ceded to them by the adventurous general for some material favors.

Point three will arouse no controversy, having

* As a matter of fact, Poland is not very solicitous in insisting upon her "historic rights" where the latter are of more than problematical nature, but where the tendencies in the growth of the population might permit the assumption that the people might favor a union with Poland, as is the case in some parts of the Silesian lands, which had been lost to Poland before the first partition of 1772.

been long ago stipulated by the Soviet Government itself, and already included in the Esthonian treaty.

Whatever practical results the Poles might gain from point four, that is whether they obtain satisfaction upon it or not, one must most emphatically refute the imputation which forms the basis thereof. There is being created an impression as if Poland, in the war that has just passed, had been a neutral country "overrun" by overpowering armies of its warring neighbors. Aside from the absurdity of such assumption from the formal standpoint of international law, there having existed no Poland at the time of the declaration of war and during the war, and each part of Poland being recognized only as an organic part of the state to which it belonged, it is absolutely false from the standpoint of fact. It is well known that—with the exception of some class conscious elements among the working masses which have been actively protesting against the war—the rest of the Poles have not only stood loyally by the government of the country into which that particular part of Poland had been incorporated, but have most zealously supported it in the pursuance of the war. Nay, more it was the Polish capitalist classes of Congress Poland that long before the war were not only supporting, together with their Russian brethren, the imperialistic designs of Czardom, but were using their influence to push the Russian Government upon this imperialist road. Most of the Polish nobility and middle class in Austria where they were urging a war on Russia, behaved analogously. To this circumstance must be ascribed the tragi-comical spectacle—beheld during the war—of two Polish "national" committees (one at Paris with Roman Dmowski as its head, the other at Cracow with Pilsudsky as its military leader), each respectively offering Poland as an "ally" either to the Allies or to the Central powers. At any rate it little behooves anyone to speak of "overrunning" Poland by the Russian armies, especially those gentlemen and ladies of the Polish bourgeoisie who in 1914 and 1915 were bestowing flowers on the Cossacks and their horses, calling them in elation their "saviours." Moreover, the blame for it must be shared in an equal measure by the rest of the Allies, and Poland might demand this indemnity from them out of the sums that the Allies are to get from Germany, or at least a reduction of the "ransom" Poland has to pay France as a price for her liberation, by Poland's share in the indemnity.

With regard to point five Mr. Patek will have to use his faculty of bargaining. For information's sake we wish to state that, with the exception of some small branch lines of little importance, all railroad lines in the former Congress Poland were state owned, that is they were incorporated in the Russian imperial system of railroads, the

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SOVIET RUSSIA

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DENIKIN is reported to be in London. His stay in Constantinople was only long enough to permit him to witness such convincing indications of disorganization in counter-revolutionary circles as the murder of one of his chief officers in the building of the counter-revolutionary Russian Ministry to Turkey; this Ministry has been getting money for its maintenance, not from Russia, but from counter-revolutionary centres elsewhere.

In London, Denikin says he is going to rest: all he wants is a little house in some quiet corner, in which to spend about three months of retirement, in order to be ready for a continuation, at a later date, of the rather arduous task of fighting the Soviet Government, a government that is so strong in Russia that Denikin was turned out of the southern part of that country by its adherents.

No doubt every facility will be granted to Denikin to recover from his heavy labors and to prepare for the other tasks still to come. Let us remember, however, that Denikin never bore the brunt of the fighting in Ukraine and the Don Region, that he had under him tens of thousands of soldiers, some of them volunteers, some of the mercenaries, —and most of them conscripted by force from the unwilling populations over whom he had secured temporary domination. These men also have had a hard life of it, during the past two years, and a number had previously seen service in three years of international warfare. Are they to have little houses in London, where they can rest for a few months, preparatory to their aiding in the great

work of reconstruction to which the Soviet Government invites every man, woman and child in Russia? It appears that they are still in and around Novorossiysk, and it is Denikin's powerful opponent, the Soviet Government, that will have to nurse them back from disease to health before they may take their part in Russia's new life.

How they would have fared if Denikin and his officers alone had been consulted, will be clear from an account we have recently found in a French newspaper describing the plight of the forces of another counter-revolutionary paladin, Yudenich, when he left them to their fate as Denikin later left his own victims. We quote literally from *Le Populaire* of March 27:

"General Yudenich's boasts, reproduced in the press some days ago, are not altogether in place when we recall the condition in which he left the broken remnants of his army in Esthonia. In the *Reval Courier* we read the following appeal published by the sanitary department of the Red Army of the Northwest, through its Reval office: 'Famine, disease and cold have hundreds of victims daily. The medical and sanitary staff, itself decimated by typhus, has gradually disappeared; there are not hands enough to lift the bodies of the dead where they have fallen; a frequent result is that the dead remain lying for days by the side of those who are still living. The few who are not yet infected by one of the epidemic diseases have had nothing to eat but small crusts of bread, and perhaps, at long intervals, a little lard.'"

Le Populaire recognizes that this fate is shared only by those unfortunates who have been doing the actual dirty work of the counter-revolution in Russia, and not by the persons responsible for egging on these unfortunates against their fellowmen in Soviet Russia. Our French contemporary therefore continues:

"Such is the situation of the white guards who have been abandoned by their chiefs. And yet—in the drawing-rooms of the Russian emigres at Paris, whose intrigues are at the bottom of all these counter-revolutionary enterprises, there is dancing and merriment every night.

"At Nice, at Menton, at Connes, these emigres deny themselves nothing. But no matter how much they may have at their disposal, they do not neglect, in addition, to send down their footmen to the bureaus of municipal philanthropy, to collect for their masters the allowance of 250 francs a month that is made by the French Government to Russians of a complacent turn of mind."

POLAND, we were informed sometime ago, was demanding fabulous sums from Soviet Russia as an "indemnity." This was probably untrue, as the incredible sum that was demanded already sufficiently indicated, but we sincerely hope that if any money is desired to be collected from Soviet Russia, it will not be for the purpose of turning it over to the families of well-known Russian reac-

tionaries. It would be amusing if the Polish Government should feel itself called upon to act as the financial trustee of the Romanovs and others, as is suggested by the following curious account taken from a Warsaw periodical (*Wspoldzielca*, "Co-operator"):

At one of the conferences in one of our ministries I came accidentally across an interesting story which is probably little known. The debate concerned the use for the purposes of cultivation of some suburbs and city grounds; some one mentioned on this occasion the fruit gardens at the Lazienki Palace in Warsaw and asked to whom and on what conditions these had been rented. The Minister of Agriculture and State Domains offered the information that the matter of these gardens could not be definitely settled, since they "are the private property of the Romanov family."

When some of those present began to laugh, taking the remark as a joke, the representative of the government, who did not seem to be at all confused, stated with dignity: "The Romanov family is numerous and is not yet extinct; we have no right to dispose of their property without reaching an understanding with them."

But we should never forget that the present Polish Government is not entirely its own master, and that much of its solicitude for the integrity of imperial property may be due to instructions from governments at one time more intimately associated with the Romanovs than that of Poland, which only recently came into existence.

NOW that the war between the imperialistic great powers is almost at an end, with new sources for future conflicts perceptibly developing in many quarters, the business of "international conciliation" is again beginning to look up. Organizations which placed themselves unreservedly at the disposal of chauvinistic agitation as soon as their pacifist propaganda became displeasing to the forces in power, are once more finding their old work as attractive as once it was, and are again beginning to sound the sweet notes of peace in a world which the Italian premier Nitti would have us believe has "forgotten to smile."

We do not know whether the American Association for International Conciliation was one of those institutions that "adapted" their mission to the temporary needs of the moment, but it is pleasing to note that the association is still publishing its pamphlets, and that some of them appear to be of relatively peaceful intent. The most recent publication of this organization is a little pamphlet entitled "Some Bolshevik Portraits," which endeavors to distribute rather evenly, and with some show of impartiality, over all the well-known figures concerned in the present administration of Soviet Russia, the full measure of obloquy that the newspaper press would desire to attach to their names. This pacifist document, by the way, is a reprint of an identical piece of propaganda that had previously been circulated by that stalwart source of misinformation on Soviet Russia, the *London Times*.

What purpose of "international conciliation" can be served by printing and circulating cheap

newspaper propaganda obtained from mendacious and prejudiced sources? And what "international conciliation" was the *London Times* pursuing, when it first printed this stuff in its columns and then spread it broadcast in leaflet form? Was it "international conciliation" between the Soviet Government and the capitalist governments of the world with which Soviet Russia is ready to live at peace, or was it rather a desire to cement the common purpose of hatred and hostility that animates most of the world's governments today against the government of the people that has been set up in Russia? And what interest can the prominent Jews, whose names are printed in the pamphlet as supporters of the "international conciliation" movement, have in fostering the intense anti-semitic spirit which pervades the whole of the pamphlet?

A READER questions our statistics of the ethnographical distribution of the population of non-Polish territory invaded by the Polish army (see *Soviet Russia* of March 27). He is under the impression, based on personal observation, that the population of the districts of Sokolka, Bialystok and Bielsk is predominantly Polish, whereas, according to our table, the Polish-speaking population in those three districts was represented by the following percentages: Bialystok, 41.8; Bielsk, 34.9; Sokolka, 1.1. These figures were based upon the results of the Russian Imperial Census of 1897, which are the only available data concerning nationality. The test of nationality was the mother tongue of the population.

Our correspondent reiterates the opinion expressed by Mr. Adam Zakrzewski, in his Russian book, *Poland, statistical, ethnographic outlines*, published at Kiev in 1916. The Polish author claims that those three districts "ought to be assigned in part to Polish ethnographic territory" (page 31). Yet he himself admits that those three districts represent "a section with a mixed population, whose ethnographic character is difficult to be determined, but in the western parts of those districts, especially of Bialystok and Bielsk, the Poles constitute a compact mass of the population."

In a further paragraph the same author says: "In the absence of data relating to the racial distribution of the population by minor divisions according to the ethnographic boundaries, the Polish population occupies here about one-third of the whole area." According to the author's estimate, out of the fifteen cantons (*volost*) of the district of Bielsk, a compact Polish population is found only in five, a mixed population in one, whereas in the remaining nine the Ukrainians predominate. This estimate does not substantially differ from the results of the census of 1897, which has registered in the district of Bielsk 34.9 per cent of the population as Polish-speaking.

The Polish Demands

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actually Polish—though much of the capital was German owned—system of the Warsaw-Vienna lines (that is internal Polish railroads, the others, like the Warsaw-Petersburg line traversing Poland only in part) having been taken over by the Russian government in 1912. The same was the situation of Polish railroads under Austria and Prussia. There is reason to believe that the Poles want more than they might be entitled to, as the rolling stock “taken out from Poland by Russia since the beginning of the war in 1914” contained certainly a very large amount of locomotives and cars from internal Russian lines concentrated in Poland because of mobilization. Moreover, some part of that stock has surely been captured by Germany, and the Polish diplomats might do well to demand it from their protectress France, into whose hands it will fall, together with other rolling stock that Germany is to give to France.

Point six can hardly be regarded as having any justification on the basis of accepted standards. “Poles inhabiting Russian territory”—save if they came from Austrian or Prussian part—could not have the status of foreigners in Russia, but were (and might be even now) Russian subjects who had to bear their fortunes or adversities equally with the rest of the latter. For that matter, the Soviet Government might claim the return of the war profits which the Polish business men and manufacturers have drawn out of the Russian treasury, which escaped taxation or nationalization by the Soviets only thanks to the new situation of Poland.

Point seven is a matter upon which, to our understanding, it will be comparatively easy to come to terms.

As to point eight, we are unable to understand why the Polish army in Siberia, most of which has been captured by the Red armies in Siberia, should not fall under the general provisions of point seven concerning prisoners of war. So far as the “honors of war” are concerned, it is rather difficult to restore them to a body that has lost them in such ignominious manner, fighting voluntarily the battles of Kolchak and other bloody counter-revolutionary generals. Still harder is it to conceive how the Soviet Government, taught by the bitter lesson of the Czecho-Slovak uprising, could permit a large body of foreign soldiers (about fifteen thousand) to travel through Russia with arms. However it may turn out, we venture to state that judging from the correspondence of these poor wretches of soldiers published in the Polish press, they would more than gladly forego all the military and other “honors” for which their statesmen are so solicitous—including even those with which their “grateful” fatherland will greet them upon their return—if only they could return as soon as possible to their native places.

As to point nine, we ask the reader to acquaint himself with the contents of a Soviet Government order, issued on April 6, 1918, under No. 594 (see *Education and Art in Soviet Russia*, p. 58*), from which he may see that the Soviet Government proposed already two years ago the very thing which the Polish Government is “demanding” now. And let us add, proposed it at a time when the present military and other leaders of Poland were busy harming and stabbing revolutionary Russia in every conceivable way: those within the confines of Russia trying to fish out the Polish soldiers from the Russian army in order to create a national Polish army, presumably to fight against Germany, but in reality to protect the interests of the Polish landowners and capitalists wherever possible, to recall but the instance of the illustrious General Dowbor-Musnitsky who, with his army, went over to the Germans and handed to them the city of Minsk in order to save the large Polish estates from the claims of the peasants; the others, on the other side of the firing line, still fighting in the ranks of the renowned Polish legions, that creation of the present Chief of the Polish state, Joseph Pilsudsky, against revolutionary Russia as if it were the Russia of old, and still clinging to the Central powers in the expectation of Polish freedom from their hands. Truly, if one recalls the exploits of the modern Polish “patriots” posing as the “liberators” of Poland, one does not know which to “admire” more, their arrogance, their utter lack of principle, or their political stupidity.

As to point ten, we are unable to say—by way of counter proposal—what part of Poland the Soviet Government will wish to occupy temporarily as Poland’s guarantee of the fulfillment of the treaty. Of one thing we may rest assured: the Soviet Government could not rely upon the traditional Polish *verbum nobile*, as a guarantee, for the world has yet fresh in its memory the breach of faith committed by the Polish Government in May 1919, when it used the army of General Haller against the Ukrainians, in order to subjugate Eastern Galicia.

As to point eleven, we do not know what official comment has been made with regard to this point. We do not believe, however, that the Polish statesmen would wish by this demand to commit the brazen stupidity of arrogating to themselves the right to impose upon Russia a form of government unsympathetic to the latter. We are willing to grant to the Polish diplomats the benefit of the doubt and accept as an explanation of this point that it is the wish of Poland that the peace treaty be ratified by a representative Russian body, like the All-Russian Congress of the Soviets.

* By Max Eastman.

Poland owes her liberation to the Russian and the German revolutions, and to them only. Were it not for the first, the Polish question, in virtue of a secret agreement between Czarist Russia and her allies, England and France (the present "protectress" of Poland), would be still regarded as an "internal affair" of Russia. Were it not for the German revolution which induced the German army of occupation to drop the war business in a foreign land and hurry home to the business of domestic revolution, the Poles would have had to conquer step by step their occupied lands. But unfortunately the present Polish rulers have not been sufficiently impressed by these gifts of the revolution with an esteem for revolutionary honor for they act like feudal knaves.

Swedish Editor on Russia

The Left Commune of Stockholm arranged a meeting at the Victoria Auditorium last Sunday afternoon, at which Editor Otto Grimlund spoke on: "Reminiscences of My Travels in Russia." After the lecture several films were shown which had been brought through Finland safely, despite the censorship. The meeting which was largely attended, was opened by the chairman of the commune, Mr. Einar Ljungberg, who in a brief address reminded his audience of the fact that Russia is at present the country which is attracting the greatest interest among the nations of the world, and that it was therefore of special value to hear and see something about this country.

Editor Grimlund began by pointing out that the beginnings of a new revolution were found in Russia early in the summer of 1917. The discontent with the Kerensky period was especially great when, instead of peace, they had to enter into new battles with the Germans, requiring several additional millions of men for the front.

During the Kerensky period in Russia there were in Stockholm several Russian members of the Bolshevik party. Among the more optimistic of this group was Karl Radek. After the revolutionary workers of Petrograd had risen in all earnestness in November, 1917, a Russian sympathizer and the speaker were sent from Stockholm to Haparanda, which was, at this time, an important traffic center, to obtain news from Russia. All traffic to Russia and Finland passed through Haparanda. However, there were no Socialists at Haparanda who could give any information. "We therefore crossed the boundary to Tornea one dark night.

"We felt our way forward as carefully as possible, because we did not know whether Kerensky troops or the Bolsheviks were abroad in the city, not knowing which of them ruled the city. Suddenly we were hailed by an armed guard. We tried to slip away, at first, but we soon learned that we had the Bolshevik commandant of Tor-

nea in front of us. We proved our good intent and spent the rest of the night in pleasant conversation. As long as the Bolshevik revolution lasted I had free admission to Tornea and could therefore obtain all important news from Petrograd for *Politiken*. The commandant of Tornea, a very intelligent man, was later on shot, near the same city. He was told to accompany the Rumanian Minister with a guard, to insure safety, when the latter left Moscow. The Finns had promised to give him safe conduct, but, notwithstanding this promise, he was arrested and executed."

The same day the Constituent Assembly met, the speaker arrived at Petrograd for the first time after the war and the revolution. There was unrest in the air. Armed troops marched through the streets in the evening, some favoring the Constituent Assembly, others opposing it. Now and then skirmishes occurred, of which the speaker gave a number of dramatic accounts. Later on in the evening the speaker, with Z. Hoglund, Kilbom and Lindhagen, attended a meeting of the Constituent Assembly. Grimlund was therefore able to refute the statement of Tseretelli which had been given to the Swedish public in *Social Demokraten* by Swen Backlund, as being untrue. This statement was to the effect that Tseretelli had made his great speech on that occasion with a revolver muzzle constantly threatening him. No such incident had occurred.

In the month of January last year Grimlund had, for the second time, gone to Russia; this time in company with the deported representative of Russia to Sweden, Vorovsky. On this occasion he was invited to take a trip to Ukraina, the greater part of which was then occupied by the Bolsheviks. Whilst food shortage prevailed in Russia there was plenty of everything in Ukraina, and at very reasonable prices.

"The Bolsheviks took over Russia under conditions which in many cases were chaotic, but the situation has speedily changed for the better. Food prices have been considerably reduced, production has increased, the counter revolution has been felled to earth, the ideas of Bolshevism have definitely conquered, the proletariat has finally fortified its stand in the old Czarist empire," the speaker ended. The lecture was received with intense appreciation.

Immediately after some films were shown which the speaker had succeeded in bringing from Russia. One saw typical Russian villages, snow bound, quiet, lonely; vast steppes, desolate and deserted; lively streets filled with traffic in the great cities of Russia, etc. Some military parades proved the excellent organization and discipline which prevails within the ranks of the Soviet army. The propaganda trains were also of great interest. Furthermore we saw statues being unveiled of many Russian poets and writers, a bust of Danton, and many more. — *Dagblad Politiken*, Stockholm, March 2.

NORWAY AND RUSSIA

We have frequently called attention to the beginnings of commercial exchanges between Soviet Russia and the border countries, and in this connection occasional reference has been made to the necessity of trade between Norway and Russia, particularly from the standpoint of fisheries. We reprint below an interesting interview which appeared in "*Social Demokraten*," Christiania, Norway, on March 26 of this year, with a certain Mr. Holvold, who had just returned to Norway from Northern Russia. If our readers will look up the position of the Varanger Fjord at the western extremity of the Murman coast, they will observe that the town of Vardo, which is mentioned in the article below, is situated on the Norwegian side of the Varanger Fjord, directly opposite Soviet Russian territory. Furthermore, Norway and Russia have a short mutual boundary line, about 100 miles in length, beginning at the Arctic Ocean, and extending southward to where the Norwegian-Finnish frontier begins. We mention this fact as we think it is not commonly known that Norway and Soviet Russia are now neighbors, especially since the Murman coast has been entirely cleared of all counter-revolutionary elements, by the advance of the Soviet troops. The text of the article based on the interview is as follows:

The President of the Kirkenaes Cooperative Society, Mr. Holvold, has arrived in Christiania and has given us very interesting bits of information concerning Northern Russia. He was in Murmansk very recently and therefore possesses the latest news.

Murmansk is probably considered by many to be a far off place, not particularly interesting to Norwegians. And yet it is only about 23 nautical miles from Vardo, Norway, and, as we shall see, this means a great deal for our country, particularly for northern Norway.

Our first thought was to ask Mr. Holvold concerning the situation up there. He said that conditions all over the province of Archangel were very satisfactory. The population was delighted with the change of government (the Soviet troops having recently taken possession), and the new system was in full operation.

The former government (that of the Whites) had been one continuous terror. Any suspicion that one held other political views than those of the government might cost one's life or liberty. About two thousand political prisoners had been assigned to certain small fortified islands and were suffering terribly from hunger and other privations. The description of their condition when they arrived at Murmansk was not exaggerated. They were really a terrible sight.

A German told Mr. Holvold that he was landed one autumn day with 28 other people on an island on which there was no dwelling. They were put to digging a great ditch five yards square, and were left to dwell in this hole for three weeks.

The Reds now have about 30 political prisoners, among them Governor-General Yermalov. These prisoners were given enough to eat and treated well. They asked that these circumstances should be brought to the attention of the world.

There is strict order now, without murders and without drumhead court-martials; persons accused are brought before regular courts.

External conditions therefore constitute no barrier to resumption of the former relations between northern Norway and Russia, and it is of the greatest interest for both parties that these relations should be resumed. The railroad connection with Central Russia will soon be in complete order, and the possibilities offered for the future will then be enormous. A great export and import trade will begin to pass through Murmansk, and the time is not far distant when, among other things, flour will be transported over this route, the cheapest possible route to northern Norway, while there will also pass to Norway and to the world market,

hemp, paraffin, leather and all sorts of things. Besides, northern Russia has much to offer Norway in the way of logs and planks (there is a great sawmill at Murmansk), game, and reindeer meat.

We need not waste words in pointing out how much this means to us; but more important still is the obtaining of a market for fish. The fisheries of Finnmarken are looking for markets and fish is selling there for about 20 ore (5½c) per kilogram.

Great quantities of fish can be brought to Murmansk, and because of the slight distance and other conditions, the forwarding will be very cheap.

And the export can take place under much more favorable circumstances than before. Formerly there were a number of Russian taxes, not to mention corrupt officials, to be paid. Every kind of method, often very distasteful methods, had to be employed to keep up the trade.

Of course there are still great difficulties to be overcome, questions to be solved by the authorities in intimate cooperation with the fisherman and their organizations.

The population will not permit itself to be exploited by clever middlemen. It is therefore necessary, as far as possible, to arrange for direct relations with the producers. The fishermen's organizations of northern Norway are ready and able to undertake this work. In this connection, regulation of prices must also be undertaken, both on the goods which we are to sell, as well as on those we are to buy; the interests of both parties must be safeguarded in these regulations.

This mutual regulation is all the more necessary since the trade must remain for the present a barter. And it will be necessary to arrange the credit situation so that the Russians may be paid by drafts on goods to be gradually accumulated in the ports. This will also be required if the transit trade and export of industrial products is to play any role. Russia, as is well known, has a great need of machines, particularly for agricultural purposes. Consideration and accommodation will be necessary in this matter on the Norwegian side, and it will be very profitable if such are forthcoming.

Meanwhile the transportation question is in abeyance. There are quite a number of trawlers available, but they are not adequate for large operations. North Russia has ships, but lacks coal. The statement of the Norwegian Foreign Department concerning the four cargoes of coal at Murmansk is based on misunderstanding. There is no coal there, says Mr. Holvold.

The Norwegian Government is faced with a great problem. The future of northern Russia and particularly of our province of Finnmarken depends in great measure on solving this question with energy and understanding. And if the Norwegian Government will show that it can work together with the population this solution will be found.—*Social Demokraten*, Christiania.

NORWEGIAN OIL ARRIVES IN RUSSIA

According to information in the possession of the Social Democratic Press Bureau, telegraphic advice has been received from Moscow to the effect that the consignment of cod-liver oil which was sent from the community of Christiania has arrived in Russia and has been distributed by the international commission which had been appointed.

The consignment, which consisted of about 280 barrels, was forwarded by way of Finland.

Another consignment of several hundred barrels, which is at present stored at Bergen and Stavanger, has not yet been forwarded by the committee because of lack of tonnage.

Recent Documents

POLISH MANIFESTO TO RUSSIA

The manifesto of the Polish Socialist Party to the Russian people, the text of which is given below, indicates that the workers of Poland would welcome peace with Soviet Russia.

TO THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE:

The Soviet Government has addressed the Polish Government with distinctly formulated peace proposals. The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets has made public a manifesto to the Polish people in which they declare that the Russian people do not by any means entertain any thought of interfering with the internal affairs of other states, that they do not wish to impose their methods of social liberation, that in view of this there is nothing that could block the road to the peace, which is equally necessary for both of the states and peoples.

We greet with pleasure these peace proposals and declarations which offer a basis for an immediate taking up of negotiations and ending of the war that prevents us both from building up our social economy and relieving the toiling masses of their misery and afflictions. We also, as well as you, are desirous of turning all our strength towards the "war against famine, cold, typhus and unemployment."

It is not only today that we fight for peace. We could not, of course, speak of peace at the time when the "Red Army" was occupying Polish-Lithuanian-White Russian lands, standing at the gates of the former Kingdom of Poland and—consciously or unconsciously—threatening our young, yet insecure and weak independence.

As soon, however, as the defensive problem of the war was solved we at once began a campaign for peace. In the Diet, in municipal councils, in the press and at public meetings we have been calling upon the Polish Government to come out with a peace initiative, to make an end to the war as soon as possible, since the longer it lasts the more pernicious and ruinous it becomes; that by concluding a peace with Soviet Russia it would extinguish the last flames of the fire that has been destroying Europe for the last six years.

At present, since the Allies have stopped exercising their pressure upon Poland for a continuation of the war, since the policy of a "barbed wire fence" has suffered bankruptcy, and the Soviet Government, by its peace proposals, has offered a basis for negotiations,—we demand with still greater urgency that our government do everything in its power to bring the war to an immediate conclusion.

We aspire to a democratic and just peace, based upon observing the independence of peoples; a peace of conciliation, and not one imposing its will against the demands of justice, against the interests of the toiling people. We oppose the militarist policy which consists in annexing by force strange peoples. We are aiming at attaining a solution of the problem of the so-called border lands which should be in harmony with their interests and based upon the free decision of the peoples inhabiting these lands.

We agree to the opinion expressed by the Soviet Government that there is no such economic or territorial question between Poland and Russia as could not be settled by a mutual peace agreement.

The negotiations which will come and which will bring about peace will constitute a liquidation of not only the war but the whole former relation between Russia and Poland. The new relation can only be a relation between sovereign states and peoples.

In the sequel to the Great European War with its political revolutions, with the forming of republics in the place of former absolutistic governments, with its

formation of the state sovereignty of peoples which up to that time had been subject to a foreign rule,—there are being joined into one movement the aspirations of the toiling masses within each of the social units, that are tending to economic liberation, to a complete transformation of the social order.

It is a great revolutionary process which the world is passing through now,—it is a sign of a new historic era into which we have entered. The working class of Poland, equally with the proletariat of the whole world, is aiming at social liberation through a struggle against the bourgeoisie and the development of its own creative and organizing forces. We differ greatly with the Government of Soviet Russia in the appreciation of the methods to be used for that liberation. But these differences will be reduced to their proper measure—if and when—not only in theory but also in practice—there will be applied the principle so well expressed by your representatives, that one cannot bring Socialism to other people at the point of the bayonet and that the proletariat of each country will liberate itself only when it will aspire for power through its own efforts and in accordance with the conditions of its own existence. The Polish proletariat in particular, enriched by the experience of a century long national enslavement, is cognizant of the fact that not by breaking up the Republic of Poland, not by renouncing national independence, but on the basis of the liberty won, it must arrange its house and build—in union with the proletariat of the whole world—a Socialist Republic.

The first condition for a further development is peace, durable peace, healing the wounds of the war.

In the name of this peace, in the name of the socialist future of the freed and independent peoples,—the Polish worker sends a brotherly greeting to the Russian proletariat.

The Central Executive Committee of the Polish Socialist Party.

Warsaw, March 9, 1920.

A COSSACK APPEAL

We reprint below a manifesto recently issued by Ussuriysk Cossack troops renouncing their status as Cossacks and declaring their allegiance to the "new and liberated Russia."

COMRADES—COSSACKS:

We, the chosen representatives of the Ussuriysk Cossack troops, having gathered on the 20th of February at the military convention at the station of Grodekova, after the dark days of execution, flogging and humiliation to which our comrades have been subjected at the hands of the servants of mercenary henchmen, unanimously decided to renounce our status as Cossacks.

At last, the much desired hour has come.

At last, the dream which was cherished for centuries by the best fighters for the humanitarian ideals of mankind has been realized.

A ray of light has pierced the darkness and has kindled in our hearts of steel an unshakable faith and hope in a better and more beautiful life.

There . . . behind that wall, separating darkness from light, the iridescent sun is radiating and inviting us to where there are no tears and no misery.

The enchanting dawn of happiness has risen. It is spreading and embracing the entire world.

We believe in a better future of the world, when all-forgiving love shall return to earth . . .

How many tears of suffering and sorrow did every one of you have to shed, only because the dark forces knew how to engender in you a caste hatred, having separated you into groups, and having given each one a separate name, a separate label.

Do you not see, comrades, how Love, though martyred, tormented and trampled upon, is now stretching out her hands to you, imploring you to join hands and unite in one universal family of labor, without any divisions, or labels, with but one human name of *citizen*.

Do you not hear, through the roar of cannon and burst of shells, the groans of the martyred and down-trodden comrades who have sacrificed their lives for the universal brotherhood of mankind, for the annihilation of caste divisions? The black clouds are gathering, and the darkness of night has settled down.

Can you keep silent when all around you are sobs and groans, when all around you tears are streaming?

No, comrades, we hope that you have awakened, that you have realized all the horror of the situation, which is as ghastly as a nightmare.

We trust that you will join us and declare to the entire world that henceforth there shall be no more cossacks, and only citizens of a new and liberated Russia.

Enough blood and tears have been shed because of the barriers separating you.

Down with castes! Down with the Cossack caste!

Long live union! Fraternity and equality!

The Presiding Officers of the Convention of Delegates from the Ussuriysk Cossack Troops, at the Station of Grodekova.

February 21 to 24, 1920.

SOVIET KINDERGARTENS

The following is a recent report by the Russian Commissar of Public Instruction on infant instruction:

Under the Czar's regime the education of children under school age was practically non-existent in Russia; only a few large towns in addition to the two capitals could boast of kindergartens for the children of the well-to-do.

The Commissariat of Public Instruction took the question of infant instruction in hand, and the first year was spent on preparatory work; important results came later. The budget of the first half yearly term in 1919 amounted to 120,000,000 roubles (nominal value of the rouble about 50c), and of the second term to 330,000,000 roubles; this, however, is not considered sufficient. The investigations in 23 provinces out of 33 shows that we have at the present time 1,021 kindergartens, 7 homes, 375 open-air schools, and 2 colonies. These establishments cater for 180,315 children. This number is, of course, comparatively small when one realizes that there are several millions of children under school age. Moreover, it is impossible at present to supply more detailed statistics, but it must be admitted that what has been accomplished is a great step forward compared with the past.

Up to date, the Supreme Council of National Economy has supplied this pre-scholastic section of the Commissariat with 4,740,00 arshins (an arshin is about three-quarters of a yard) of materials, 370,000 reels of thread, and 300,000 pairs of stockings. This shows that the six months' clothing allowance for each child consists of 6½ arshins of material, and 3 pairs of stockings.

According to its original plan, the pre-scholastic section has paid more attention to model gardens than to ordinary kindergartens. However, the needs of the population are forcing us to extend our work. While not abandoning the idea of model gardens as centers, the pre-scholastic section is opening hundreds of new and more primitive kindergartens of a provisional character. The peasants are very enthusiastic about these kindergartens. In many cases they open them at their own expense, and only come to us for headmistresses. The staffs whom we train at our provincial and central classes are far more devoted to the Soviet Government than the former teaching staffs. The government in-

tends to continue to develop this work without stint of energy or resources, for the children between the ages of 3 and 8 (which we call the pre-scholastic age), are at that stage when personality is formed, and it is precisely at that period that we want to instil into them the foundation of Socialist principles.

A. LUNACHARSKY,

Commissar of Public Instruction.

A LETTER FROM RADEK

The following letter was written by Karl Radek, former representative of the Russian Soviet Government to Germany, and addressed to the Polish Socialist Party.

TO THE CITIZENS DASZYPSKI, DIAMAND AND PERL.
HONORABLE CITIZENS:

While waiting for the possibility to cross the Polish frontier, I am making use of the opportunity that came so unexpectedly to write to you with reference to peace between Poland and Soviet Russia. I am doing this without attention to the differences that divide us. If there were none of the latter this letter would lose its purpose. I am writing this letter for the reason that we do not belong to the same camp, and because it is necessary to confer with you upon these matters as opponents of Soviet Russia and communist policies. Considering the importance of your party in the political life of Poland, this letter of mine will find its justification if it should help you even in a single instance to a better understanding of our position, which by the nature of things must appear different on either side of the front. I state forthwith that I am writing this absolutely without an understanding with any Polish friends of mine, or even with Russian friends. But I am convinced that being perfectly well acquainted with conditions and people I shall say the same as they would say, if it should come to some informal negotiations between you and us. I permit you to make of this letter, in its character as a private act, the use which you may deem proper. And now, for the thing itself!

For the Polish bourgeoisie a war against Soviet Russia is an act of defence against the discontent of the Polish masses as well as a means of obtaining assistance from the Allied bourgeoisie for the cannon fodder sacrificed on the altar of the "defence of civilization"; for the broad masses of patriotic intelligentzia, of petty bourgeoisie, etc., it is a policy of defence, an attempt at obtaining a guarantee against an eventual new Russian invasion. From this point of view it seemed *Realpolitik* for these classes of the population to try to create a balance of power between Soviet Russia and the Russia of Denikin. The same class of people who had been trembling at the idea of the victory of the Russian generals, knowing that the latter will have to seek new victories for their lost authority, are trembling now at the idea of a possible complete break-down of the Russian counter-revolution, thinking that the internal victory will free the hands of the Bolsheviks for external action. Tired by the full war these classes cannot decide for full peace; they are thinking of prolonging this state of armed opposition between both of the states, hoping that events will come that will tire the adversary and weaken him. This manner of national defence cannot continue for long. I have no concrete idea of the actual condition of Poland at the present moment. I know it only from the Poznanian (Posen), English and French newspapers. I believe as little as the statements of the *Manchester Guardian* as to the catastrophic situation as I believe the optimistic opinions of the *Temps*. It is probable that Poland is in a better economic position than the chief cities of Soviet Russia. But if it should be possible in such a situation as this to lead the Polish armies to war—and considering the numerical strength of the two armies it would surely end in disaster—it is positively

impossible to keep the armies in their present state. I am ignorant as to whether a general Polish offensive against Russia has been declared already—as is being maintained by a part of the Polish press. If this be a fact—and the possibility exists that it is a fact already—the discussion will be an armed one, and the result prejudged by the mutual relation of the military and moral strength on both sides. I have no doubt but that, despite the aid of Clemenceau, who is ready to fight us up to the last Pole, England looks at the game of the tiger with no satisfaction and will not take part in it; the preponderance will not be on the side of Poland, fighting Soviet Russia which has recognized its independence, which wants nothing of Poland, and desires to negotiate with capitalist Poland the famous scheme of saving Polish civilization by means of a border state built on the slimy foundations of the Pinsk marshes. However, should the perilous idea of a Polish offensive not yet be decided, I call your attention to the fact that the present state cannot continue long. Soviet Russia, which has decided to liquidate its civil war as well as the “foreign” war, in order at last to take up the work of internal construction, healing up national wounds,—will not observe quietly the Polish preparation for an offensive. I do not know how the managers of the Soviet policies regard the situation, but I for one would in their place try to compel Poland to decide whether it wants war or peace. While liquidating the war on all fronts by means of arms or negotiations, Soviet Russia cannot consent to keep armies in readiness at the Western front till Poland gets enough ammunition from France. Soviet Russia cherishes no plans of conquest with regard to Poland: neither in the name of nationalism nor of communism. As to the first, the recent remarks of *Robotnik* that it is only Lenin who sincerely stands for the independence of other peoples, whereas other leaders of Soviet policies are disguised nationalists, are equally unjust so far as persons are concerned and are also devoid of any meaning so far as their meaning is concerned. The differences between Lenin and other leaders of Soviet Russia as regards the problem of nationalities do not refer to any substantial point, but merely to the formulation of the problem. There is not one person in Communist Russia who would not regard the independence of Poland as an accomplished fact in the same way as the independence of Spain, and who would think even for a moment that there might be some political interests of the Russian proletariat which would require the “return of Russian protection. I repeat strongly and distinctly; never have I come across such opinion among the ranks of the Soviet workers. As regards a concealing of aggressive tendencies by means of militant communism, such ideas, if they had taken hold of some single comrades, were beaten down by theoretical reasoning as well as by the force of reality. Theoretical soundness told the hotheads that if, for instance, the Polish working class were not able to conquer power by their own strength, it would not be able to retain it, in case it were handed over to them by foreign bayonets. A victory by the militant Russian communism on Polish territory would not strengthen but weaken it, as it would burden it with the Polish weight. But more important than all kinds of theoretical ideas, than the opinions of this or another leader of Soviet Russia, is the voice of reality, necessity. Whether from the standpoint of national or that of international aims, Soviet Russia needs a long period of peace, in order to be able to carry out at least a part of the program of social changes in the name of which the masses have undertaken their struggle. These changes will require a whole generation during which the face of the world will undergo a change. States in which there was a preponderance of peasant interests have never conducted aggressive wars. If Soviet Russia withstands—and it will withstand though its policy may suffer some modi-

fications—then an aggressive policy on its part is excluded. For those, however, who reject the idea of a stability of Soviet Russia—I don't know whether you belong to those—for them the future of Poland must also be dark, as you will not get the aid of France against a capitalist Russia, while the aid of Latvia or White Russia is of an unreliable nature. The desire to secure a period of safety for the young Polish state by a weakening of Russia through a war with Poland is, from the standpoint of Poland's security, purposeless, for Soviet Russia does not threaten in any way the existence of Poland as a state—not to mention the fact that such “safeguarding” must strain the strength of Poland. It is interesting to note that Polish policy does not see any real danger threatening Poland from the west, that, enraptured by the trophies of the Versailles peace, it does not consider the fact that Germany is faced by the possibility of a victory of the open reaction, which not only has not reconciled itself to the idea of the existence of a Polish state, but cannot do so, for it sees in the latter a danger to its squaring accounts with France. A victory of German reaction—whether as a result of the coming July elections or by means of a *coup d'etat*—will be of a temporary nature, it will remove the chief obstacle in the way of a victory of the proletarian revolution in Germany, viz.: many months such a transitory stage may last and the division of the proletariat. But who can say now what problems it will raise before the Polish state. In such a situation to plunge oneself against the East is an act of madness from the standpoint of the policy which it is supposed to serve.

I know the pressure of outside economic needs which are pushing the leaders of the Polish policy on the road of aggression towards the East, even leaving out of consideration the interests of the Polish large landowners in Lithuania, White Russia and Ukraine. I do not consider it necessary to instruct you, who know and are cognizant of the aid received by Poland from the Allies, that even a fivefold extension of that aid will not compensate her for the losses of a war.

Your influence with a certain part of the Polish population and particularly with the army, burdens you, citizens, with the responsibility of a speedy decision in the matter of peace or war. I do not know what point this question has reached in your country as well as in Soviet Russia, for my communication from the German prison with my Polish and Russian comrades has been very difficult. Perhaps my letter is unnecessary or too late, if letters or arguments have altogether any effect. But sitting, as I do, at a small Polish station and seeing how Polish and Russian workers and peasants are perishing though nothing divides them, I ask myself whether it would be impossible to prevent this by trying to come to an agreement between you and Soviet Russia, and I consider it my duty to contribute to such understanding if but by this letter. I am,

Yours respectfully,

KARL RADEK.

January 22d, 1920.

Soviet Russia Pamphlets

The Labor Laws, as printed in *Soviet Russia*, Vol. 11, No. 8, are now ready in pamphlet form and much improved textually.

Price Ten Cents.

SOVIET RUSSIA

Room 304

110 W. 40th St.

New York, N. Y.

Press Cuttings

POLAND'S WAR COST

The fact that war against Soviet Russia is an expensive proposition to those who wage it so unsuccessfully, is proven by the following articles from *Swit* (Vienna). The second is especially significant. It indicates that the Poles themselves are beginning to realize that the country cannot long endure such a demand upon its resources, no matter how much paper currency its ministers may issue.

Mr. Grabski, the Minister of Finance, presented to the Polish Diet on January 23 a project for a statute relative to a further emission of Polish National Treasury notes. We learn from this modest bill how many paper marks there are in circulation in the country and how much the war stands us in.

The issue of the Polish Treasury notes up to date was as follows: from November 11, 1918, up to June 6, 1919, there were issued notes to the amount of two billion and two hundred and thirty million marks.

There followed later the famous "silent issue,"—mention of which was made during the debate in the Diet on the currency question—when the Council of Ministers began to issue notes while the Diet was in session.

There were issued:	Marks
By a resolution of the Council of Ministers of July 8, 1919.....	500,000,000
By a resolution of the Council of Ministers of September 29, 1919.....	1,000,000,000
Finally, during the Christmas recess, in the time of the present Minister of Finance, recourse was had to a new silent issue, to wit:	
By a decree of the Council of Ministers of December 22, 1919.....	3,000,000,000
The total issue was.....	6,730,000,000

The greater part of this enormous sum was spent on the army; thus, for instance, the ministry for military affairs spent the following sums:

In October 1919	470,000,000 marks	30,000,000 rubles
In November, 1919	571,000,000 marks	10,000,000 rubles
In December, 1919	900,000,000 marks	35,000,000 rubles

Besides the above amounts, 13,000,000 francs (over 130,000,000 marks) was paid to the mission for military purchases at Paris.

Furthermore, enormous new expenses on the part of the war ministry are foreseen. Thus it expected to spend in January the sums of 840,000,000 marks, 202,000,000 crowns and 6,000,000 rubles, and the expenses in February and March are to exceed the sum of 700,000,000 a month.

About 300,000,000 marks will be consumed by the increase in the salaries of officials and military men.

As a result of that, the Minister of Finance comes with a project for a new issue to the amount of 300,000,000 marks. Thus the total amount of notes issued by the Polish National Treasury will be 9,730,150,867 marks and 50 pfenigs.

Besides, the exchange operations, combined with the unification of currency, and the conversion of the crown notes will necessitate further issues, the amount of which the Minister of Finance is not able to determine at present.

According to these figures the war costs Poland one billion marks a month, or thirty-three millions daily, or almost a million and a half an hour.

Thus far the official figures. But how many notes of the Polish National Treasury were really issued? How much does the war cost in reality? The Minister of Finance has confessed that secretly there was issued four and a half billion marks. What are the sums, however, which he did not admit? Are not, then, these "silent issues" the greatest falsification of bank notes that was ever resorted to by any Minister of Finance? But then, is not the whole Polish war based on such falsifications and political, financial and other lies?

The imperialist war in the East, hypocritically conducted with the slogan of the "defense of the fatherland," but in reality having as its aim the recovery for the Polish magnates of their lost property and the strangling of the Russian revolution, is one of the most ruinous undertakings as yet conducted by the Polish bourgeoisie. Besides the sacrifices in men, this war, irrespective of the aid of the Allies in food and clothing, is systematically draining the country and absorbing a large quantity of products of prime necessity, the lack of which is keenly felt by the whole population. No one knows exactly what the army swallows up and in what quantity, for, owing to the truly scandalous administration of military affairs, everybody is consuming save the army. Some casual figures come, however, from time to time, to the knowledge of the interested public.

35,000 carloads of grain (20,000 of rye and wheat and 15,000 of dry fodder), i.e., three and a half million metric centnars making one ninth of the output of the country, we must give to the army. The army needs 25,000 hogs a month in the form of fats and 102,000 head of cattle in the form of meat; that means that after the expiration of less than a year there will not remain in Poland one head of cattle. The ministry of war makes demands for 105 carloads of refined sugar monthly, and 600 carloads of syrup at one time for the preparation of marmalade. (The monthly requirements of the city of Warsaw with its million of population do not exceed 40 carloads.)

Seventy-five per cent of the production of our tanning industry is taken by the Main Commissary Department for the needs of the army.

Will the country be able to bear such drains, ravaged and exhausted as it is by a five years war? After the Dombrowa coal basin, either Teschen Silesia, or the naphtha region, or again Lodz or Cracow, are facing a food famine. Starvation is spreading beyond measure among the working masses, while the Government calls every few weeks new levies, thus tearing away from daily productive work thousands of new hands, for the creation of new armies to fight for the class aims of the Polish bourgeoisie and the interests of the English-French bankers.

The working class, organized in workers' cooperative organizations, must, in defense of its own existence, come out in a most energetic manner against the war. It must protest against being skinned for the benefit of the army that is fighting for aims strange to the working people. We have had enough of calamities, devastation and hunger! We have already felt the full weight of five years of incessant war!

POLAND SERVES FRENCH CAPITAL

The following article taken from *Swit*, Vienna, (January 23), shows that the France which was "bled white" in the recent "war for democracy," is now using mercenaries in her war against Soviet Russia:

In its victorious march towards the East the Red Army has seized various papers belonging to the Sec-

retary of the Polish National Committee in Siberia. These papers state that all "independent" armies, i.e., Polish, Czech, etc., were organized by the French Government with French money. The secret negotiations of the Polish statesmen with the representatives of the French war ministry in January and February of 1919 are very interesting. The minutes of these negotiations give in detail the replies of General Leman to various questions put by the Poles.

General Leman reports that as a result of negotiations on the part of the Polish Committee at Paris General Janin has been given extensive power with regard to the organization and recruiting of the Czech, Polish and Servian armies, and that he was appointed chief commander of these armies in the territory between Irkutsk and the Urals. To the question of the Poles: "Who will pay the expenses growing from the organization and the upkeep of these armies?" General Leman replied: "France will grant to each of the individual states special credits and will bear the expenses of the organization of these armies." So far as Leman's knowledge goes, France has not made any plans for the recovery of this debt. It is clear from these answers that, under the cover of organizing national armies, France has formed, following the example of its former Foreign Legion, so-called "national armies," which are defending the interests of the French bourgeoisie. The only difference is that the Foreign Legion accepted only individuals, whereas for the so-called national armies entire peoples dependent on the bourgeoisie, are being bought. The Polish bourgeoisie also understand the organization of these armies, and are showing a deep interest in this scheme that brings them such profits. The negotiations concluded between the Polish National Committee at Paris and the French Government contain the very explicit clause that France may use the Polish soldiers for her own needs. However, after the conclusion of the military agreement, friction arose as to the question of financing this army. France wanted to pay only the military expenses while the Polish representatives demanded also the payment of the expenses of the "civil" authorities. What such "civil" expenses are will be understood if one takes into consideration that the lawyer Wilkoszewski, who did not rank first among these "statesmen," has deposited in his own name fourteen million rubles in the bank.

Characteristic is also a letter dated March 11, 1919, addressed to the Polish National Committee in Siberia and containing a statement to the effect that the Polish armies at Nikolayevsk have no confidence in the Polish ministry of war* because it is constantly engaged in profiteering. Polish commanders had ordered four wagons for the transportation of ammunition: inspection proved, however, that the cars were loaded with silk, ladies' hosiery, perfume, and the like. Two members of the committee, who were most compromised, were arrested, to be sure, but they were soon released. In general, the entire Polish intelligentsia in Siberia are occupied with such patriotic affairs, and are preparing at the same time reports and materials to be used for the exploitation of Siberia for the benefit of Polish manufacturers and profiteers.

[According to the last Soviet Russian military reports, the whole unhappy adventure has ended with the complete defeat of the Polish legions which almost in their entirety were taken prisoners—Editor's note.]

WARSAW WORKERS CALL STRIKE.

BROMBERG, March 12.—The German-Polish press bureau reports that the statement made in Warsaw papers alleging that the Minister of the

Interior has ordered all foreigners sojourning in Poland to leave the country, is not correct.

Yesterday a strike was declared at Warsaw in gas works, electric works, army factories and communal establishments, as a support for the striking metal workers. The electric plant has been occupied by troops. The military authorities have given the workers orders to report at midnight.

Social Demokraten of Christiania makes the following comment on this telegram:

The above telegram requires a supplementary note. As we have seen from telegrams the Polish army has recently directed its attacks against the Russian positions. The object of this offensive is of course first of all to reach Kiev; to abolish the Soviet authority in the Ukraine, and then to advance on Moscow. This insane undertaking was inaugurated with the approval of the French Government, but contrary to the desire of the Polish people and the Polish National Assembly.

The Polish offensive is an exceedingly dangerous business, more dangerous even than the recent events in Turkey. For, if Poland becomes seriously involved in a war with Russia it will be merely a question of time when the German districts that have been incorporated with Poland will revolt and this revolt will presumably find support in Germany. This will be a basis for a possible new war between Germany and France.

It is in order to prevent all these misfortunes, that the workers of Warsaw have called a general strike.

RUSSIA'S REPLY TO POLAND.

The following telegram from Jakob Friis, correspondent of *Social Demokraten* (Christiania) was published in that paper on March 30.

Moscow, March 30.—Soviet Russia's answer to Poland's offer of peace is published today.

The Soviet Government will demand an armistice before beginning peace negotiations. Poland desires—as did Germany at Brest Litovsk—to force the Russian people to make peace under pressure of an offensive. But the situation is quite different from that at Brest Litovsk. Russia has a powerful army and may therefore demand an armistice. The peace proposals which have come out in the Polish press cannot be accepted. A peace based on the old Bolshevik boundaries is rejected. If Poland does not desire peace along ethnographic boundaries, a peace which will liberate White Russia and Lithuania, and which will also be applicable to Ukraine, there will probably be war. Russia cannot consent to having White Russia and Lithuania made buffer states.

From Finland there are offers of an armistice.

Vorovsky is being considered as head of the peace negotiations with Poland. The Polish proposals that the peace negotiations take place at Borisov are rejected. The position of the Red Army is more powerful than ever after the conquest of Grozny, where 15,000,000 poods of petroleum were found, a sufficient quantity for our needs for a year and a half.

* The Polish armies in Siberia had their own ministry of war.

See next week's issue of *Soviet Russia* for an interesting article on the Textile Industry.

Soviet Domestic Relations Law

PUBLISHED BY THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF JUSTICE

AN ACT RELATING TO CIVIL STATUS AND DOMESTIC RELATIONS: MARRIAGE, FAMILY, AND GUARDIANSHIP
TITLE I

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO A PERSON'S CIVIL AND DOMESTIC RELATIONS.

OFFICERS CHARGED WITH THE RECORDING OF DOCUMENTS RELATING TO CIVIL STATUS AND DOMESTIC RELATIONS.

2. Documents relating to civil status and domestic relations shall be under the exclusive jurisdiction of the civil authorities attached to the offices charged with the recording of documents relating to civil status and domestic relations.

Note 1. Documents relating to civil status and domestic relations of Russian citizens residing abroad shall be under the jurisdiction of the foreign representatives of the Russian State.

Note 2. The registration of births, marriages and deaths occurring on board a ship on the high seas, or in the armp engaged in active military operations shall be the duty of the captain of the ship or the adjutant general of the respective army corps. The said persons shall keep copies of the documents and shall transmit the registration records at the first opportunity to the nearest office charged with the recording of documents relating to civil status and domestic relations, so that these documents may ultimately be filed with the proper local office.

2. The following offices shall be charged with the registration of documents relating to civil status and domestic relations: (2) the Central office—attached to the Local Self-Government Bureau of the Commissariat of the Interior; (b) the Provincial Offices—attached to the Councils of Soldiers' and Workmen's deputies in the principal cities of a province or territory; (c) the Local Offices—attached to the Council of Soldiers' and Workmen's Deputies in the townships and villages or, in large cities, to the joint municipal councils of such cities.

3. The duties of local officers charged with the recording of documents relating to civil status and domestic relations shall comprise: (a) The registration of all the events occurring within the territory under the jurisdiction of the respective Councils which affect a person's civil status before the law, (Art. 7): (b) The preparation of duly certified abstracts from the records upon the request of parties interested therein.

4. The duties of provincial offices charged with the recording of documents relating to civil status and domestic relations shall comprise: (a) The preparation on the basis of information supplied by the local offices of the personal records of citizens registered within the territorial limits of the respective province or territory. (b) The furnishing of information and abstracts from the records. (c) The supervision over the due performance of the work done by the local offices charged with the keeping of records.

5. The duties of the Central Office charged with the recording of documents relating to civil status and domestic relations shall comprise: (a) The preparation and the keeping of the general register of persons registered within the territorial limits of the Russian republic and those Russian citizens who have been registered abroad. (b) The furnishing of information and duly certified abstracts from the general register. (c) The general supervision over the due performance of the work done by the provincial officers charged with the keeping of records and the framing of regulations for the guidance of the said offices.

6. The duties of the officials charged with the registration of documents relating to civil status (registrars) their appointment, transfer, and dismissal, as well as their responsibility for the fulfillment of their duties, shall be governed by the general regulations concerning the status of civil servants and persons assisting in the work of governmental institutions.

ARTICLE II

FORMS OF REGISTERS PRESCRIBED TO BE KEPT.

7. The local offices charged with the recording of documents relating to civil status and domestic relations shall keep the following registers. (a) A register of births: (b) A register of deaths: (c) A register of absentees: (d) A register of marriages: (e) A register of divorces: (f) A register of notices concerning the parentage of children: (g) A register of persons desirous of changing their names and surnames, inherited or acquired.

Note 1. All the registers mentioned in the preceding section shall be kept in accordance with the forms provided therefor, by the Central Office charged with the recording of documents relating to civil status and domestic relations.

Note 2. The registers shall be prepared in accordance with the forms set by the Central Office, and shall be sent to the local offices with the tape seal, and signatures of the secretary of the Central Office and the chief of the office, or his assistant, attached thereto.

Note 3. The registers shall be kept in accordance with the forms prescribed in the present article, until such time as new forms shall have been worked out by the Central Office.

8. Every document relating to a person's civil status or domestic relations shall be entered in a proper register and shall have a number assigned to it. The annual numeration of every register shall be uniform, and consecutive.

9. No altering or erasure of words or sentences shall be permitted in the register kept for the recording of documents relating to civil status and domestic relations. Insertions and corrections shall be permitted, provided a clause to that effect shall be appended at the close of the document and the signatures of the parties thereto shall be attached to the same. Alterations shall be made by drawing a thin line across erroneous or superfluous words in such manner that it may still be legible.

10. Each document recorded in the register kept at the local office shall be signed by the official making the entry in the register, by the person furnishing the information contained in the document, and by the witnesses in case the presence of the latter shall be required for the attestation of the said document.

11. Each document recorded in the register prior to its being signed by the persons mentioned in the previous section shall be read to them by the official entering the document in the register.

12. The forms of the records, and the abstracts of information mentioned in subdivision (a) of Section 4 shall be prescribed by the Central office charged with the recording of documents relating to civil status and domestic relations. The said office shall make public the said instructions as soon as its organization shall be completed.

13. All the registers of local offices and all personal records kept by the provincial offices shall be made in duplicate; one copy of all registers kept in the local offices shall remain on file with the respective office, the other shall be transmitted at the close of the calendar year, or at the latest by the 15th of January next ensuing, to the provincial office charged with the recording of documents relating to personal status and domestic relations. The personal records shall be similarly transmitted by the provincial office to the central office.

14. All the local offices shall report without delay to the provincial office transmission of the copy of the register to the provincial office. The local office shall send therewith a copy of the page of the register containing the said alteration.

15. Entries made in the register may be contested by the interested parties only by proper proceedings in a court of land.

16. An entry made in the register may be corrected solely by an order of the court, but if an error be the result of

oversight or error it may be corrected by an order of the offices entrusted with supervisory powers.

17. Registers of documents and personal records are open to the inspection of all parties, who have the right to obtain duly certified abstracts thereof, on payment of a fee, prescribed by the Central Office.

ARTICLE III.

FORMS FOR REGISTRATION OF VARIOUS DOCUMENTS RELATING TO CIVIL STATUS AND DOMESTIC RELATIONS

18. The register of births shall contain entries of births and of finding of children, as well as of changes in a person's civil status resulting from the establishment of his or her parentage.

19. Notice of the birth or of the finding of a child shall be given within three days from the day on which said event occurred.

Note.—The provincial offices in the case of far outlying localities may extend the notification period in the present section, provided that the said extension shall not exceed one month.

20. Notification of the place wherein the birth of a child occurred shall be given to the registration office, by the parents of the child, or by either of them, or by any other person in whose custody the child may happen to be because of the illness, absence, or death of the parents.

21. Notification shall be made in writing or by oral declaration.

22. The notice shall mention the day, the hour, and the place of birth, the sex of the child, the name given to it, the names, surnames, permanent residence and the ages of the parents, and the relative age position of the child as compared with other children of the same parents.

23. A note in the handwriting of either of the parents shall be attached to the said notification confirming the parentage of the child.

24. The birth shall be attested by two witnesses, one or both of whom may be the persons making the notification.

25. In case of the birth of twins separate notices of the birth of each shall be given and the register of birth shall contain two separate entries.

26. Notice shall be given of every still birth and an entry thereof shall be made in the register of births.

Note—Entries of still births shall be made simultaneously in the registers of births and deaths.

27. Notice of the finding of a child shall be given by the persons by whom the child was found.

28. The notice of the finding of a child shall have appended to it an official report drawn up and attested by the local administrative officials. The official report shall state the time, and circumstances under which the child was found, the child's sex, special marks if any on its body, the child's apparent age, the articles and documents found on the child, and a certified copy of the contents of the said documents. The official report shall also indicate the name of the institution or the person to whom the child has been or will be entrusted.

29. Immediately on receipt of notification from a competent local court, stating that the parentage of a child has been ascertained and proved, an entry to this effect shall be made in the register of births containing the entry of the birth of the person in question. To wit, in the column entitled "Special Remarks."

30. The entry relating to the ascertainment, and proof of actual parentage shall contain the title of the court, a transcript of the order of the court, and the date of the said order.

31. The Register of Deaths shall contain besides entries of deaths and the discoveries of dead bodies, entries of judicial decrees in relation to declared civilly dead.

32. Notifications of death and of the finding of a dead body shall be made within three days of the date on which said event or events occurred.

33. Notification of death shall be made by the relatives with whom the deceased resided, or by the inmates of his house, or in the absence of such by the neighbors, or by the government officials in charge of the institutions (hospital,

workhouse, prison, etc.) where the death occurred; or by the persons who found the dead body.

34. The notification of death shall contain the name, surname, year of birth, and last place of residence of the deceased, the business or occupation of his or her family, the year, month, and day of death and the cause of death. It shall also contain the name, surname, and place of residence of the person giving the notice of death.

35. The notification of death shall be accompanied by a certificate of death attested by a Soviet physician or by the local Soviet authorities.

36. The notification of the finding of a dead body shall have appended thereto, besides the said certificate of a physician, an official report drawn up and attested by the local administrative officials. Said report shall recite all the circumstances under which the said body was found.

37. Any person failing to make, in due time, the notifications mentioned in Sections 19 and 32, shall be liable to a fine of not less than 50 roubles.

38. On reaching the conclusion that a person to be presumed to be dead, the Court shall notify thereof the office for the recording of documents relating to civil status wherein the entry of the birth of he person presumed to be dead is kept on file.

Note. If the court shall have no information of the locality wherein the person presumed to be dead was registered, or if such person was registered in the offices of the localities which do not at the present time form part of the Russian Republic, the court shall notify of its decision the office charged with the registration of documents relating to civil status within the locality which was the last place of residence of the person presumed to be dead.

39. The entry in the register of the civil death of any person shall also contain the statement that the same has been made in accordance with a decision of a court of law, which has found that the person in question shall be presumed to be dead. The said statement shall recite the title of the court making the decree, the number of the order, and the date thereof.

40. Immediately on receipt of information from the Court to the effect that a person presumed to be dead is actually dead, an entry concerning the said fact shall be made in the register.

41. The regulations prescribed in Sections 38-40 shall also be applicable to the entries to be made in the Register of Absentees kept for the registration of persons whose absence has been duly established.

42. Local offices for the registration of documents relating to civil status shall, not later than two days after the making of an entry, furnish transcripts of all records of deaths, and of all orders declaring the civil death of any person, or his absence without trace, to the Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies of the village or the township which was the last known place of residence of the person in question.

43. The entries of marriages shall be made in the register kept for that purpose by the officials of the local office for the recording of documents relating to civil status, and assigned especially to the registration of marriages.

44. An official, on receipt of the notice stating the intention of the parties to marry and of the additional documents enumerated in Section 59 following, shall inquire prior to making an entry in the register of marriages, what surname the parties to the marriage intend to adopt.

45. In case a register of marriages shall be destroyed or otherwise lost, or if for any reason whatsoever the spouses shall be unable to obtain a copy of their marriage certificate they may make a declaration to the office for the recording of marriages at the place of the residence of both or either of them, stating that they were married on a certain date. A statement signed by both spouses alleging that the register in question had been lost or that for a sufficient reason they are unable to obtain a copy of their marriage record, shall be deemed sufficient ground for making a new entry of the marriage, and for the delivery to the spouses of a certificate thereof.

46. The notification of divorce, besides being entered in the Register of Divorces, shall also be entered in the Register of Marriages under the column entitled "Special

Remarks," on that page thereof wherein the entry of the marriage now sought to be dissolved had been made.

47. An entry of a divorce judicially decreed shall be made immediately on receipt of the decree and shall recite the title of the court, the number of the order, and the date on which the said decree was made.

48. If the petition for the dissolution of marriage in the form prescribed in 91 hereafter is delivered directly to the office for the recording of documents relating to civil status, the official shall, prior to the entry of the divorce of the Register of Divorces, ascertain whether the petition for the dissolution of the marriage was made by both parties thereto.

49. Immediately on receipt of the notification made in accordance with Section 140 following, the names of the

(To be continued next week)

parents of the children conceived, but yet unborn, shall be entered in the register kept for that purpose.

50. Changes of names or surnames shall be recorded in the register kept for that purpose on receipt of a declaration duly made to that effect, provided the formalities required by Sections 2 and 3 of the Decree concerning the right of citizens to change their names had been complied with (Manual of Laws and Decrees, 1918, No. 37, Art. 488).

51. The said changes in names and surnames shall not only be entered in the register kept for that purpose, but at the request of the interested parties a notice reciting the change of the name or surname shall be inserted in all other greetings, a swell as in all abstracts which contain information concerning the person whose name or surname has been changed.

Radio Dispatches

LENIN SPEAKS ON INDUSTRIES.

Moscow, March 18.—At the first session of the Third Congress of Harbor Workers, which was opened yesterday, Lenin delivered a speech dealing chiefly with the question of administration by individuals as opposed to collective administration.

"Every form of administrative work requires specific qualifications. One may be the best revolutionist and agitator and yet useless as an administrator. It is important that those who manage industries be completely competent, and be acquainted with all technical conditions within the industry. We are not opposed to the management of industries by the workers. But we point out that the solution of the question must be subordinate to the interests of the industry. Therefore the question of the management of industry must be regarded from a business standpoint. The industry must be managed with the least possible waste of energy, and the managers of the industry must be efficient men, whether they be specialists or workers."

UKRAINIANS JOIN SOVIETS.

Moscow, March 24.—After a new attempt to unite with Petlura for a common struggle against the Bolsheviki, the Independent Ukrainian Social Democratic party, with its leaders, the former ministers of the Central Rada, Tkachenko and Mazurenko at the head, have again attached themselves to the Soviet idea and organized a party which is at present fighting Petlura. The other Ukrainian Social Democrats have remained faithful to Petlura. A group with Vinnichenko at the head has separated from the party of Petlura.

THE FRENCH COLONY AT MOSCOW

Moscow, March 9.—The French colony of Moscow numbering 900 people, have addressed themselves by means of a radio to the French Foreign Ministry with a request to send them foodstuffs as their situation was critical. The French colony states that the parcels which the British Government had sent for the British colony have already arrived.

The Next Issue of

SOVIET RUSSIA

Will appear on May 8, 1920, and will contain, among other interesting articles and news items, an article on **THE BASIC POLICY OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ON THE SOCIALIZATION OF AGRICULTURE**, by *W. Wasilyev*.

An article on **THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY OF SOVIET RUSSIA**, by *V. Nogin*.

Some interesting material on Siberian conditions from recent Japanese newspapers and a continuation of the Domestic Relations Law, begun in No. 18.

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The Textile Industry

By V. P. NOGIN.

[The following article is an official report on the textile industry in Russia, by a member of the Supreme Council of National Economy.]

During the past two years we have emphasized in our press on many occasions the abnormal attitude towards the textile industry. On one hand, everyone, without exception, realized and realizes that in order to supply foodstuffs, fuel, and in general to develop the entire national economy and to satisfy the needs of the population, it is necessary to have textile goods. Nevertheless, when the textile industry proved to be much better provided with wood and other fuel, than enterprises in other branches of industry, the entire supply of fuel prepared by the textile industry was requisitioned without regard for its needs and for those plans of manufacture which had been worked out by the main office of the textile enterprises.

Such an abnormal attitude wrought havoc in the work of the textile mills. While recognizing the necessity of satisfying the most urgent needs of fuel for the supplying of those enterprises which are in a more favorable position, it should be remembered that suspension of the entire textile industry will mean the disappearance of that supply of manufactured goods without which it is impossible to carry on the further organization of national economy.

This abnormal attitude towards the textile in-

dustry is partly caused by ignorance of the real situation. The masses at large do not know the stage of development of the Russian textile industry, which always occupied a place of honor in the world market, due to the high quality of the goods and to the excellent equipment of the mills.

Let us outline first of all the process of nationalization of the textile industry. At present the largest mills are already nationalized. In all there are 553 nationalized enterprises. Of these 183 are cotton mills, 72 linen mills, 112 woolen mills, 109 silk mills, 23 hemp mills, 20 dyeing mills, 34 knitting mills. 446 of these enterprises are united into groups ("Koosty"), and the remainder of 147 enterprises do not belong to groups. All these nationalized enterprises have 7,767,262 spindles and 204,591 weaving looms.

The nationalization of the textile industry began in October, 1917, immediately after the October revolution; but during 1918 (until November) nationalization was very slow: only 14 enterprises were nationalized during this period. Beginning with November, 1918, nationalization became more rapid. The period of time from November until May was a period of intense nationalization and in the Summer of 1919 the task was completed.

All these nationalized textile industries were divided into groups, of which there are 46.

The supply of cotton began to be exhausted in the middle of last winter. It was necessary to think of materials which could take the place of cotton. At this time the Russian factories decided to utilize fuel waste and all sorts of cotton waste, which have never before been used by the Russian industries. With the aid of fuel waste, and also through the utilization of flax it was possible to cope with the difficulties. However, due to the fact that neither flax, nor fuel waste can solve the problem without cotton, this was merely a palliative. It was necessary to prepare for a complete suspension of the cotton industry.

By September 1, 1919 all the old supplies of cotton were divided among the factories. These supplies were estimated to be 387,606 poods (pood equals 36 lbs.). In addition to this, 39,446 poods were on the way. As far as the fuel waste was concerned, up to September there were 961,842 poods of it. These supplies permitted only a partial functioning of the most important cotton-mills for a short length of time; some worked 2-3 months, other 4 months. Besides cotton these mills had ready coarse textile fabrics in the amount of 738,237 arshines (arshine equals 0.77 yard), which gave some work to the finishing factories.

During the summer, owing partly to the requisitioning of fuel, which was carried on during the spring of this year because of the oncoming shortage of fuel in the fall and winter, and also under the influence of the enormous exodus of workers to the villages, it was necessary to suspend a great many textile mills. Towards the end of the summer (August) there were only a couple of scores of textile factories functioning. But during the summer period most of the cotton factories carried on a careful stocking up of peat and wood. In most cases this preparatory work gave very good results, and there was more peat obtained this year than during the past year. At the same time, according to the information obtained by the main office of the textile enterprises, most of the factories provided themselves with a supply of wood amounting to 387,241 cubic sajens (sajen equals 7 ft.) up to September 1, and this does not include the supply of peat.

According to the plans of the main office of the textile enterprises, the largest and best equipped factories were to function beginning with the fall, mostly in those places where it is easier to obtain fuel. On the other hand, it was planned to make the finishing factories work, but due to the fact that the finishing factories require more fuel, it was impossible to pay enough attention to the spinning-factories and textiles. On the first of October 50 of the 183 nationalized factories were working; they were furnished with 506,941 spindles and 22,334 weaving looms. On the 15th of October about 54 factories were in operation with

626,811 spindles and 29,981 looms; on the first of November 59 factories were working—the number of spindles and looms have not yet been estimated.

In the near future, when, with the establishment of roads for the passage of sleighs the delivery of peat and timber will be made possible, we may expect that many factories will function again. The chief administration of the textile industries finds it necessary to pay special attention to the activity of the finishing factories. Their work is mostly needed in view of the fact that the supply of ready made goods amounted up to the first of September to 419,763,912 "arshins." If we take into consideration that cotton from Turkestan has been coming in for some time (4 routing cars with cotton arrived already, a few more are on their way) we may assume that the work of the cotton mills will develop in the near future and that the number of factories working as well as the number of spindles and looms will be increased.

The supply of cotton in Turkestan, from which the transport came, is estimated at 12,400 carloads, i.e. about 4,750,000 poods, from which about 5,149 have already been delivered to the railroad depot. Raw cotton was bought to the amount of 4,981,500 poods and there remained about 4½ millions poods. Due to the decrease of the area under cultivation, it amounts now only to 50 thousand dessyatins) the cotton-crop must bring 3½ millions poods of cotton, if we estimate 70 poods of raw cotton from each dessyatin. Thus the total amount of raw cotton will yield 12,981,500 poods which will bring, after being cleaned about 4,300,000 poods of cotton fibre. If we add this amount to the amount of cotton ready for shipment we will have 9,050,000 poods of cotton fibre which will represent our cotton supply for the season of 1919-20.

This supply will be sufficient, of course, not for the entire, but the curtailed working capacity of the cotton-mills; but if we keep in mind the decreased number of the workers and the small supply of fuel, we will find that the cotton reserve will be enough to keep all the cotton mills running on a reduced scale.

It is quite natural that the chief administration is not inclined to scatter the supplies to all mills, but prefers to supply with material the best equipped mills which are furnished with fuel and have a sufficient number of workers and accommodation for them. This fact must be taken into consideration in working out a schedule for the distribution of the fuel supplies. It is quite natural that our commodity-fund will be greatly increased if we pay the proper attention to the textile production.

The most important thing is to keep the best individual Russian factories of Moscow in running condition. One is the former factory of Zindel and Prokhorov which is now kept from becoming rusty and which must be furnished in the near fu-

ture with a comparatively small supply of fuel.

Due to the difficult conditions which confronted textile production of late there is a considerable decrease in the productivity of labor. According to private information in the possession of the chief administration of the textile enterprises this decrease may be expressed, on the average, in the following numbers: for spinning factories, 27.1 per cent; for weaving factories, 32.4 per cent; for finishing, 32.7 per cent, and for cotton, 42.8 per cent; in comparison with the pre-war production. The shortage of the food supply for the workers made this decrease stronger (the bread supply reached the ration of 1½ pounds for a person). Apart from the nationalized cotton mills there are 50 mills which are under the control of small arts and crafts industries of the main administrative body for textile enterprises; they receive their supplies from this administration. The majority of them are working.

The flax factories are better situated than the cotton factories. On the first of October of the 72 nationalized factories 29 were working; they had 188,009 spindles and 8,465 looms. On the first of November the number of operating factories was increased to 54.

The supply of flax on the 1st of October was estimated as 5,646,958 poods. During the last year—from November, 1918, to October, 1919—the cotton mills received 3,206,877 poods of flax. After the nationalization the work of flax production entered a new phase. On the one hand the factories began to receive better assorted flax than before,—on the other many schemes and measures were outlined which aimed at clearing our flax industry of the chaotic conditions which prevailed hitherto.

The scientific-technical Department of Textile Enterprises, together with the flax division are carrying on work tending to improve the method of flax cultivation and to find out the best way of utilizing these resources of our country.

The conditions in hemp production are worse than in flax, due to the fact that the supply of hemp is not sufficient for the normal activity. The biggest hemp enterprises (total number of which is 24) with the total amount of spindles and hooks—16,373—and with 1,576 machines and loom-frames, are under the control of the main administration. Only a few factories are equipped.

On the first of October the supply of hemp was 1,120,579 poods. The decrease of the cultivated area of hemp is becoming dangerous for the hemp industry; there may be a hemp-famine. It is necessary to take proper measures in order to raise the cultivation of hemp so as to save this line of our industry.

In October 15 thirteen hemp factories with 6,848 spindles and 624 looms were working.

As to the silk industry, we may say that the lack of raw material was most strongly felt in these factories. 49 factories have been national-

ized. Of these 25 were working on October 15. The supply of raw material on the 1st of September was about 4,511 poods, 6,633 poods of cotton fibre and 732 of other materials. In addition there are 20,852 poods of raw materials in the warehouses of Moscow and on the Volga; among these materials there are 13,852 poods of silk-fibre, 1,364 of cocoon-silk, 3,757 of weaving silk, 317 of fringe silk, etc., and 791 poods of cotton fibre.

Due to the lack of supply the method of utilizing the combing is gaining importance in silk production. This naturally leads to a more careful system of working over the silk rubbish.

The administration is taking the necessary measures in order to put into operation the societies of the former Nyrnov-Kurakins factory, and the factory of the former Saposhnikov.

As to fuel the silk factories are more or less provided for, because they are small in size and are located in regions where it is comparatively easy to obtain fuel.

The knitting-mills did not experience any drawback in their work due to the supply of knitted cloth; at the present time only 34 nationalized factories with 56,606 machines are working.

The conditions of wool production are again closely connected with the conditions of fuel-supply. In spite of the fact that this branch has been very much behind—lately—the factories were able to keep up their activity even with the scanty supply of material; the wool-supply will be sufficient for the majority of them for the coming season.

On the first of October the wool-reserve of the factories was as follows: for thin cloth, 124,259 poods, for thick cloth, 180,283, and for crafts, 140,373 poods; various kinds of wool, 280,425, total, 725,340 poods.

Apart from these supplies the needs of the wool-industry may also be met with short pieces which are to be found in the country. These scraps were estimated on the first of November as 677,630 poods. The pieces which go to make up the so-called "artificial wool" are beginning to play an important part in the work of the wool-mills; all these methods which have been used in the industry in Lodz are being gradually applied also to our industry.

The supply of wool cannot be increased from the outside; on the one hand, because there is no import of wool from foreign countries, on the other hand, because the number of sheep is greatly reduced in Russia and there is no possibility of taking the necessary measures in order to develop sheep-breeding.

The shortage of fuel is most strongly felt in the worsted mills. The heavy cloth-mills are provided with fuel for immediate future. The factories of the Moscow group manufacturing thin cloth are among the best equipped in regard to fuel supply. On the first of November from the 112 nationalized wool-mills with 393,654 spindles and 20,156 looms only 36 were working; they had

109,184 spindles and 4,432 looms; on the 15th of October 52 mills with 138,376 spindles and 5,710 looms were working. It is expected that many other mills will begin to operate in the near future.

The Russian wool-industry is far behind in its equipment in comparison with that of the cotton-stuff industry; it is similar to the flax industry in this respect. The lack of specialists with higher education in this line is most strongly felt at the present time. The main administrative body has succeeded in drawing persons with the necessary technical knowledge into only a few groups; then they tried to improve the equipment of the enterprises.

The summer intermission was not utilized to make the necessary preparations.

As to the stock of ready cloth and woolen goods there were on the first of September 6,788,160 arshins. According to the estimation of the main administration of textile enterprises all the mills for making heavy cloth which may be put into operation in the coming 6 months, will be able to produce during this period 2,394,000 arshins. The rest of the mills of this group, which are in a worse condition, will be able to manufacture about one million arshins when put into operation.

Twelve mills of fine cloth, well equipped, can manufacture in the coming 6 month, 2,620,000 arshins. 16 mills less well provided can put out 1,074,000 arshins and 13,800 poods of thread.

Among the 10 worsted and knitting mills of the better equipped type we find 9 mills need a monthly requirement of 34 thousand poods.

Of the 23 worsted and warping mills 16 are able to produce monthly 7,390,000 arshins if 3,430 looms are working.

In regard to the production of thread the conditions are as follows: according to the data of the chief administration there were on October 1st 77,733 machines. The administration tried to take the necessary measures for the operation of others than the Nevsky thread factory of Petersburg, the Orekho-Likinsky and Bogorodsky group. Excepting one small factory for the production of flax, thread factories have started to operate.

In summarizing the conditions of the textile industry, we must note that besides the difficulties which arise from the lack of fuel and supply, there is a great shortage of skilled workers; this may be explained by the drain of men to the Red Army and to the villages.

The dominant element of the factories at the present time is feminine; due to the lack of men they are obliged to apply the labor of women even in those branches of labor where the work of women had never before been utilized.

The lack of living quarters for the workers and employees is also an important draw-back which is strongly felt in the development of the textile industry. In view of the fact that the demands of the Russian workers have increased in general,

the absence of decent living quarters is felt very strongly by the workers of textile industries; the lack of workers in the building industry makes it almost impossible to solve the housing problem of the workers and employes. It is true, the hitherto filled dormitories are now being vacated, but there are still factories left which have bed-rooms, which accommodate a few families; in almost every factory we find rooms where persons of both sexes are living together in such close quarters as would not be permissible under a normal state of affairs.

The most urgent problem now before us is the building up of workingmen's colonies near every textile center and mill. The need of living quarters is causing friction among the employes and workers in spite of the fact that necessary measures have been taken in many places to clear up the misunderstandings among them. This prevents the establishment of more normal relations between the higher technical personnel and the workers in textile industries; this hinders the coming of a new epoch in the relation of the skilled textile workers to the working mass without the intervention of the capitalists.

The change in these relations came forward more clearly at the last conferences which were called by the main administrative body of the textile enterprises. These were: the All-Russian Conference of Mechanics, and the Conference of Group Administrators. Very complex problems which grew out of the general conditions of the textile industry are facing us: the problem of stoppage of the mills, its remedy, the danger which the lack of fuel threatens, the question of improved methods of work which have before been the secret of a few factories, and many other problems in connection with the revolutionized industry—all these topics are awakening a great interest among the technical personnel.

The winter of 1919 in spite of the newly created difficulties in connection with the fuel-crisis, will undoubtedly see the transmission of the textile industry to a more normal basis.

The nationalized textile industry has gone through the first period of its reconstruction work: the chaos which was created after the removal of the factory-owners had to be cleared up. New business problems as to the execution of orders arising out of the needs of the population had to be solved by the nationalized textile industry. We may hope that the main administrative body will be able to get rid more quickly of all the shortcomings in its organization when it will deal with the purely practical side of its activity.

The supply for the coming season will be determined not by abstract conceptions about the conditions in factories, but by the actual demands of these factories; there will be actual data about the stock on hand, and correct information as to equipment and condition of workers.

In this purely business-like atmosphere all the red tape and all the corruption which existed un-

der the predecessor of the chief administrative body of Textile Industry, with the already liquidated Center of Textiles, must disappear.

The present hard year facilitated the creation of many practical organizations in the majority of the mills. These organizations are under the control of simple workmen who were even recently very far from the management of the biggest Russian enterprises. At the present time they have their apprenticeship behind them and can

surely undertake the task which hitherto seemed to be beyond their power.

The year of management in the nationalized enterprises brought forward many new leaders, who have sufficient experience, gained through the most hard conditions of labor.

This experience acquired in this most difficult year will serve as a guarantee that in a more normal time these leaders will be able to perform the necessary work of production.

The Political Situation in Lithuania

By V. S.

ON February 16, the Lithuanian bourgeoisie celebrated the second anniversary of the proclamation, by the national *Taryba*, of Lithuania's independence. Two years of struggle, two years of revolutionary hopes and reactionary actuality. . .

The Lithuanian National Council (*Taryba*) was organized in the Fall of 1917 under the vigilant eye of the German occupational authorities. It never consisted of representatives of the laboring masses of the Lithuanian people. In the year 1917, as well as at present, the *Taryba* was composed only of representatives of the Christian Democrats (Clericals) and of Moderate Liberals. The *Taryba* is not an elected body in the strict sense of the word. The candidates to the *Taryba* were nominated by German occupational authorities and were "elected" by clericals and by the societies of liberals. After the Revolution of November, 1918, the power of the German army of occupation fell. The *Taryba* proclaimed itself the supreme national body and elected A. Smetona as President of Lithuania. "An Independent Democratic Lithuanian Republic with the *Sejm* (Council) seated in Vilna"—such was the political ideal of all bourgeois parties.

The political situation, however, began to become complex. At the end of 1918, the multitude of Lithuanian refugees in Russia began to organize the first units of Lithuanian Red Guards. In December, the first squads of this army entered Lithuania and occupied its capital—Vilna. The Soviet Government of Lithuania and White Russia was organized. Lithuania became a component part of the Russian Federal Soviet Republic. The Government of the *Taryba* fled from Vilna to Kovno and hastily organized there a ministry of "national defense." All bourgeois parties, including the Social Democrats (*Mensheviki*), participated in this Ministry.

The Lithuanian White Guards united with the remnants of the German army of occupation for the purpose of fighting against the young Soviet Government of Lithuania. At the same time, Polish legions were advancing from the south. And these bourgeois politicians of Poland and Lithuania, who without scruple utilized the services of the German "Landesknecht," were backed by the

representatives of the Entente. The German administrators in Kovno were replaced by representatives of the Allied missions.

The Soviet Government of Lithuania could not withstand the pressure of the Polish, Lithuanian and German coalition, which had the moral and material backing of the Allied Powers. On April 18, the Polish legions occupied Vilna. Early in the summer the Red Guards left the territory of Lithuania altogether.

The reign of White Terror then began in Lithuania. All those who had had even the slightest relation to Soviet work became victims of the White Terror. Even *Mensheviki*, who had belonged to the government of "National Defense," were shot. Each clerical became a voluntary spy. The Catholic clergy, which is influential in Lithuania, mobilized all its forces for the struggle against the "Reds." The coalition ministry, which had a majority of moderate socialist elements, was replaced by a ministry of clerical reactionaries led by Galvanovsky and Voldemar.

Landowners, who had fled to Warsaw to escape the red danger, returned home. It was decided to hold in abeyance the bill on agrarian reforms. This increased the power of the extreme reactionaries. The Government of Smetona began to flirt with the Polish landowners of Lithuania. Count Alfred Tishkevich was appointed Ambassador to England; Prince Lubosh to France and Radziwill to Poland. At the head of the Lithuanian army was placed a pro-Polish Lithuanian, Zhukovsky, who is openly accused of having brought all the troops to the Bolshevik front so as to enable the Polish legions to further penetrate into ethnographic Lithuania. Zhukovsky was finally compelled to resign.

At the present time the Poles are occupying almost one-third of ethnographic Lithuania—the counties of Troki, Vilno and Swienciany (in the government of Vilna); also Kalvaria and Seiny counties (in the government of Suvalki), and the northern part of Wilkomir and Novo-Alexandrovsk counties (in the Government of Kovno).

The interrelations with the Poles are extremely strained. The line of demarkation is a series of unending armed encounters. In the regions occupied by the Poles the prisons are overcrowded.

The entire Lithuanian press in Vilna has been suppressed. In the military circles of Kovno open conversations take place concerning the intended offensive on Vilna. According to Kovno newspapers of March, the Poles have been recently concentrating new units on the Lithuanian frontier.

The relations with Latvia, Lithuania's northern neighbor, are also rather aggravated. Since the time when Dvinsk was taken, the Lettish bourgeoisie have been acting in solidarity with Poland. Powerful Poland is a better neighbor for Latvia than weak Lithuania. Disputes on account of the boundary line are also increasing, Latvia is demanding Mozeiki, an important railway junction in the northwestern part of the Government of Kovno (Mozeiki is within the limits of ethnographic Lithuania).

So far, all attempts to come to a mutual understanding with regard to boundary lines have led to no positive results. In this dispute between Poland and Lithuania, Latvia is supporting Poland.

Reaction within the country is growing hourly. In Kovno, even the Menshevik organ *Socialdemokratas*, and the organ of the trade union, *Darbininku Gyvenimas*, have been suppressed. In the

middle of February, mass arrests were made throughout the country.

In the latter part of February, a movement began within the soldiers' ranks. The government attempted to explain this circumstance, attributing it to the influence of "Bolshevik gold." This movement of the soldiers, which assumed the form of an open revolt, has been suppressed. The leaders of the uprising were shot.

However, notwithstanding the extreme cruelty which the clerical government has resorted to; notwithstanding the fact that the country is almost entirely ruled by the heads of the British mission, the workers' movement is growing extensively and intensively. Even those petty bourgeois elements who were against the Bolsheviks last spring now think well of the Soviet Government. The Convention of Lithuanian trade unions passed a resolution in support of the Soviet Government. The agricultural workers are also waking up. In Kovno, *Pravda* and *The Communist*, two Lithuanian newspapers, published illegally, are appearing once more.

The reign of reaction in Lithuania will fall with the growth of the workers' movement.

Our Neighbor China

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK.

NEW YORK, May 3, 1920.

CALMLY and patiently, without any excitement or fear of the spread of Bolshevism through Russia, China, the mysterious giant of Asia, was watching its powerful neighbor.

The Russian revolution, which had been foreseen by the Chinese politicians for a long time, was eagerly awaited in China. It was a great event in the history of Asia, it was a movement which necessarily awakened the Chinese people as well as the whole population of the dreamy Orient.

Russia arose for world justice, for human rights and the equality of the oppressed peoples of the globe.

Instinctively, the Chinese realized the significance of the uprising of the Russian workers and peasants, and greeted it with their mysterious oriental smile, fully recognizing the significance of the successes of the Russian proletariat over world capitalism.

Not a country in the world could have better understood the real significance of the Russian movement than it has been understood in China. Having been robbed and oppressed, and being on the eve of a new invasion and a possible general partition, the emotion of the Chinese people toward Russia is entirely sincere.

The menace of western "democracy" inspired

a horror in the Chinese fully equalled by that inspired by Christianity when it was introduced into China at the point of the bayonet by those who are so grandiloquently advocating peace and freedom.

The country of Lao-Tse and Confucius, as many Chinese, those originators of Bolshevism observe, looked on Russia's victory as a safeguard for the Chinese people. This victory assured the independence and freedom of the Chinese republic in the future and prevented approaching disaster.

Since the monstrous and wanton intervention of the allies in China during the so-called uprising of the "Boxers" in 1900, the Chinese people have become alarmed. The usual passivity with which the Chinese in the past have met European invasions is replaced by an energetic protest of the Chinese people, even in the most remote parts of the vast country.

Silently, but firmly, the Chinese began their preparations for self-defense. The Manchu government, feeling the approaching danger both from the outside and from the inside, decided to create a powerful standing army, the organization of which was started as soon as the allies withdrew their troops.

Once again, China turned to militarism.

Before the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895,

there was not in China any national army; each province had its own independent military force, subject to the provincial authority only, and paid out of the provincial revenues. Being poorly paid, armed and equipped, without any military training, without experienced officers and generals, these forces looked rather like armed bands than anything like an army. The concentration of such tactical units and the solidarity of their actions beyond all possibility.

The bitter lesson which the Japanese gave China forced the Chinese government to organize a military force on the European model. Five divisions were created with the help of Russian, German and French instructors, and this force became a *cadre* for a more ambitious establishment in the future.

Yuan-Shi-Kai, however, succeeded in knocking his division in Shantung into excellent shape. It was this division that afterwards laid the foundations of the national Chinese army, the formation of which begun in 1901, after the suppression of the Boxer uprising. It was a heavy task for Yuan-Shih-Kai to organize a real army in China, on purely imperialistic lines.

The anti-militaristic feeling of the Chinese population presented a serious barrier to the militaristic attitude of the Vice-Roy of the metropolitan province of Chili, but with the help of the Japanese he at last succeeded in forming six divisions, representing about 75,000 men perfectly drilled and equipped. In 1906, the Ministry of War was created, and four divisions of the army of Yuan-Shih-Kai were assigned to its jurisdiction.

During the Russo-Japanese war, the Chinese army was already so strong that Kuropatkin anxiously watched its movements and the Russian diplomats in Peking were very busy in order to prevent a possible demonstration of the Chinese army in the direction of the Manchurian theatre of war.

In 1909 there were in China nine regular divisions, so that up to the outbreak of the revolution in 1911-1913 the Imperial Guards division was already in existence.

This rapid development of military power in China seriously alarmed Japan, and the European States began to look with suspicion on the armament of the Asiatic giant.

But the creation of an imperialistic army even for purposes of defense against foreign invaders very soon became unpopular amongst the Chinese, and the heavy expenses which the country had to bear in keeping up such a huge military organization only hastened the coming revolution, which put an end to Chinese imperialism and its military machinery.

The Chinese proletariat, which represents about 120,000,000 souls, exhausted by the prevalent injustice, the abuses of all kinds, and the corruption of the imperialistic elements throughout the coun-

try, became stronger than the military force of the government. The people's army—that is to say, to be more accurate, the men under arms—numbering about a million, rose in 1911-1913 in the southern provinces of China, and not only defeated the imperialistic forces, but crushed them entirely, thus putting an end to the Manchu tyranny.

It was a wonderful achievement of the Chinese people; it was a real example of determination on the part of a proletariat, which sleeping China gave to the oppressed Asiatic peoples.

Unfortunately the revolution in China was not complete, and the reaction with all its horrors deprived the people of the republic of the real fruits of their revolution.

"We have not had sufficient bloodshed," said to me one of the prominent Chinese revolutionary leaders, "to bring our revolution to the desired end, and we have to pay for it."

Consequently, China, instead of using a people's army, had gradually to return to an imperialistic military organization—she evolved a republican army of the European type.

At the end of 1913, the government decided to keep a permanent army of 500,000 men, and the new revolution which broke out in Yunnan province caused the further development of the military organization.

Again the famous Yuan-Shih-Kai appeared with his military plan. The country was divided into nine military districts, irrespective of provincial boundaries. A considerable proportion of the troops in these districts are men having no relation with the provinces composing the divisions in which they are stationed; all efforts have been made that the newly created army should be well and regularly paid, fed and equipped. Special privileges were introduced for the officers, as well as attractive and costly uniforms for the troops. In short, the western military methods, thanks to Yuan-Shih-Kai, have poisoned the Chinese people, awakened in their souls the militaristic instinct which had slept for centuries in China, since the monstrous invasions of the Mongols into Central Asia, Russia, Poland, Prussia, and Hungary, up to the Adriatic, when the horde of the Great Khan, after having been masters over all Russia during two centuries, were defeated by the Russians, putting an end to the eastern autocratic despotism and adopting one of their own.

The rapid transformation of the Chinese army could serve only as evidence of the promptness with which the Chinese are adopting the methods which they consider necessary and the ability of the Chinese government to overpower all difficulties, while carrying through even the most difficult program.

If we turn our attention to the history of China, we shall be surprised to find an extraordinary similarity in their psychology with that of the old

Romans. Like the latter, the Chinese immediately appropriate every perfection which they notice in their adversaries. Even during their wars, before the first unification of the Chinese Empire, this could be already observed. The battles against the peoples who occupied the lower Yang-Tse, for instance, required the use of armed junks, while to act against the nomad Huns, who were splendid horsemen, a numerous and perfect cavalry was formed.

The anti-militaristic instinct of the Chinese people, however, even in that remote period, was against any kind of permanent army. All the population is armed and rises as a huge military force only in case of danger. Untrained peasants, heavily encased in cuirasses, form into a sort of battalion, attached to each other with cords in order to prevent involuntary dispersion. These masses direct themselves like heavy inflexible phalanxes and either crush the enemy or are entirely massacred. And this method of warfare was voluntarily adopted by the people without any violence on behalf of their chiefs.

The successes of Ts'inn (457 A. D.), who was accustomed to fight the nomads, were greatly owing to his brilliant cavalry, which he organized according to the method of his enemy. It was he who introduced to the Chinese the light and flexible infantry capable of manœuvres.

It must not be forgotten that for many centuries before Christ, the peoples who represent now the Chinese nation were in permanent warfare. One revolution followed another, one dynasty replaced another, anarchy ruled over the whole country for decades, and the most terrible despotism paved the way for Socialism and Bolshevism. Warfare, the most audacious social experiments by the rulers—that is the history of China, a country which passed through a period of the most cruel autocracy the world had ever seen, as well as tested absolute freedom, and even Socialism, in the form which the proletariat of the west so ardently desired to obtain; and again the Chinese people found themselves in the hard pincers of the imperialistic despotism. One thing was always strange to the Chinese,—this was the crushing power of the capitalism, which is now pending over all their country.

It is quite natural that the permanent wars which the Chinese waged for centuries should have created the famous Chinese strategy and tactics, mysterious as are their authors. The military books known as "The Chinese Classics" have only archaeological value.

The first military academy in China was organized in 380 A. D. According to the Chinese annals, this academy was of a very peculiar character. The students were all experienced and distinguished officers, while their professors, on the contrary, were sages who had nothing to do with military art, not to mention warfare.

It was natural that the students became anti-militarists and refused to fight.

In 640 A. D. Licheminn inaugurated a military school, where he trained the cadets for his guard, and only later the Manchus established an examination for those who desired to enter the army of the people as officers. Personality and ability on the battlefield was sufficient for appointment as chief of an army, and the success of the operations was due only to the general respect and obedience. Discipline was supported by the masses.

The Chinese tactics were never written down; they were never studied, but created by every leader in his own way.

History gives us numberless most amazing and clever variations of tactical ability by the Chinese generals.

The king Tch'ou, for instance, defeated and in complete flight, did not become downhearted, but like Samson, who sent out foxes by attaching torches to their tails and letting them run against the enemy, the Chinese king directed at his pursuers elephants with gigantic ignited torches, thus arresting the pursuit.

General Lieou-Pang, in order to defeat a strong adversary, bars the river with a dam, then entices the enemy, by a skillful retreat, into the dry bed of the river, and, while the enemy is moving half of his forces along it, he opens the dam and gives free rein to the water, thus dividing the army of his enemy in two and partially defeating each in turn.

In order to understand the development of Chinese strategy, it is necessary to turn to the Chinese annals and analyze the gigantic operations of their great leaders.

The first Emperor of China, Ts'in, left the throne of his country to his son who, incapable, cruel, and wanton, could not maintain order in China, and was dethroned by an adventurer named Lieou-Pang in 202 B. C. As this usurper originated from the province of Han, his dynasty became known under that name. In spite of the fact that Lieou-Pang was illiterate and savage, he obtained a great popularity by a restoration of the true doctrine of Confucius, which was suppressed by the First Emperor, and he was the first who celebrated a sacrifice on the grave of Confucius, who now is celebrated in China as a saint. The old books which were destroyed by order of Ts'in, and a small part of which were saved by some sages, appeared again in China, thus glorifying the name of Lieou-Pang, who in reality was a tyrant of tyrants.

In 140-87 B. C., the dynasty of Han attained its zenith, under the rule of the emperor Ou. It was now the Chinese who became the aggressors. The peoples who occupied the territory south of Yang-Tse were conquered, as well as the provinces of Tonkin, Hainan, Yunnan and Sze-Chuan, Korea, which was founded by a Chinese prince in 245 B. C., was invaded also, and there is an interesting hypothesis by Chinese historians that one of the princes of the family of the emperor Ou, about 443-473 A. D., after having fled to the Japanese islands, laid the foundation of the empire of the Rising Sun.

Meanwhile the Huns started their invasion of China, and Ou met them with a formidable army, throwing the invaders far back from his frontier, paying for this victory by losing all his army in the Mongolian deserts, where the leaders of the army lost their way. In order to avoid such a disaster in the future, the warlike emperor directed an explorer, Tchang-Kien, to investigate Mongolia and the western country as far as possible. Overcoming a thousand dangerous adventures, Tchang-Kien traveled for ten years, exploring Mongolia up to Lake Baikal, then penetrating into Kashgaria and Turkestan to Aral Sea, and very probably he was also in Afghanistan.

The annals show us that after his return to China, the Emperor sent an army to Sogdiana, a kingdom governed by the Greeks, which henceforth submitted to the Chinese.

During this epoch of Chinese aggressiveness, the power of the Huns grew immensely, and they were divided into two nations.

On the Chinese frontiers the oriental Huns settled, while on the west, up to the Caspian Sea and Ural, the western Huns were scattered. Those were the Huns whom Attila led in the conquest of Europe. China gradually came under the domination of the Huns.

In 73-102 A. D. Pan-Chao, with a small army, succeeded in conquering thirty-six kingdoms of Turkestan, and almost reached the Roman frontier. In 97 he sent an envoy, Kan-iin, to the Romans, but the ambassador lost his way and returned without having accomplished his mission, and only in 166 did the Roman mission of Antonius reach China by sea.

Under the domination of the Huns, China passed a most terrifying period of its existence. Easily defeated by the invaders, the Chinese people were divided into three empires, and thousands of separate principalities, each at war with the other. Anarchy ruled everywhere, and the empire had an emperor without an empire.

In 545 the name of a new people first appears. They are the Turks, a tribe of the western Huns. The Turks, by force of arms, established their authority in the center and started the conquest of China. In 605, the Chinese armies, under the new conquerors, subjected to their power Tonkin and Annam, and the provinces of Cambodia became tributaries to China. The emperor Yang-ti with his navy displayed great activity. In 606, Turkestan is again under the Chinese rule, and the next year a formidable army and a powerful navy is ordered to reconquer Corea, which for a long time had regained its independency.

A million, one hundred and thirty thousand soldiers accompanied by a like number of coolies, march into Corea, whereas the navy sails toward several Korean ports, for cooperation with the land army. These military movements are organized in perfect order and with real strategical instinct. The large Liao-ho River is crossed with extraordinary ability. The offenders meet resistance on the battlefield of Liao-yang, and suffer a serious defeat. Another army of 350,000 crosses the Yalu, directing its march on Pin-hsiang, in order to cooperate with the flotilla which was entering the river. But, in spite of all efforts, the enemy succeeds in resisting this attack, and the Chinese are defeated in spite of the fact that two fresh armies repeat the fruitless attack on Liao-yang. Nevertheless, the Chinese win the war strategically, having exhausted their adversaries to such an extent that the Koreans are obliged to ask for peace. The Chinese emperor victoriously enters Corea, where he perishes with all his forces, thanks to the sudden outbreak of revolution.

As soon as the dynasty gained full control of China, further conquests are made. The Chinese army penetrates into Persia, already conquered by the Arabs, and the son of T'ang, Prince Firouz, is made ruler over all Turkestan. On the other hand, in the East, again the conquest of Corea by the Chinese begins, followed by a rather serious friction between Japan and China. In 667 a Chinese army, 300,000 strong, invades Corea.

Through skillful diplomatic relations, Chinese rulers approach Abbasside Kalifs, and cordial relations are established with the Arabs, and the latter enter the Chinese service. Tonkin and Annam revolt and are delivered from the invaders, but again conquered and subjected to China, and the Tibetan army, as well as the army of Nepal, under Chinese leaders of Hun origin, seize India and take over six hundred towns and capture Magadha (Patna), the sovereign of which is brought to China. These successful wars strengthen the Tibetan military force and in five centuries they become the most menacing neighbors for the Arabs as well as the Chinese. Haroun-al-Rashid together with China in vain tried to stop the permanent invasion of his country by the Tibetans; in 763 they captured the Chinese capital Singanfou.

Again a period of revolution and civil wars took place in China. The dynasty of T'ang vanishes and the new

barbarians, Kitai, the masters of all Manchuria and eastern Mongolia, become the rulers of China. Like the Huns, the Turks also divided into western and eastern Turks. The Western control Turkestan, Persia, and Asia Minor, while the Eastern became the Chinese themselves. The Kitais constitute one such tribe of Chinified Turks, and they then began to control the Chinese people. In 1023, they are in possession of the province of Petchili, and they proclaim their emperor the emperor of China. They are the Kitais who have built Peking.

But another Turko-Chinese people is watching the Kitais, ready to attack them from the rear. They are the Manchus. Their prince Han-Lin conquers West Mongolia, there forming a strong army of various tribes, mostly nomads, he invades Turkestan and there creates the fabulous realm of the "Priest John."

Kaifong-fou is captured by the Manchus also, and the Chinese Emperor Soung is captured. One of his brothers, however, succeeds in escaping and establishing the Soung dynasty in the south of Yang-tse. Since China presents two large empires: the Northern and Southern, the Southern Chinese empire under the Soungs, though weak in military force, developed art and science to a high point, but was unable to prevent the menace that threatened it from another nomad tribe of Turko-Chinese origin—the Mongols.

The famous Mongolian Khan, Tiemoutchin, succeeded in forming a federation of the Tartars after endless fighting, and finally crushed the Kitai emperor Ouang, as well as the legendary priest John, and in 1208 proclaimed himself Gengis-Khan, the illustrious and inflexible. In 1208, he attacked the Manchus and pushed them south of Hoang-ho, capturing the province of Pechili. Meanwhile the generals of this Mongolian leader conquered Turkestan. After entering Samarkand, Gengis-Khan sent his captains, Jebe and Souboutai, with 25,000 horsemen, to the west. It was the most brilliant cavalry reconnaissance that military history ever witnessed. Both Mongolian leaders, after having crossed Persia, penetrated into Georgia; in the Caucasus they moved along the Volga and stopped at the Dnieper, after having won a hundred victories; then, in 1219, they returned via the North Caspian. The bulk of the Gengis-Khan forces, however, conquered Persia and entered through Afghanistan into India as far as Delhi. 1227, Gengis-Khan died, while on his way home from Tibet, where he had obtained a series of victories.

It is very interesting to note that generally we are accustomed to interpret the name of Gengis-Khan as synonymous with destruction. Western historians have presented this man as a paragon of evil, and he, like Attila, is pictured as a man whose only aim during his life was the annihilation of the people by fire and iron. But if we look in the historical documents of Asia, if we go through the Chinese annals as well as the books of the most remote oriental writers, in countries which were enemies to that eastern conqueror, if we shall read the memoirs of Marco Polo or Joinville, we shall come to quite a different conclusion about the deeds of Gengis-Khan. We shall understand that this great captain was a genuine organizer, a skillful strategist, an administrator without a peer, a peace-maker. "His death caused a great sorrow," says Marco Polo, and Joinville added that he "had won the peace," and one of these historians wrote this after he had returned from China, while the other was on his way to Europe from Syria. The armies of Gengis-Khan, which we call "hordes," were marvelously organized and equipped; their discipline and tactics were perfect and especially the commissariat and the supply in general of his armies was put on a very high level by Gengis-Khan. And before any movement of the Mongolian forces a most serious and complete reconnoitering, accomplished by a special detachment of the commissariat officials, took place. Such a reconnoissance naturally was sup-

ported by a strong military force, composed of cavalry only, but of no tactical importance. In a most peaceful way, these detachments approached the population of the regions which would lie on the path of the bulk of the army, and try to establish good relations with them and purchase the suitable products which would be indispensable to the troops. So were established the provisional bases along the whole marching line of the Mongolian armies. The requisitionary bonuses were invented by the Mongolians. Parallel with the movement of the Gengis-Khan troops into unknown countries, a work of surveying went on in a most remarkable way; land was proportionally divided amongst the population and order introduced in the administration of those countries, where, until the arriving of the Mongols only anarchy ruled.

In his book, *Turcs et Mongols*, p. 279, Leon Cahun says: "In the XIIIth century, the Mongols were a civilized people as regards military art, and those who were defeated by them were the barbarians, because, not by their numbers, but exclusively by the ability and high education of their generals and administrators have the Mongols obtained their successes; their campaign of 1219 is as regular and carried on in as absolute order as was our classic campaign of 1805."

The emperor himself very rarely directed the troops personally, entrusting the command entirely to the initiative of his generals. Practically, he was only a statesman, who planned a general policy, which strategy had to carry through by a military campaign. The wars of the Mongols were real wars, of pacification and organization of the countries which for centuries were in permanent anarchy. Naturally the Mongols were severe and pitiless to those who resisted their orders, but once order was established, the population did not feel any oppression.

After the death of Gengis-Khan, the countries from the Dnieper to the Yellow Sea and the river Indus were organized and promised peace and prosperity. Only the Manchus continued their resistance to the Mongols.

In 1233 one of the Mongol generals, Sabutai, besieged the Manchu capital, Kaifong-fou when the Manchus used against his troops for the first time gunpowder; the emperor of the Manchu dynasty was slain and the country up to the Blue river submitted to the Mongols. This accomplished, Saboutai began to continue the plan prepared by his emperor; the reconnaissance of Europe had been already carried through under Gengis-Khan. It was now for Saboutai to undertake the conquest of Europe, using the invention of the Manchus—the newly discovered explosive—gunpowder.

This tremendous movement of the Mongols to the west is very well known and I do not think it necessary to go into a detailed description of this gigantic campaign, but I cannot pass over the perfect organization of the army of a million of the Mongolian conqueror. As usual, the cavalry was sent as vanguard, in order to clear the way for the infantry and to inspect the supply bases already organized during the previous march of the Mongolian armies. The cavalry had to keep in permanent communication with the bulk of the army. An enormous number of coolies followed the fighting forces and the wives of the soldiers were allowed to follow them in military transports, but in no case with the troops. Perfect order was kept by strict discipline. In such order, Saboutai moved his tremendous army through Russia, Poland and Hungary, where in 1241 his troops remained for one year, holding the country as far as the Adriatic, reaching Vienna, and no nation of Europe dared to attack them; and only the death of the Great Khan forced Saboutai to begin the evacuation of Central Europe. Prince Batou was left in the region between the Dnieper and the Volga, while Houlagou attacked the Arabian empire; he started from Syria and destroyed the Khaliphate of Bagdad, but melted while hammering on Egypt.

The invention of the compass allowed the Chinese to travel freely over the seas and a century before the Europeans the Chinese undertook long and dangerous sea expeditions. The squadron of the Mongols arrived in Formosa and made it a tributary. Chinese vessels reached Luzon, the Sundra islands, Ceylon, and as far as Madagascar. Japan, irritated by the conquest of Corea by the Mongols, executed their enemies, thus provoking a new war with China. The emperor Koubilai at once mobilized a flotilla of 900 vessels, to transport to Japan 100,000 troops, but a terrible typhoon destroyed this armada near Tsushima, and only a few Chinese invaders saved their lives by being picked up by the Japanese fishermen.

When Koubilai became emperor of China, he established himself at Peking and became the most powerful sovereign in the world. From the Don to the Yellow Sea all obeyed this Mongolian ruler, and the Venetian traveler Marco Polo, for many years in the service of this Khan, described him as "the most powerful man who existed in the world since our forefather Adam." The Pope, as well as Saint Louis, Innocent III, and many monks, and the ambassadors of all the states of Asia and Russia all paid visits to the successor of the Great Khan, some of them as vassals, and others as the envoys of their respective sovereigns.

And many interesting examples are given by history of the ability of the Chinese generals who never studied either strategy or tactics. And how could real tactics be established in China, which never had professional soldiers, whose military force was created only when a war was imminent, and where, in peace time, military training was not in practice.

Only in 711 A. D. was conscription introduced to the Chinese people. All the population between 25 and 50 became subject to the military training without interfering in their private life. They were allowed, however, to continue their business and their work. It was a compulsory military education such as Trotsky has introduced in Russia. An army of 130,000 mercenaries was also formed and they were enlisted for all their lives. In 780, we already find 768,000 soldiers in the Chinese army fully equipped by the state.

Under Wang-nan-chen, conscription touched only the sons of some families, since the third son and a most extraordinary system of requisition of horses was established amongst the farmers, who in case of war had to furnish the recruits with a suitable horse. This progress in military organization was accompanied by a series of technical innovations, especially for purposes of siege. The ballistas, the catapults, the battering rams, moving towers, as well as moving bridges, and all machinery known to the Greeks and Romans were used in China, greatly developed and perfected. The various fortifications, the trenches, including the underground communications, could easily compete with those of our epoch.

Amongst the most remarkable earthworks which the Chinese people built in the past, the gigantic system of canals and the famous Great Wall even now produce astonishment among modern engineers. It is essential to note that these structures were built mostly for strategical purposes in order to facilitate the transport of armies. The king Ou dug a canal between Hang-tcheou, Yangtse and Hoang-ho in 485-481 which later was developed into the so-called Imperial Canal system.

The famous king Ts'in, who, after having de-

feated his last adversary, the King of Tch-ou in 221 B. C., and proclaimed himself Cheu-Hoang-Ti, which means the king of kings, or emperor, was confronted with a new danger. The frontier of the kingdom of Huang and Ti which was what is now China, became the object of constant attacks of the Huns and other nomads. In order to guarantee the safeguarding of his country, Ts'in started the most formidable construction the world has ever seen. A wall of ten thousand li (3,500 kilometers) was built. It was ten meters in height, ten meters thick at the base and four meters thick at the top. Every hundred meters, a tower was built, with a passage through its base so that the free movement along the top of the wall remained open for the troops and even for vehicles. Parapets, which protected the troopers from the enemy's flashlights, bordered the walls on its both-sides. It was a rather difficult task for the attackers to take possession of such a wall which was in reality nothing but a strategical route connecting the capital and the ocean by three routes ten hundred meters wide and ten meters above the ground, by means of which the necessary reinforcements could be immediately despatched to the Great Wall if required. In possession of such a strategical route, the Chinese established a wonderful defensive system, which allowed them to defend their country by using a minimum number of troops, or to act on so-called inner lines, which, as a matter of fact is a purely modern strategical method of warfare.

Far from meaning that the Chinese are a cowardly lot, the Great Wall in reality was not constructed in order that they might hide themselves behind it. The critics who laughed at the Chinese for that great strategical construction have neglected the fact that the ancient Romans also used similar means of defense, having built the famous walls of Hadrian and Trojan, the remains of which we can see even now, and though they were much smaller than the Chinese Wall their strategical importance was equal to that of the Great Wall of China.

In 547 incendiary bombs were used, and some special appliances, which projected arrows in masses, as our machine guns project bullets—exactly in the same way. At last, in 1232, at Kaifong-fu, when the Mongols besieged the Manchus, gunpowder was officially put into action, and ten years later the Mongols used the first artillery gun, an instrument that has since become such a means of destruction in our civilized world.

When the Portuguese first appeared in China, the Chinese already were manufacturing field-guns, and small guns fixed on their camels' backs and a catholic monk, Adam Schall, was directing a gun factory in Peking. The victory of the British navy over the Chinese during the opium war forced the Chinese government to establish at the mouth of the Pei-ho the forts whose batteries in 1860 repulsed the attack of the Anglo-French

fleet and forced the invaders to resort to land operations.

And in spite of this military ability of the Chinese people, there are no written military books, and if such are in existence nobody reads them except scientific historians.

The defeats which China has constantly suffered since her first acquaintance with Europeans, in spite of her military past, seem ridiculous, and this was often interpreted as a lack of bravery on the part of the Chinese people, even in the defence of their own country from the invaders. In reality it is not so. Every Chinaman is very practical and a great philosopher; he at once realized that the Europeans were technically superior and that it would be useless to resist them. The strategical method of almost all Chinese military leaders always was based on the same principles, namely to entice the enemy into the country and to annihilate him at the first favorable opportunity; how similar such principles are, in general, to the Russian strategy!

In regard to European invasions in China, the Chinese policy remained unchanged. Neither time nor sufferings mean much to the Chinese people, they look ahead with a purely Chinese philosophy, knowing well that a day will come when the invaders will evacuate China and retire.

The bravery of the Chinese and their contempt for death is very well known, especially to those who have had an opportunity to meet the Chinese fighters on the battlefields.

The English and French know this perfectly, as well as the Japanese.

The Manchu cavalry in 1894, during the battle of Pinhsiang, performed wonders, and the Chinese garrison of a fort at Taku, numbering 1,000, in 1860 preferred to end their existence by committing suicide rather than surrender to the enemy.

The fighting spirit of the Chinese may be illustrated by the following historical incident. During the attack on Taku in 1860, the allies had in their possession a great number of coolies who were ordered to bring storming ladders to the ramparts. They moved calmly under the bullets of their own people, the defenders of the fort, but at the moment of general attack, the atmosphere of battle so excited them that they charged the fort and were the first on the summits of its works.

In "L'Expedition de Chine en 1900," by Colonel de Pelacot, of the French army, as well as the French General Frey's "L'Armee Chinoise," we find the most enthusiastic tribute to the bravery and military ability of the Chinese people. The English General Gordon, for instance, writes: "It is time to stop the groundless talk about the sleepiness of the Chinese. As much as he is calm in peace-time, he is dangerous and audacious during war, if properly commanded." And Lord Wolseley declares: "The Chinese possesses all the virtues of a real warrior."

(Continued on page 468)

SOVIET RUSSIA

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CHINA appears to be about to enter the already large group of nations that are negotiating peace with Soviet Russia. A Moscow message of April 29, appearing in New York newspapers, May 3, states that a Chinese diplomatic and military mission, accompanied by a number of merchants, which arrived at Verkhnie-Udinsk, Transbaikalia, April 24, has reached an agreement with the representatives of the Russian and Transbaikal governments by which the Russo-Chinese frontier is to be opened for exports and imports. Exchange of goods, it is further reported, has already begun between China and Turkestan, and "China has refused further to recognize the representatives of the former Russian government in Peking, who have protested, together with the French officials, against the Russo-Chinese negotiations."

We do not know whether the former Russian representatives at Peking, during their post-mortem existence as Russian representatives since November 7, 1917, have been financed from the same source as their former colleagues in European countries, but it is apparent that the former Russian representatives at Peking are more in harmony with their French colleagues than with the *de facto* government of Russia today. With these French colleagues, and with the practice of the Russian diplomacy of the past, the former Russian representatives at Peking no doubt feel a strong bond of union, equalled in intensity only by the aversion they must feel when they read of the manner in which the Soviet Government is frankly renouncing all the loot of former Russian Govern-

ments. We cannot wonder that the former Russian representatives at Peking fly to the breasts of their imperialistic French colleagues for consolation, when they read, as we do in the *New York Times* of May 3 (Special Washington message of May 2), that a new Soviet manifesto to China denounces "all the enterprises of conquest by the former Russian Government, and therefore will return the Chinese Eastern Railway to China without compensation. It will also restore to China all the mines, forests and gold mines obtained from China by the Governments of the Romanovs, Kerensky, Horvath, Semionov, Kolchak and other bureaucrats." This, to be sure, is food too strong for the stomachs of those who have spent all their lives in the old, disreputable game of treacherous politeness with the representatives of other nations. And, in passing, how like each other do all the Russian governments seem that are enumerated in the denunciation! In the three years or more that have passed since the Czar was deposed, how similar to his were the governments of "Kerensky, Horvath, Semionov, Kolchak, and other bureaucrats," too numerous to catalog, that have sprung up in his wake, despite all their rich variety of democratic pretense!

One New York newspaper, about two months ago, commenting editorially on a premature announcement of the Russo-Chinese negotiations now officially recorded, remarked with amazement, almost dismay, the complete revolution in international relations that would be involved in a renunciation, on the part of the Russian people, of all schemes and plans for conquest that had been cherished for decades, if not for centuries, by their now deposed masters. The mind that still dwells in the shadows of the awkward and obscene past can scarcely conceive of the brightness and directness of the future, the plain-dealing and simple language, the outstretched hand for the future, and the wiping out of old scares for the past.

* * *

FRANCE seems to understand the new language—which means, of course, the new international philosophy—less than any of the other nations. France, which for several years past has been for many generous souls the torch-bearer of freedom and democracy in the struggle to overthrow the German militaristic government, is continuing the process, recently begun, of affording increasingly convincing evidence that her own aggressive militarism is of a type not easily distinguished from the baleful oppression which she aided in destroying. There cannot now be many persons who do not understand how completely the French imperialists are aping their German predecessors, and we find that even Mr. Walter Duranty, cabling on May 2 from Paris to the *New York Times*, is fairly well aware of the nature of the force that is driving the French Government to hurl into the struggle against Soviet Rus-

sia all the resources of France and all the men—of Poland.

The Poles, says Mr. Duranty, acting for their master, the French Government, are aiming not at Moscow, which Mr. Duranty appears to think is a rather difficult and troublesome city to take, but at Kiev, and, chiefly, at Odessa, because there it would be possible to control the export of grain in the interest of France. Let us quote Mr. Duranty:

The real goal of their offensive is Odessa, the most important port of the empire. The Poles do not pretend to seize it for themselves. By a clever arrangement whose main lines were doubtless dictated further west than Warsaw—they are now in the position of protectors of Ukrainian independence against Soviet tyranny. The Ukrainian leader Petlura will have vivid gratitude for the Polish help, and it will be his very evident interest to remain friendly with the only nation in Eastern Europe that has a powerful and active western backer. For behind Poland stands France, financially exhausted, it may be, but possessing huge stores of arms and munitions and possessing, too, able and devoted officers to instruct and lead the Polish troops. The worst cause of France's financial weakness is the enormous excess of her imports over exports, and the biggest single import is wheat. That wheat she must buy from countries whose exchange is at an intolerable premium, and that premium ever mounting. If Odessa can be securely held by France's friends, the vast wheat stores of the Ukraine, Europe's granary, would become available to French shippers. Instead of paying in dollars, France would pay in rubles or in Polish money, both far below the French currency.—*New York Times*, May 3.

There is no doubt it is difficult for nations that are keeping their populations off the farms, in order to keep them at warlike and imperialistic tasks, to obtain wheat and other prime necessities of life from other countries. One way is to buy it, and Soviet Russia, through her representatives abroad as well as in numerous official communications from Moscow, has offered to sell it, or exchange it—which amounts to the same thing—and this offer has been made to France as well as to all other countries without exception. France, Mr. Duranty tells us, prefers not to buy or exchange with the Russian Soviet Government, or the Ukrainian Soviet Government, but will first steal the land from those governments, with the aid of Polish troops (themselves very unwilling to be used in this unbrotherly work), and then pay, in various monetary units of no less picturesque than fictitious value, not the original and rightful holder of the land, but the thief with whose aid it has been stolen.

Of course, we are here guilty of a fault that is not new in the annals of international relations—of selling the bear's skin before the bear has been laid low, and, on reflection, we admit that it is not certain that Poland, and, through her, France, will find this a more profitable way of securing Russian wheat than buying it and paying for it. We think it is possible that France may be taking the shortest cut, if she persists in this course, of preventing herself from getting any grain at all. But the thing we wish to point out is that France, if she

continues to finance—of course, in reality, to insist on—Polish aggression in Russia, is using the old Roman method of exploiting peripheral territory: she is stealing the grain that others have raised; she is taxing foreign, prospectively subject, races by theft; she is thus affording one more classic example of a phenomenon we have witnessed before: the resort to the methods of barbarism and underproduction (when nations were compelled to steal produce to feed their slaves and soldiers), in order to keep alive a system that has already attained "over-production" and by it been driven into imperialistic warfare and military exhaustion. And the intensity of the application of this desperate remedy varies directly with the seriousness of the need: while Great Britain negotiates, more or less successfully, with her colonies in Australia for the delivery of wheat allotments, France negotiates with Poland for aid in conquering wheat areas by military force.

UKRAINE has had the misfortune in the past decade of being played up by the various power groups against each other, of being fostered as a nation by those who would use the claims of her people in order to further imperialistic aims foreign to their real interests. Early in the world war, a veritable flood of literature was launched at Berlin and Vienna, to prove to the world that the conquest of southern Russia by the Central Powers was planned by them in order to free the Ukrainians and enable them to "attain their national aspirations." The Allies were not slow to establish a counter-propaganda, and the more adroit Ukrainian "statesmen" have profited not a little from time to time by steering the "national movement" in directions dictated from alternating centers of policy "further west than Warsaw." Ever since the armistice of November 11, 1918, this has of course meant faithful service to the cause of the Allies, in most cases France. But there isn't much left for these Ukrainian "patriots" to sell to the French Government. They are completely discredited in Ukraine, and their country has been cleared, through the cooperation of its worker and peasant population with the forces of the Russian Red Army, of all the counter-revolutionary forces that had gained a foothold there, including those of Simon Petlura. No doubt Petlura is now being provided with a new job by the Polish Government, that of gathering up the shattered remains of his "national" army, and fitting them into the scheme of the new Polish-French aggression against Soviet Russia, which appears, from Mr. Duranty's cable, quoted above, to be taking a southerly direction. It is to be hoped that the approaching defeat of the "Polish-French Adventure" (as the *New York Times* calls it in an editorial of May 3), will also eliminate the picturesque and ubiquitous figure of Simon Petlura from the counter-revolutionary arena.

No one will welcome the Poles in Ukraine and

the country has suffered so much military activity in the last few months that it is not certain that much grain has been sown; besides, so little in the way of foodstuffs has been stored, that it is clear that the inhabitants must use all of their surplus to prepare for the next winter. Or is it the intention of the French-Polish invaders to take what grain there is, and leave nothing for the Ukrainians themselves? Or, will they—in case they should occupy any important areas of Ukrainian territory—permit the Ukrainians to fulfill their treaty obligations, involving exchanges of foodstuffs for manufactured products with Soviet Russia, before they demand their contribution of wheat to be sent to France? These are questions to which the answers would be interesting, if they were not self-evident, and France will show, by the manner in which she answers them, whether the lessons taught by the German militarists, whom she has now vanquished, have been fully absorbed. Our Paris correspondent, writing from that city at a date much earlier than that of Mr. Duranty's cable, points out the French origin of the present Ukrainian "aspirations" (to be printed in the next issue of *Soviet Russia*).

APPEAL TO THE ENGLISH WORKERS

Lansbury has brought the following letter from Lenin to the English workers:

"If you will succeed in bringing about a peaceful revolution in England no one will be as happy about it as we. Accustom yourselves to the discipline of the trade unions, create a strong discipline for the labor movement. Don't split the movement until forced to do so. Don't weaken it through premature strikes and revolts.

"Be united as long as it is possible. Don't let yourselves be driven to resort prematurely to force."

—Quoted from *Arbeiter-Stimme* of Warsaw, March 31, 1920.

ADVANCE OF RED TROOPS

Moscow, March 3.—The military bulletin of the northern fronts states: In the Murmansk district, the Red troops have occupied the station of Soroki, on the White Sea coast, 45 versts to the south of Kem. The Caucasian front reports: Supplementary information indicates that we took more than 4,000 prisoners in the fall of Stavropol.

OUR NEIGHBOR CHINA

(Continued from page 465)

"The day will come," says Captain d'Ollone in his wonderful book *La Chine Novatrice et Guerriere*, "when China will form the most formidable army in the world."

And Captain d'Ollone is perfectly right; I only can complete the statement of this French explorer of China by adding that the future Chinese army will be a people's army, created on the same principles as those underlying the first anti-militaristic army of the Russian proletariat.

ITALY TRADES WITH RUSSIA

Avanti publishes the following resolution of the Executive Committee of the consumer's league in Milan:

"The Executive Committee of the Consumer's League administration in Milan took notice of the information (which appeared in the Italian and foreign newspapers) concerning the reopening of commercial relations with Russia by the Allied powers.

"Great satisfaction was expressed over the possibility of reestablishment of economical intercourse of the allied governments with Russia; this policy had its initiative in the unanimous resolution accepted in the Italian Parliament at the session of December last. It is the duty of the administration of the Consumer's League of Milan to favor every well disposed movement morally and materially, and it is ready to support such movements as tend to reopen new markets for new commercial commodities and articles of necessity; we can easily see the significant character of this movement for our big city, its relation to other similar consumers' leagues and to other distributing organizations of our nation. This seems to be the only way to prevent the endless increase of prices on all articles necessary for the League. It must unite with the more sound and alert elements of the country in order with all its power to prevent this new initiative of the Entente Governments from being taken up and utilized by private speculators, without the least advantage, more likely to the disadvantage, of the consumers. ers.

"It is therefore resolved, that the administration of the Consumers' League in Milan shall be at the head of this commercial movement; Italy will then be able (with the aid of its organs of communistic tendency, of provincial consumers' leagues and cooperations) to be in the first line when advantages will arrive from this international situation.

"It further resolves to carry on all the necessary negotiations and to arrange the work in order to get in direct touch with the organs of the producers and consumers in Russia.

"It resolves, at last, to inform about this decision the mayor of the town of Milan in order that he may use his authority in securing the consent of the majority of the consumers of Milan; the latter shall influence the government to carry out all the necessary practical measures in order to obtain different facilities (passports, credentials, moral and economical support, means of transportation, etc.), which are essential for the reestablishment of commercial relations with Russia."

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH POLAND

Moscow, March 31.—The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has proposed to the Polish Government that Dorpat be the seat of the peace negotiations.

The Japanese at Vladivostok

By MAX M. ZIPPIN.

The occupation of Vladivostok and the Ussuri region by the Japanese was by no means a surprise to those who have watched the behavior of the Japanese in Siberia from the time of the Russian revolution. The Russians have never had any illusions as to the "help" the Japanese were supposedly giving them. No Russian trusted them. Even that negligible little lot of "Kolchakists" that were helping the Allied governments and thereby the Japanese government, to entrench themselves in Siberia, never had any illusions as to the outcome. It was a simple case of monarchists helping foreign imperialists in order to be helped by them in turn. It was a case of traitors giving away parts of Russia to foreigners that they might rule over the rest later.

As far back as June, 1917, when the writer of these lines landed in Vladivostok and was greeted by much white bunting, with red circles in the middle (purporting to represent a rising sun, and called the Japanese flag), flying from many a boat in the Vladivostok harbor, even in those days of the flowering of the beloved of the Allies, Kerensky, the Russians knew that these Japanese boats, and these Japanese flags were there for the eventual occupation of the Russian Far East by the Japanese. Because the Japanese militarists and imperialists themselves have never made a secret of their designs on Siberia and have said quite openly that they are bent on grabbing as much Russian territory as will befit the occasion, to pay for their great "sacrifices" in this great "war for democracy." It was clear to every Russian that all that the Japanese imperialists needed was a chance, and the Allied intervention in Russia and actual occupation of Siberia, was too good a chance for them to lose. And they did not let it pass.

Equally, it is not surprising that in the circles of the Allied governments, including Washington, if one is to take the word of the anonymous special correspondent of *The New York Times*, quoting, as is his habit, that mysterious source, the "government circles," that in those quarters the whole thing caused no surprise. "The Japanese occupation of Vladivostok" he tells us, "is considered here a logical consequence of preceding developments." Indeed it is! Besides if any one in those circles was startled by the turn of affairs, what else could he do but put on a smiling face? What are they to do about it? They cannot send an army to Siberia to defend the Russian Bolsheviks, can they? And by the testimony of no less an authority than General Graves they are, that is the Russians of Siberia, all Bolsheviks. Or to put it in the words of another American officer, "The Bolsheviks are the only white people in Siberia."

The treacherous occupation of Vladivostok by the Japanese occurred just two years to a day after

the Allies had landed their troops in the same city and for the same reason, for the sake of "keeping order." On April 5, 1918, the Japanese, with the reluctant or zealous help, as the case may be, of the other Allied governments landed their soldiers in Vladivostok, a city as orderly and peaceful as any city on the face of the globe, because a Japanese merchant was robbed and killed by some unknown person, as the official manifesto of the Allied representatives then ran. And right then and there every Russian knew that it was one of those poor and numerous chicanes that have already filled up the files of the Vladivostok Soviet; that it meant Japanese occupation as far as the Allies were concerned; and that the Russians must from now on be on the lookout and watch their "friends," and allies. And if any Russian had any illusions before about the Allies he had learned his hard lesson. Because it was too evident all over Vladivostok that the mysterious murderers of the Japanese merchant were as near the Japanese Consulate in Vladivostok as high-handed diplomacy would permit them to be, and that the whole story was merely another addition to the many provocations in Russia for which Allied "friendship" was conspicuous. And the Russians only wondered why the Allied governments insisted on establishing and upholding order in a country, whose order is such a contrast to theirs; maintaining order, like charity, begins at home.

So, as a matter of actual fact, the Japanese imperialistic government laid its hands on the Russian Far East as far back as two years ago, when the Allied governments had helped it gain its footing on Russian soil. It had begun even earlier, because the appearance of the notorious robber chief, Semienov, in Manchuria, with his Mongols and Buryat mercenaries, was the starting point of Japanese occupation. The Japanese government never concealed the fact that this "Russian patriot," as he was referred to in a certain part of the American press, was its venal vassal, and the Allied governments never refuted the accusation, based on cold facts and figures, that they had helped and supported him. Indeed, many of the Japanese imperialistic newspapers quite openly hailed Semienov as one who would save Russia, and incidentally (these are their actual words) "help Japan to acquire the hegemony in Asia to which she is entitled."

There is, of course, a great difference between the situation (and circumstances) of the Japanese occupation of Siberia with the help of the Allies two years ago, and that of today, and every one will heartily agree with the well-known authority, Lt.-Colonel Bek, that the Japanese government will break its neck there eventually. In the first place, the Allied governments, if not unwilling, are

no longer in a position to help the Japanese imperialists in their snatching and grabbing business in Russia. Indeed, they are ashamed to face their own people as it is, and there can be no talk of helping Japan. Even the prominent Mr. Ochs, of the *New York Times*, whose friendship towards the Japanese government when it affects Free Russia, is too obvious, is compelled to quote the ancient Aristotle (who should be spared this humiliation) that "justice sometimes depends as much on how and when a thing is done, as on the action itself." In the second place, there are no more anti-Soviet parties in Siberia now, at any rate none willing and daring enough to fight the Russian revolution, and surely none that are willing and daring enough to help a foreign country like Japan. The little remnants of the Kolchak-Semienov-Kalmikov bands, that are helping the Japanese, according to press reports, are too insignificant to be taken into account. And, last but not least, there has grown up right under the very noses of the Japanese imperialists, that is in Japan, a powerful opposition to the grabbing policies of the Japanese government that also should not be ignored.

Russia, Russia free and united, has no fear of the Japanese, but it means more blood, more sacrifices! The Allies will never absolve themselves of the crime they have committed against the Russian people, against humanity, and against their very own interests in allowing the Japanese to overrun Siberia with tens of thousands of soldiers, under the flagrant and empty excuse of saving the Czechs. Preparing everything possible for the Japanese to fortify themselves in Siberia, giving them all imaginable means to build up a powerful army of occupation there, allowing them to conclude territorial agreements behind the backs of the Russian people, with the innumerable Russian governments and commanders the Japanese have made and unmade in Siberia; winking at the fact that the Japanese are getting away with the great riches of the Russian people obtained by them from the Kolchaks, the Semienovs, and the rest, for a song or for a little powder with which to shoot the Bolsheviki; at the same time never ceasing to sing of their friendship for the Russian people, exhorting them that it is all for their good, and then throwing up their hands and leaving the Russian workers and peasants, starved and bleeding as they are, to fight it out with the Japanese imperialists; in all this the Allies have been far from gentlemanly. But then the only traces of gentlemanliness one finds in those quarters today are dress-coats and top-hats.

Siberia Sold Wholesale and Retail.

A reading of the demands the Japanese government presented to the Russian workers and their representatives at Vladivostok, will at once make clear how the Japanese, by word and sword, by cunning and coercion, have acquired enormous riches in Siberia. Besides the usual demands a

militaristic power occupying a foreign land will put forth, such as furnishing food and barracks to the occupying forces, the avoidance of any anti-Japanese movements, disarmament of the population, etc., there are in addition, certain specific Japanese demands: That they ratify all agreements between the Japanese government and innumerable Russian governments and commanders, and grant immunity to all persons supporting Japanese military movements in Siberia. And as the special dispatch to the *New York World* states "absolute respect" for those that are friendly towards the Japanese government. Immunity alone is not sufficient in this case, absolute respect is even asked!

And what these demands mean is this: From the time Japan had set foot in Siberia she had made, obviously with the consent of the other Allied governments, infinite agreements with the Russian governments (always in the plural) and with the diverse commanders there, purchasing anything and everything she could lay her hands on.

Here is a little illustration of how it was done. In April, 1919, some Japanese capitalists procured ownership of practically the whole of the Russian merchant marine in the Sungary. It was absolutely against the law of the Provisional Government and Kolchak's commander in chief at Vladivostok had protested vigorously against it, and even ordered the confiscation of all the ships sold to the Japanese. But then Horvath came to the rescue. Horvath, who pronounced himself "Verkhovny Upolnomochenny" (Supreme Representative), rendered a "decision" which stated that while it was true that the "All-Russian Government of Kolchak was to be governed by the laws passed by the Provisional Government until the Constitutional Assembly met, the sale in question was confirmed by the Russian Consul at Harbin, who was a representative of the Provisional Government and had undoubtedly acted in accordance with instructions from that government.

Now this whole "explanation" is, of course, a huge joke. In April, 1919, there was no Provisional Government and the Russian consul at Harbin represented the Russian people as much . . . well, let us say, as much as Mr. Bakhmetiev represents them in Washington. Now, if these horrible Bolsheviki should take it into their heads to ignore this agreement (it is not clear how Horvath would figure in the Japanese official communication, as a Russian government, or merely as Commander—he has been both) the Japanese capitalists would have to renounce a particularly good bargain, since the consul in question (Popov was his name), and likewise Horvath, were outspoken Japanese "friends" and were surely not hard on the Japanese.

Nor is this an isolated case. Starting from the so-called Directorate, under the leadership of Avksentiev, and ending with the little robber chief Kalmikov, all the Russian governments and com-

manders in Siberia have been selling something to the Japanese, until today we are told by reliable persons that more than half of the most valuable property in cities like Irkutsk, Chita, etc., are in the hands of Japanese, are are many mines, fishing privileges, mills, even tracts of land. Irkutsk is probably the last city in the west where the Japanese have acquired property, and this explains why the Japanese militarists have not shown any intention of moving their troops farther than that city. Others may have attended to that, and a sphere of influence may have been mutually agreed upon by some secret covenant secretly arrived at.

This, of course, is only one of the many 'reasons' why the Japanese militarists and their natural ally "Big Business," want Siberia. We shall enumerate them all later, as the Japanese militarists are quite obliging, and reason in the open.

But the desires and policies of the Japanese militarists are by no means the wants of the Japanese people. The Japanese are, after all, a people like any other, and like any other are divided into distinct classes. And the Japanese worker, like his brother of all other countries, wants peace, freedom, and tranquility, and hates war and annexations, for which he is made to pay with his blood and his limbs.

Nor are the workers of Japan the only opponents of this crime against the Russian workers. The Japanese middle classes, the intelligentsia of Japan, and even a number of members of the upper classes, are denouncing this grabbing business as very dangerous for Japan, because they are made to suffer by this policy not less than the workers. And one can freely predict that a little defeat suffered by the Japanese Junkers on the military battlefields in Siberia will be a decisive defeat for them on the political and economic battlefields of their own land.

But what is the case of the Japanese militarist, who undoubtedly has one? And why is the Japanese middle class-man against this war? A perusal of the Japanese press will give the answer, and we shall return to it in articles to follow.

RUSSIA AND JAPAN

Moscow, March 9.—The fully authorized representative of the Soviet Government, Jansson, who is at present at Irkutsk, has received instructions to transmit the peace proposals of the Soviet Government to the Japanese Military Headquarters in Siberia, and to come to an understanding with the Japanese Government concerning the time and place.

The peace proposal to Japan has made a profound impression on the peoples of Asia, particularly in central Asia.

INCREASE IN COAL MINING

Moscow, March 31.—The mining of coal in the Donetz Basin has increased from 110 railroad cars of coal to 300 cars daily.

UKRAINE AND RUMANIA

Moscow, March 24.—Chicherin addresses the following words to the Foreign Minister of Rumania:

"The Rumanian Government reports through its Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, on March 3, in reply to our telegram of February 25, that the Rumanian Government accepts our formal offer to inaugurate peace negotiations. We answered on March 8, and proposed in agreement with the Ukrainian Government, the city of Kharkov as a seat for the negotiations, since its situation makes possible direct communications between the Soviet and the representatives of the Rumanian Government, as well as with the Government of the Ukrainian Republic, whose participation in the negotiations is absolutely necessary, since no territorial question can be decided without the knowledge and participation of Ukraine. We have today received a radio telegram from the Rumanian Foreign Minister, in which he informs us that he proposes Warsaw as the place for the negotiations and the Rumanian Government has already sent its representatives Messrs. Bodaresco and Baluta to this city. The Russian Soviet Government declares that there is a misunderstanding between the Rumanian Foreign Minister and the Rumanian Government, and as we have been informed by the former, this misunderstanding cannot have validity as a final agreement. The Russian Soviet Government cannot give its approval for the choice of the city of Warsaw as the seat for such negotiations, and under the present conditions, no such approval could be expected under any circumstances, since Warsaw is the capital of a country at present engaged in military operations against the Soviet Government. But, even had the Polish Government given an affirmative answer to our proposals to peace, made by us long ago, the Soviet Government would nevertheless have serious objections to present concerning the choice of Warsaw, since negotiations with a number of states are being simultaneously carried on in that city, which might enable influences from various quarters to make themselves felt. This might obstruct the mutual trust which is necessary for the bringing about of an agreement between Russia and Rumania. As no objections have been made against the choice of Kharkov, whose situation is most favorable for the carrying out of negotiations between Russia and Ukraine on the one hand, and Russia and Rumania on the other hand, the Russian Government, as above stated, in full accord with the Ukrainian Government, has proposed to the Rumanian Government to begin negotiations in the city named."

CHICHERIN,
Commissar of Foreign Affairs.

A Circular Issued to Prisoners

[Every one who writes from observation on Russian conditions since the Bolshevist revolution, mentions the propaganda which is given to the captured soldiers of opposing armies. We reprint below a leaflet in English given to captured British soldiers.]

Is it not strange that when the whole world is positively sick to death of war, when everybody is longing for an end to armies, everywhere on the point of mutiny, because they are not being disbanded fast enough, that men should be found for more fighting, more destruction.

Why have you volunteered to come to Russia? You know that you have not come for a picnic. Your government has not troubled to tell you the lies they told the conscript troops they sent here last year about "helping Russia," "protecting railways" and "fighting Germans." You came out here after the armistice, after the "victory" of right and justice and the freedom of nations (!). You came out to Russia on the eve of "peace," frankly and avowedly for conducting WAR against the Russian people.

You came out here to replace the Royal Scots and the Yorkshires, conscripts, men who came against their will, and who when they learned of the real reason for which they had been sent here, had the pluck to protest, and in many instances, came out in open revolt. These things were known in England before you came, but in spite of that you volunteered.

Why have you volunteered? Is it that you like war so much? Do you enjoy this rolling in mud and blood? Do you get satisfaction from seeing mangled bodies, and wrecked towns and villages? Why you claim to be the representatives of a civilized race! Is this how you propose to bring civilization into Russia?

Or is it that you feared being out of work if you were demobilized, and volunteered to go to Russia as a form of employment? Were you tempted by the increased pay and extra rations? If that is indeed so, it is strange employment for men who have just finished a war for "lasting peace." Does it not strike you that what you are getting for your work is sheer *Blood Money*? It is the kind of work that cut-throats, blackguards, thieves and hooligans would undertake to do for money. If these are the reasons for which you came, it is not much use appealing to your reason and humanity. The only method of argument that one can effectively use against you is that of the bullet and the bayonet, and you will find that the revolutionary troops of the Red Army will give you all you want of that, and you will find your job "soft" enough when you find yourself sucked in the mud, in the marshes and forests of Northern Russia.

We cannot believe, however, that the majority of you volunteered for these reasons. Probably you were induced by the lies circulated by the capi-

talist press in your country about the anarchy and terror prevailing in Russia. Probably you have been induced to believe that Bolsheviks are a lot of devils, who must be destroyed in order that the peace of the world may be secured. If that is so, we are convinced that when you learn the truth about Russia, you too will refuse to be the executioners of the Russian people, just like the British troops you replaced in the Caucasus, and the French and foreign troops in other parts who have refused.

There is no anarchy in Russia except that which the capitalist governments of the Allies are creating by invading Russia. *You are not allaying anarchy, you are creating it. You are not bringing order in a country which is accused of disturbing the peace of the world, you are commencing a new war.*

You are simply the tools of the capitalists and landlords in your countries who have sent you here to "punish" the Russian workers and peasants for having dared to revolt against their oppressors. The Russian Soviet Republic is a Workers' and Peasants' Republic. The land and the wealth of Russia now belong to the working-people of Russia: the government of Russia. You have been brought here to overthrow the power of the workers and restore Czarism, landlordism and capitalism. You are prolonging the civil war in Russia, and fighting on the side of Czarist counter-revolution. Your governments are officially supporting the Czarist officers, Kolchak and Denikin, with arms and money for the avowed purpose of restoring the old regime. And you are not merely helping, you are *doing* this.

Without your aid, the counter-revolution in Russia would have been suppressed long ago, and civil-war ended and order would have been restored. And the Russian people would have long ago had the opportunity of developing their agriculture and industry, not in the interests of profitmongers, but in the interests of the whole of the Russian people. So far the Russian people have successfully resisted the attacks of the Allied supported counter-revolution. You have been sent to re-inforce them. If the Russian people manage to resist you too, your governments will be compelled to send more troops out to reinforce you. You remember the experience of the war? First they started with volunteers, then the Derby scheme, and finally universal conscription. That is what they ultimately will have to do, to "solve the Russian Question." You see therefore, that coming out here as you believe to restore peace, you are actually laying the foundation for a great war,

and perpetuating conscription and militarism. This is no exaggeration, for as you know, conscription has not been abolished in England yet, for the very reason that the English capitalist government believes that eventually it will have to send fresh conscripts to Russia.

Volunteers! You are workingmen too. What interests have you in fighting for the gang of Russian counter-revolutionaries and international capitalists? As workingmen, your business should be to support your fellow-workers in those places where they succeeded in taking power, for the victory of the workers in one country is a step in the direction of the emancipation of the workers in other countries.

In fighting against the Russian workers, you are *Scabbing*; your fellow-workers at home, knowing the real reason of your being sent here, are raising strong protests against the government. The workers at home are preparing for a general strike against intervention in Russia, against conscription. In continuing to do the work of your government, *you are Scabbing on your fellow workers at home.*

Comrades! It is dirty work that you are doing. Have the courage to pitch it. Do not let it be said that English workingmen were so mean and contemptible as to suppress their own fellow-workers for the sake of a little extra money and food.

Comrades! Do not be scabs. Do not be the suppressors of freedom of your class. Stand by your class in the great world movement that is now going on for the emancipation of labor.

THE RURAL COMMUNE CONVENTION

[We reprint the following article from "Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn," the official organ of the Supreme Council of National Economy at Moscow, of December 5, 1919.]

The conference of the agricultural communes was opened on December 3, in the former Shanyavsky Building of the University; 140 delegates were present at the conference, among them 93 communists.

Pointing out the reasons for the creation of a strong movement in the villages towards organizing agricultural producers' communes, Comrade Sereda developed the basic problems of the revolution as follows: to collect the scattered land, to make it a foundation for the welfare of the people, and thus raise the productivity of the agricultural economy to such a degree that there will be no occasion for supply problems or shortages. It is the task of the commissariat to outline practical measures for the work of collecting the land.

The collectivist economies—Soviet economies—communes, cooperatives, as yet occupy a very insignificant part of the whole agricultural area—only 5 per cent in all 31 provinces; 95 per cent of

the arable land is in the hands of one-man peasant economies. It is impossible to get hold of this unsocialized land with only the help of Soviet economies and communes, therefore the Soviet Government has introduced other transition forms for the socialization of the land, a communal cultivation and cooperative scheme in agriculture. In the future, all new forms of socialization which may come up will be accepted by the Soviet Government; it is the endeavor of the latter to keep up with the demands of life.

The improvements in the communistic economies will draw the peasants to these communes. But the People's Commissariat of Agriculture also bears in mind the individual peasant household, by the improvement of which the country as a whole will benefit. In this line, the interest of the communes coincides with the interest of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture—both have before them the problem of assisting the local peasants' economy. Many of the communes are already accomplishing this, and it is an important condition in bringing the communes into closer touch with the local peasant population.

The communes must try to enlarge their economies—establish agriculture, gardening, art and craft production. The broader the scope of the communist economies—the stronger the influence then can exercise over the neighboring population. And only in this case may the communes become real strongholds of agriculture in Soviet Russia.

At the present time, the number of communes and peasants exceeds six thousand. The amount of land in each commune is rather small; in the average commune there is about 300 desyatins. Isolated communes will therefore be unable to solve their own problems; it is necessary that they be united first according to countries, later to provinces, and finally, in one vast All-Russian Agricultural commune. The present conference is called upon to organize a union of communes and *artels* for the purpose of uniting them into one economic whole.

At the evening session, Comrade Lenin took the floor.

In greeting the first conference of the communes and the *artels*, in the name of the government, Comrade Lenin pointed out that the whole legislative activity of the Soviet Government indicates the tremendous significance of the communes, peasant cooperatives, and all organizations which tend to facilitate the transformation of small individual economies into communal partnerships, or cooperative economies. The importance of such a transformation cannot be too highly appreciated, because it is needless to say that a Socialistic society cannot be firmly established without changing the old conditions of the peasantry.

We know too well, said Comrade Lenin, that only by gradual, careful steps, only with practical examples and successful adaptation of the new

experiments may we influence the millions of small peasant-owners; because the peasant has a too practical mind and is too closely connected with the conditions of the land to agree to radical changes in his economy. Only when the necessity of socialized agriculture will be proved to the peasants in a practical way, will we be able to say that an important step has been taken towards the development of Socialism in agriculture; and this in a peasant country like Russia.

We hope, in improving the economy of the communes, partnerships and cooperatives, to reach a stage where there will be no cases of a hostile attitude toward the communes, cooperatives and partnerships, on the part of the neighboring peasantry. But this is not sufficient. The existence of the communes can be justified only when the neighboring peasantry who are toilers and who do not belong to the land usurer class, are convinced that this is the order of life most satisfactory to everyone. We, the representatives of Soviet Russia, on our part, will do all we can to facilitate this process, that the money from the billion-fund and from other sources be assigned only in cases where the working communes and cooperatives are in fact coming in closer contact with the life of the local peasantry. Any help rendered under other circumstances than these we consider harmful. I emphasize again that the assistance which the communes ought to render should not be limited to a philanthropy born of superfluity; it must be a purely Socialistic help, which will make possible the transformation of individual, unconnected economies into a collective administration.

The communes must teach the peasants to see in them not only the recipients of governmental subvention, but the gathering of the best representatives of the working class, who not only preach communism for some one else, but are able to realize it themselves; they must prove that even under the worst conditions of the present communal economy they are able to carry extra "Saturdays" and "Sundays" (when they work without pay, for the common welfare) in order to relieve the local population. No concessions may be made on this point, some sort of proof must be offered to determine how far we have grasped the complex problem which we have set ourselves.

In conclusion Comrade Lenin pointed out again the fact that only by skillful management of the agricultural communes and by their high standard may they become centres for the growth of communism in the villages. A lasting victory over the dark masses of the peasantry will be achieved at the moment when the majority of the peasants will understand the advantage of the communal economy in comparison with that of the individual.

SOVIETS FAVORED IN VLADIVOSTOK

VLADIVOSTOK, March 15, 1920.

At present the situation is as follows: the entire Maritime region (from Vladivostok to Pogranichnaya and to Khabarovsk) and the region of Amur (from Khabarovsk to Stretensk) are freed from the rule of Kolchak and from that of the atamans. In the Amur region and in Khabarovsk the Soviet Regime has been reestablished. The power has been voluntarily transferred to the Soviets by the Zemstvos, which had seized power after the overthrow of the reactionaries. At present in Vladivostok, in Nikolak and along the railway line the power is still in the hands of the Zemstvos, but in view of the unanimous demand voiced by the social, labor, peasants' and soldiers' organizations that all power be transferred to the Soviets, the Far-Eastern Committee of the Communist Party addressed a note to the Provisional Government of the Maritime Regional Zemstvo asking it to transfer the power to the Soviets. Still as the Soviets have not as yet been organized in these districts, they are now being organized speedily. On March 19 elections to the Vladivostok Soviet will take place. On April 1 a regional convention of Soviets will be held at Nikolak where the power is formally to be transferred by the Zemstvos to the Soviets. It is difficult to predict what will happen here after April 1. It is evident, however, that there will be no opposition on the part of the *Russian* elements of the population. On the contrary, even the liberal bourgeoisie, not only the Mensheviks and other Right-wing Socialists, are for the Soviets. It is feared that there will be opposition on the part of Japan, which is constantly reinforcing her troops here, is seizing all strategical points along the line, and is generally pursuing a shameful and hideous policy. The liquidation of the adventure of the Japanese protege, the murderous Ataman Semienov, will begin in Chita after the withdrawal of the Czechs, as the opening of military operations against Semienov would hamper the withdrawal of the Czechs, who have as yet not passed the Transbaikal Province.

RULE OF TERROR IN ARCHANGEL

Krassnaya Gazete prints the following communication from Archangel:

There are still traces of the British administration in Archangel. When the British Supreme Command arrived long ago in the city it immediately opened 5 new prisons and transformed the Customs House, the hospitals and warehouses into prisons. In the course of the single year in which they held the northern districts, with their population of 400,000,—38,000 prisoners have been accommodated in the city's prisons of whom 8,000 were shot and 1,020 died of epidemics in the prisons. As compared with the total population this is 400 times as many executions as were carried out in all of Soviet Russia during the whole course of the civil war.—*Social Demokraten*, Christiania, March 27.

Two Months on a Death Train

The following diary was brought here by Ben-Yuker, Jewish writer who recently returned from Russia. It was published by the *Jewish Daily Forward*.

Ben-Yuker in his introduction to the story says, among other things, that it was common to give nick-names to freight trains which were utilized as prisons for Bolsheviks and their sympathizers in Siberia. They gave them such characteristic names as: The "Death Train," the "Typhus Train," the "Cholera Train," the "Insane Train," the "Horror Train," etc.

In these trains thousands of men and women were tortured to the stage of insanity and death.

The author of the diary is a woman named L. Z., thirty-odd years old, a doctor of medicine, and a highly cultured person.

She was a member of the "Bund" for the past ten years and was very active in that organization. Together with her husband, whom she calls "friend" and "comrade" in her diary, she played an important part in the Jewish labor movement in Samara.

During the Bolshevik uprising the Samara "Bund" split, the majority taking sides with the Bolsheviks. Dr. Z considered it her duty to administer medical aid to all, even Bolsheviks, and therefore she was classed as a dangerous criminal.

When the "saviors of civilization"—the Czechs

—entered Samara, Dr. Z. knew what to expect if she did not flee.

But she did not leave the city. Together with her "comrade" she rendered medical assistance to her fallen comrades until she was finally caught by the Czechs.

For months she was a prisoner in the Samara prison and before the Czechs were driven from the city she, with the rest of the inmates, was placed upon a prison train which later received the horrible and infamous name of the "Death Train."

Dr. Z. handed her diary to Ben-Yuker with the following words:

"You may publish it wherever, whenever, and in whatever language you please. I only ask one condition: do not distort it by decorating it in literary language. I never made any pretense at literature when I was taking daily notes of my experiences. Let the truth speak for itself."

Ben-Yuker then concludes by saying that Dr. Z. had been placed in a military hospital, after her escape from the "Death Train," where after several months' treatment she had regained her health. She was, however, released on parole.

Ben-Yuker met her in Vladivostok. When they parted Dr. Z.'s last words were: ". . . tell the comrades in America that the 'Bund' lives and must live and they must help them."

* * *

Oct. 6, 1918.—I was in great despair yesterday as I was led into the box-car . . . My comrades were so near, freedom was so close at hand and yet—here I was bundled up in a corner, resting on a couple of sacks . . . We, five women political "criminals" among such a mob of criminals! What will be our lot?

All night long they were shouting, quarreling, fighting, and cursing each other with the most disgraceful oaths.

It was dark in the car when we awoke, though it was daylight outside. We were not allowed to open the windows.

2 p. m.—Our mood is better today . . . They do not allow us to leave the train. The women are shouting, protesting to be let out, but it is of no avail. We hear the same thing happening in the men's train. For them conditions are much worse: we are thirty-five women in one car while 70 men are packed in each car. And in such a car, where there is hardly any standing-room, we are compelled to perform our necessary natural functions!

We ride a very little and then we crawl. The train stops frequently. We are ignorant as to what is going on. We are isolated from the outer world.

Oct. 7.—Our third day in the box car! We feel the pinch of hunger. We get no food, drink or fresh air. We hardly know which of all these things we desire most. And the entire train is in the same condition. There is no money, and even those who have some cannot get anything for it, as no one is permitted to leave the train. No one is allowed to get near our car. Doors and windows are barred. Only the guards are near us.

Last night we witnessed a horrible scene in one of the cars near ours. The men had begun to knock on the doors begging for bread. The commandant, Novak, arrived. Cries of pain followed. "You want bread? I'll give you a bullet"—("Pulya Vlob"). A shot—and one man fell dead, and six were wounded. It is hard to describe what effect this shooting had on us. Women and children were crying, and shivering from head to foot. That is the way the "Czecho-Slovak brother" had fed the "Russian brother." Bullets instead of bread! And what next— I think they will blow up the whole train somewhere on the straight road . . . I am prepared for it. I only hope my diary will not be lost and that it will find its way to the one I am writing it for—my "Kootsu."

Oct. 8. morning, Buguruslan.—We just passed a terrible night. Yesterday evening the train had

stopped suddenly and we became aware of something extraordinary happening outside. We began to peer through the cracks and holes of our car and this is what we saw: about fifteen men had been led to one side of the train and one of the officers, Azolin (a Lett), began to shoot them down . . . The sight was horrible. We feared a similar fate. I wrote in my diary: "In case of my death please deliver this diary to my friend, A. Z., Samara."

We succeeded in learning the cause of the shooting.

On the 6th of October two prisoners had made their escape. At first the officers decided to shoot all the other men in that car. They had already been taken out on October 7 to have the dastardly deed perpetrated on them, but it seemed that even the officers had felt that this would be terribly inhuman. They changed the sentence: they shot every tenth man . . . and these were the fifteen victims, those poor men who were shot last night . . . How they trifle with human lives! I still

(To be continued.)

cannot recover from that sight. Who knows what other outrages are yet to come?

Oct. 9.—On the road from Buguruslan to Ufa.

Again they shot some and wounded others in a car, it is said. I wonder if they have any medicaments or a medical staff on the train. How I wish I were allowed to aid the sick and wounded prisoners!

Oct. 10.—We arrived in Ufa today. We are all starving. We are buried to the neck in filth. We sit on the floor and try to sleep in the congested car. There is hardly room enough for us all to sit down. We sit in two rows, our heads resting against the wall and our feet—there is no room for them, and when we fall asleep they manage to squeeze in somewhere . . . But the woman who feels the weight of those feet soon cries out and—this happens every minute . . . We are very close together, but this has its advantages—it gives a soft support and keeps us a little warm. (There is no stove in our car and we suffer much from the cold.)

Soviet Commercial Mission

Moscow, March 26 (Radio).—The Chairman of the Union of Russian Cooperatives has informed the Director of the British Ministry of Commerce, Sir Hamar Greenwood, that it had received the telegram of its London representative Berkenheim announcing that the steamer at Libau had only accommodation for eight delegates. The Russian cooperatives decided therefore to send the whole delegation by rail by way of Finland and Sweden. The British Government should place at its disposal a special train and secure safe passage. A British representative should be present at the Finnish border, in order to prevent all difficulties with regard to the inspection of luggage, etc.

* * *

ON the 31st of March the Special Russian Commission arrived in Stockholm from Finland on the steamer Oihonna. This important historical event caused a great number of Swedish friends of Soviet Russia to come down to the pier. The delegation was received by Frederick Strom, Soviet Russia's consul in Stockholm, Attorney Wilhelm Hellberg, the commercial representative of Soviet Russia, editors Z. Hoglund and C. N. Carlsson, the novelist Einar Jungberg and others. The President of the Commission, the Commissar for Commerce and Industry of Soviet Russia, Krassin, received a huge laurel wreath and a large number of women comrades placed themselves on either side of the street through which the Commission passed, throwing flowers at them. In addition to that Krassin was met by his wife and three daughters, who have lived in Stockholm for several years.

As soon as the necessary formalities were over

the Russians were permitted to leave the steamer and Comrade Jungberg greeted them in a speech and proposed three cheers for the Russian Soviet Republic. After greetings were exchanged the guests left for their hotels.

The manager of the Commission, E. Grosjean, gave the following information about the composition of the Commission: In addition to Krassin the Commission is composed of S. Rasevski, a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Cooperatives, and V. Nogin, a member of the Supreme Council of National Economy. These three are the plenipotentiaries of the Commission. Klyshko, who acted as the Secretary of the Russian Peace Commission in Dorpat, is the secretary of the Commission. In addition to the plenipotentiaries, the Commission is composed of various experts as Belgard, specialist in finance and Assistant Commissar of Finance; Voskresensky, engineer and railway specialist, who is the vice-president of the Commissariat of Ways and Communications; Professor Volkov, the above-mentioned Grosjean, who is an engineer and chemist; Gordin, the commercial expert of the Central Soyuz; Sherbetshov, an agronomist and specialist in agricultural machinery, engineer Ivitzky; engineer Kerser; a specialist in forestry—Liberman; another commercial representative of the Central Soyuz, Seresshnikov; Starkov, an electrical engineer; Tsherduntjev, a textile expert; and Joon, a mining engineer. The personnel of the Commission comprises 24 persons, among them five women, secretaries, etc. The well-known writer, Madame Blagoveshtschenskaya, an expert in Scandinavian languages, also belongs to the Commission.

Soviet Domestic Relations Law

(Continued from last week.)

PUBLISHED BY THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF JUSTICE

AN ACT RELATING TO CIVIL STATUS AND DOMESTIC RELATIONS: MARRIAGE, FAMILY, AND GUARDIANSHIP

TITLE II.

THE LAW OF MARRIAGE.

Chapter 1. Forms of Marriage.

52. A civil marriage registered with the office for the recording of documents relating to civil status shall create rights and duties of husband and wife as provided in the present title. A marriage contracted by a religious ceremony performed by a clergyman, shall create no rights or duties for the parties to such marriage unless the same shall be registered according to law.

NOTE: Church and religious marriages contracted up to December 20, 1917, in conformity with the rules and forms prescribed in sections 3, 5, 12, 20 and 31 and 90 of the civil laws in effect previously thereto (the former compiled statutes, Vol. X, part I, edition 1914), shall be deemed of equal validity with marriages effected by registration.

53. Marriages shall be registered at the local offices for the recording of documents relating to civil status or, where there are no such offices, in the notarial divisions of local Soldiers' and Workmens' Councils.

NOTE 1. The registration of marriages contracted abroad shall be the duty of the foreign representatives of Russia, who shall report to the Central Office for the recording of documents relating to civil status and shall transmit to the same a copy of the marriage certificate.

NOTE 2. The issuance of marriage licenses on board a ship on the high seas or in the army while the same is engaged in active military operations shall be the duty of the officials mentioned in Note 2 of preceding Section 1.

54. Marriages shall be contracted publicly in a building specially designated for that purpose. From this rule shall be excepted marriages contracted on board a ship on the high seas, in the army engaged in active military operations, as well as in cases when a medical certificate is issued stating that the bridegroom or the bride is incapacitated by illness to appear at the government office.

55. Marriages shall be contracted in the presence of the Chief of the Office for the Recording of Documents relating to Civil Status, or his deputy, and in the presence of the Secretary or his assistant, by whom the entry shall be made; and in the notarial divisions, in the presence of the notary and his secretary.

56. The names of the officials registering the marriage shall be made known by publication in the local newspapers and shall be posted in the buildings where marriages shall be registered.

57. Registration of marriages shall take place on certain days and between certain hours determined and made public by the officials charged with the keeping of said records.

58. The parties intending to marry shall give oral or written notice of said intention to the office for the recording of documents relating to civil status located nearest to their place of residence.

59. The said notice of intention shall have appended thereto certificates of identity of the parties to be married and their signatures and a declaration that the said parties are voluntarily entering into marriage and that there are no impediments thereto set forth in Section 66-69 following.

NOTE: The identity of the parties to the marriage may be proved by certificates, documents, witnesses, or by any other means which may be deemed sufficient by the official in charge.

60. The said official after making an entry of the marriage in the Register of Marriages shall read the same to the parties to the marriage and shall declare the same to have been contracted according to law.

61. Immediately upon recording the marriage the official shall, upon the request of the parties thereto, issue to them a certificate of marriage.

62. The marriage shall be deemed in effect from the moment the entry thereof is made in the Register of Marriages.

63. In case notice of the existence of legal impediments to a marriage be received prior to the entry thereof in the Register, the official in charge shall suspend said entry until the matter be determined by the local court. Objections to a marriage which are obviously groundless may be disregarded by the official without further examination of the matter.

NOTE: The local courts shall try the suits brought to restrain the contracting of marriages as preferred causes and not later than within three days after the commencement of such suits. No appeal shall lie from the decision of the local court in such a case.

64. Persons making deliberately false statements with a view to prevent the contracting of a marriage shall be liable to prosecution for perjury and to an action for damages caused by their interference.

65. Complaints for refusal to register a marriage may be brought at any time before the local court within whose jurisdiction the respective office for the recording of documents relating to civil status is located.

Chapter II.

Prerequisites Necessary for Contracting Marriage.

66. Persons intending to marry must have attained the matrimonial age. The matrimonial age shall be sixteen years for females and eighteen years for males.

67. Persons intending to marry must be of sound mind.

68. No person shall be capable of contracting a new marriage, who is already living in a state of marriage, whether registered or not registered, the latter to have the same validity as a registered marriage.

69. Marriage cannot be contracted between relatives in the ascending or descending lines, nor between full and half-brothers and sisters.

NOTE: The impediment to marriage between relatives mentioned in this Section shall include likewise consanguinity arising from birth out of wedlock.

70. No marriage may be contracted without the mutual consent of the parties thereto.

71. Difference of religion of persons intending to marry shall not be considered an impediment to their marriage.

72. The monastic state, priesthood, or deaconhood shall not be considered impediments to marriage.

73. A vow of celibacy even if taken by a member of the white or black clergy (*) shall not be considered an impediment to marriage.

Chapter III.

Invalidity of Marriage.

74. A marriage may be declared void only in cases determined by law.

75. An action for the annulment of marriage may be commenced by the husband or the wife, or by persons

* "Black Clergy" in Russian ecclesiastical terminology means the membership of monastic orders; "White clergy" means the non-monastic clergy. Under the rules of the Greek-Russian Orthodox Catholic Church a priest is not permitted to marry. This prohibition was evaded by the candidate for priesthood marrying before his ordination. Widowed priests, however, were prohibited from remarrying. (Ed. note.)

whose interests are affected by the marriage, or by representatives of the government.

76. Actions for the annulment of marriage shall be tried by the local courts which shall proceed in accordance with the rules in effect within their jurisdiction.

77. A marriage shall be deemed void if both or either of the parties thereto had not attained the matrimonial age, except in the following cases:

- a) where the action for the annulment of the marriage has been commenced by the plaintiff after the attainment of the matrimonial age.
- b) where subsequent to the marriage children were born or the wife has become pregnant.

78. A marriage shall be considered void if contracted by insane persons, or by feeble-minded persons incapable of understanding the significance of their acts.

79. A marriage shall be void if contracted at the time when one of the parties thereto was already married, such previous marriage still continuing in force and not having been dissolved by the death of the former husband or wife, or by divorce.

80. In case a marriage be declared void on the ground stated in Section 79, the marriage previously contracted shall remain in force.

81. A marriage shall be deemed void if contracted without the consent of either of the parties thereto, or when such consent was given in an unconscious state or under duress.

82. Ecclesiastical and religious marriages contracted before the 20th of December, 1917, shall be deemed to be void, if the conditions and forms set forth in Sections 3, 5, 12, 20, 28, 31 of the civil laws then in effect (compiled statutes of the Russian Empire, Vol. X, part 1, ed. 1914) were not complied with.

NOTE: Marriages, referred to in the preceding section, if contracted in violation of Section 23, Vol. X, part 1, compiled statutes, ed. 1914, then in effect, shall be deemed valid, unless the parties to the marriage be relatives in the direct ascending and descending lines or consanguineous or half-consanguineous brothers and sisters.

83. After the decree declaring the annulment of a marriage shall take effect, the marriage shall be considered void from the moment of the conclusion of the same.

84. Persons, whose marriage was annulled, may remarry conformably to the general rules relating to marriage.

Chapter IV.

Dissolution of Marriage.

85. Marriage is dissolved by the death of either party thereto or by a decision of a court adjudging either of the parties dead.

86. Marriage may be dissolved by divorce during the lifetime of the parties thereto.

NOTE: The provisions of the present act relating to divorce shall likewise apply to ecclesiastic and religious marriages contracted up to December 20, 1917.

87. Mutual consent of the husband or wife or the desire of either of them to obtain a divorce shall be considered a ground for divorce.

88. A petition for the dissolution of marriage may be presented orally or in writing and an official report shall be drawn thereon.

89. The petition for the dissolution of marriage must be accompanied by the certificate of marriage, or, in the absence thereof, by a declaration signed by the

petitioner to the effect that the parties are married, stating the place where the marriage was performed; the party making the declaration shall be responsible for the accuracy thereof.

90. The petition for the dissolution of marriage shall be presented to the local court having jurisdiction of the district where the parties to the marriage reside, or to any local court chosen by the parties to the action; if the action for divorce is brought by one of the parties only, the petition shall be presented to that court which has jurisdiction over the husband's place of residence, whether the latter be the plaintiff or the defendant.

NOTE: In case the residence of the defendant be unknown, the petition for the dissolution of the marriage may be presented to the court having jurisdiction of the district wherein the plaintiff resides, in which case the summons shall be issued in the form prescribed for cases where the residence of the defendant is unknown.

91. Where the application for the dissolution of the marriage is made by the mutual consent of the parties, the petition may be presented either to the local court or to the office for the registration of marriages wherein the marriage was originally registered.

92. The chief of the office for the recording of documents relating to civil status, upon being satisfied that the petition for the dissolution of the marriage has actually been presented by both parties, shall make an entry recording the dissolution of the marriage and shall deliver to the parties, at their request, a certificate of divorce.

93. Actions for divorce shall be tried by the local judge in public.

94. Every local judge shall fix certain hours, at least once a week, for the trial of actions for the dissolution of marriage.

95. In case both parties or their attorneys appear before the local court, the judge may try the case immediately, provided that such trial shall not interfere with the calendar of that day.

96. Upon the receipt of a petition for dissolution of marriage by mutual consent, the court shall set the day for the examination of the petition and shall give notice thereof to the parties and their attorneys.

97. Upon rendering a decision for the dissolution of a marriage the judge shall issue to the parties, upon their application, a certificate of divorce, and shall transmit not later than within three days thereafter a copy of his decision to the local office for the recording of documents relating to civil status, or to any other institution wherein the marriage so dissolved was registered.

98. The decision of the local court in an action for the dissolution of marriage may be appealed from in the usual manner to the Court of Cassation (*) and shall not take effect until the expiration of the time for appealing to the Court of Cassation, unless the parties to the action have waived their intention to appeal to the Court of Cassation.

99. No action for the dissolution of a marriage shall be commenced after the death of one of the parties thereto or after the annulment of the marriage; a pending action shall be terminated by the death of one of the parties, or by the annulment of the marriage.

* The Court of Cassation is the French and Russian equivalent of the American courts of error.

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Proletarian Dictatorship and the Cooperatives

By MIASNIKOV.

[The decision of the Allies to raise the blockade of Soviet Russia has drawn attention to the Russian Cooperatives, with whom they are pretending to deal directly, without any recognition of the Soviet power. The fact that all foreign commerce, import as well as export, has been nationalized in Russia, is sufficient proof that the Allies will have to deal with the Soviet power. But the cooperatives, with whom they wish to treat, have themselves become an organ of the Soviet power, in fact, they are the sole organ for the distribution of products.]

Miasnikov's study is extremely up to date, and will show our readers the Russian cooperative movement just as it is. Our readers will understand that the resumption of commercial relations with the cooperatives involves a resumption of relations with the Soviet Government.]

1. The Workers Cooperatives in Russia.

It may be said with truth that before 1905 there was no such thing as a workers' cooperative in Russia. To be sure, consumers' leagues did exist before then, but they belonged to other groups of society; there was, for instance, a consumers' league for officers, for functionaries, for railroad employes, for rich peasants. Also, small provisions stores had been opened in factories, but they were completely dependent on the supervision of the factories and of the hierarchy. These cooperatives had been properly called "dependent" cooperatives. It follows that the character of the Russian cooperatives was purely bourgeois up till 1905.

In 1906 the first so-called "independent" workers cooperatives were founded in Petrograd. In 1908 the first All-Russian Cooperative Congress took place at Moscow, which was attended by 800 representatives of cooperatism. The Congress adopted the principle of neutrality which had been characteristic of the English cooperatives. The

workers cooperative played only a secondary role at the Congress, the chief role was played by the bourgeois and peasant cooperatives. The same was true of the Second Congress at Kiev in 1913. The Third Congress, held in 1917, was of a somewhat different character. The Central Association of the Cooperative Societies was founded at this Congress; its tasks were formulated thus by the Congress: "Being an autonomous organization, keeping aloof from all parties, the central organization is to have as its task to coordinate its labor with the activities of the reunited cooperative organizations, together with the other workers' organizations which are pointing out the way toward Socialism, that is, together with the Socialist party, the trade union federations, the municipal forms of economic life, the educational enterprises, and the mutual aid organizations of the working class."

The bourgeois democratic government of Lvov-Kerensky issued on March 20, 1917, a detailed and characteristic decree on consumers' cooperatives

and on their federation. This decree was the result of the Third Congress of Consumers' Cooperatives. The *petit bourgeois* influence on the Russian Cooperative movement, in which the Workers' Cooperatives played a large role, thus became a law. This *petit bourgeois* influence was exerted by the Mensheviks, the Social Revolutionists, the "unlabelled socialists" and the various kinds of "Reformists." Until the November Revolution it was they who gave spiritual nourishment to the workers' cooperative movement.

We still recall the struggle which took place beginning in 1907 and lasting up to our day, for the conquest of the Workers' Cooperatives. In 1907, already, the Mensheviks, completely deserting the workers' movement, had thrown all their attention on "legal" methods. The Bolshevik journals, our *Echo* for example, were then firmly opposed to these tendencies.

In 1907 the Bolsheviks of our party, at Moscow as well as Petrograd, carried on a desperate struggle against the intrigues of the Mensheviks, who styled themselves "Socialists," in the cooperative field. The Mensheviks asked the famished workers of Petrograd to struggle against the high cost of living by forming cooperative stores. This was their only means; the Petrograd Committee of our party, on the contrary, declared: "The only means of struggling against the progressing high cost of living is the direct action of the proletariat, the organization of mass demonstrations, and the presenting of a resolution to the Duma by the Social-Democratic representatives in that body, demanding that the food shops and bakeries be organized by the official bodies of the cities, for the common good, and be placed under the control of workers' representatives." Simultaneously a resolution concerning the cooperative question was adopted in a number of factories by the Petrograd workers; this resolution began with the words:

"Although we recognize that the solidification of the political and the cooperative movement is the principal task of this moment, we nevertheless must be on our guard against involving ourselves too much in the consumers' cooperatives. We are opposed to founding such cooperatives in places in which there is not a mass movement favoring them."

The Mensheviks took advantage of this pretext to arouse a tempest of indignation, not only in their own papers, but also in the entire liberal press. The cooperators Totomianz, Terezheslavsky and other, simply insulted the Bolsheviks and the workers. Thus, the Russian workers' cooperatives found themselves, up to very recent days, in the hands of the liberals and of the *petit bourgeois* socialists.

2. *The November Revolution and Cooperation.*

Such was the state of the cooperatives in Russia at the moment of the November Revolution. They preserved their bourgeois spirit even after Novem-

ber—in fact, for a whole year—up to the Third All-Russian Congress of Workers' Cooperatives. Such a situation naturally cannot fail to appear abnormal. While the country was already under the dictatorship of the proletariat, one phase of the workers' movement still remained in the hands of elements which were foreign to the working classes, namely, the *petit bourgeois* cooperators.

It is a striking fact that the consumers' cooperatives constitute the last stronghold of political-social reaction. The enemies of the Soviet Government sought from that place as a point of vantage to deal the death-blow to the proletarian dictatorship. The slogan, "the independence of the workers' cooperatives," was still energetically proclaimed, but in reality this meant the complete dependence of these cooperatives on the bourgeoisie, and the real aim was to maintain the struggle against the Soviet Government, to return to the idealistic stage of private property and private trade. Could the proletariat reconcile itself with this condition? The revolution was faced with the question of destroying the last support of the enemies of the working class. It was necessary, before anything else, that so powerful and so experienced an organ of the distribution of economic necessities as the Consumers' Cooperatives should be employed in the socialistic reconstruction of the country.

The Socialist Government then directed all its attention to the consumers' cooperatives, deciding to utilize them as an organ for the distribution of foodstuffs, an organ which would adapt itself to the nationalized production, to a production no longer dependent on private property, but completely socialized.

With this object in view, there was published in January, 1918, a draft of a decree on consumers' communes, which aimed to include the consumers' cooperatives in the system of the economic organization of the Soviet Government. The *petit bourgeois* cooperators emitted dreadful cries. They organized a conference of the cooperators of the central federation; they drew up a number of reports having as their *leitmotiv* always the same old refrain: "The cooperatives will be ruined."

The workers' consumers' cooperatives in Russia had been too profoundly penetrated with the bourgeois ideology. Very energetic methods had to be taken to bring them to a point where they would be equal to their task. The proletariat held the political power in their hands. Its trade union federations were laying the foundation for socialized production; but the consumers' cooperatives, allegedly belonging to the workers, refused to place themselves solely in the employ of the victorious classes. While the consumers' cooperatives in the bourgeois regime were an organ in the struggle of the proletariat having as their object the destruction of the capitalist system, they necessarily became, after the victory of the working classes, an inseparable part of the entire Soviet structure. As the trade union federations have ceased, under

the Soviet Government, to be a means of struggle and have actually become organs of production aiding in constructing the immense mechanism of socialized industry, and laboring at the task of finding productive forces, of disciplining them and raising their productivity, the consumers' leagues also had to place their experience and economic resources in the service of the same cause, to imbue their organizations with a new spirit, and to transform that great mass of consumers which modern society means, into a cooperative socialistic society.

To produce this condition, it was necessary for the cooperatives themselves to desire this new organization of society, but the Russian consumers' cooperatives were opposed to this condition; that is why we were forced to formulate the demand "Conquer the Cooperatives." The central committee of the party raised this demand in the summer of 1918.

Simultaneously, the Soviet Government undertook to subordinate the cooperative movement and its organs to the general problems of the proletariat and the political aims of the latter. On April 11, 1918, the first decree on consumers' cooperatives, which was the result of long conferences of the government organs and of the cooperative institutions had been adopted by the Council of People's Commissars and ratified by the All-Russian Central Committee. This decree was published on April 12. The bases of this decree were the following: In each district, cooperative organizations of consumers are to be founded; the entire country is to be partitioned into a certain number of districts. In each district there must not be more than two consumers' societies in operation; one cooperative for all the citizens; and a special cooperative for the workers. The representatives of the consumers' societies should be attached to the official organs of provisioning, both central and local. The principal and most important practical measure in this decree is the permission it gives to the cooperative associations, depending on the stage of development of their technical and economic machinery, to purchase, repair, and produce commodities on the demand of the official organs of provisioning, and of the Supreme Council of National Economy, with the aid and under the control of the latter. It is natural that this decree was not very rigorously applied; it would suddenly create a complete and universal prevalence of neighborly relations between the consumers' cooperatives and the government, and it is self-evident that not all the population was immediately provisioned by these cooperatives. Much time and many efforts were necessary before they would function in this way. It was necessary, above all, to find a *modus vivendi* for the cooperative organizations. On April 22 of the same year, there was promulgated a decree concerning the organization of a department of cooperatives in place of the Supreme Council of National Economy, and, immediately after, there came instruc-

tions for the organization of local departmental cooperatives, whose task was to enroll the consumers' cooperatives, supervise them, and draw up instructions and drafts of laws for the cooperative organizations. Such departments were founded not only in the capitals, but also in the provincial cities. In the provinces they accomplished a great work by rallying around them the scattered cooperatives, by assigning them to districts according to their sphere of activity, and by introducing order and system into a new cooperative life.

The most important legislative measures on the cooperative question are: The supplementary decree of August 8, 1918, concerning the exchange of commodities in provinces that are rich in grain, and the decree of November 21, 1918, on provisioning. The first of these decrees charges the cooperative organizations with the exchange of agricultural products for industrial products; the second establishes order in the nationalization of private commerce and in the distribution of commodities to the population through the intermediary of the Soviet stores and those of the cooperatives. The legislation of the Soviet Government on the cooperatives finds support in the great movement of the working class, which finally is embracing even the backward field of cooperative life, and which has made a breach in the wall of the last fortress of the reformists. The campaign undertaken by the party of the workers against the cooperatives has led to victory.

In the second half of 1918, the history of the Russian cooperatives is marked by a series of resolutions and decisions adopted as well as carried out in the great congresses and conferences which transformed the so-called workers' cooperatives into real workers' cooperatives, and subordinated them to the general problems of the working class.

The position of the workers' cooperatives is particularly striking; their control has finally passed into the hands of the communists. The Third All-Russian Congress of Workers' Cooperatives definitely took a position, as far as its majority was concerned, with the working class. The majority of the delegates of the Congress was communistic.

Thus the most difficult moment had been passed. The Russian cooperative movement was finally in the workers' hands.

3. *Unified Socialist Distribution.*

The most important legislative measure concerning cooperation is the decree of the Council of People's Commissars of March 20, 1919, concerning consumers' communes or communities. Through this decree the great and difficult work of incorporating the cooperative movement with the official proletarian institutions of a general character is realized. Through this decree, a unified apparatus is to be created for the distribution of foodstuffs, since the organs of distribution (which were generally divided into three groups; organs of provisioning, workers' cooperatives, and coop-

eratives for the remainder of the population) draw most of their products from the same source. The unification of the organs of distribution must be realized in such manner that the great apparatus of distribution, that is to say, the cooperative movement, which is the only apparatus established and tried by experience during the period of capitalist domination, should not be destroyed or eliminated, but should remain the basis for distribution, and should therefore be developed and perfected. Consequently, all the consumers' cooperatives of the Republic have been transformed into a single distributing apparatus, and therefore named "consumers' communes." (The division of the cooperatives into "workers' cooperatives" and "cooperatives for other citizens" is eliminated. The stores and the supplies of the cooperatives and the Soviets are placed at the disposition of these consumers' communes. Such communes exist everywhere, in the cities, in the industrial centers, and in the country. The entire distribution, which up to now was in the hands of the provisioning organizations and of the cooperatives, is henceforth under the supervision of the consumers' communes.

These communes are composed of the entire population of the locality, which must be enrolled in the assigned offices of distribution. A number of offices constitute an association of districts, and a number of associations of districts make up the departmental organizations. At the head of all consumers' communes is the central organization. All citizens having the right to vote in accordance with the constitution of the Socialist Federal Soviet Republic of Russia have also the right to elect or to be elected to all the organizations of the consumers' commune.

Simultaneously, the work of the Council of National Economy and of the former consumers' cooperatives has been eliminated, and the consumers' communes now depend, being organs of distribution, on the People's Commissariat for provisioning. On April 3, 1919, this decree was ratified by the Central Executive Committee.

The whole apparatus of the Republic is now called a "Consumers' Society." Shortly after this decree was passed, the workers at Moscow created

a "Moscow Consumers' Society," which holds in its hands the entire matter of distributing foodstuffs to the population of the city, and which, in addition, organizes the enterprises for the production of foodstuffs, agricultural enterprises, etc.

Without doubt, the new plan of the Soviet Government for the distribution of foodstuffs is not yet working without a hitch. The reality and the huge proportions of the tasks which the consumers' societies have undertaken permit only of a general outline of the matter of provisioning the population. We have still a great work before us. We understand the people who, being detached from the former work of the cooperatives, are at present dissatisfied with the policy of the Soviet Government. When people like Kolokolnikov and others write today concerning the destruction of the cooperatives and the more and more inefficient operation of our present system, we must recall that these are people who are incapable of adapting themselves, hopeless skeptics who have no desire to hear the voice of the proletariat, and who do not want to see that the victorious move of the Russian working class is spreading.

In this movement, the consumers' cooperatives play a role which is just as great as that of the trade union federations and the party of the workers. These three forms of workers' movement are ceasing to be a means of struggle for the proletariat; once the dictatorship of the proletariat is proclaimed, they become the organization for a realization of socialist society. While under the reign of capitalism they were still scattered, often having nothing in common with each other, on the other hand, under the dictatorship of the proletariat they have become an organization of iron pledges to serve the general aims of the working class of the Soviet system, and of the communist reconstruction of society. The reformists today say: "Cooperation is dead, long live cooperation!" They lament the ruin of bourgeois cooperation and are saluting the advent of a new cooperation. Let us rather say that *petit bourgeois* cooperation is dead, but the experience of the working class in the cooperative field will aid in the practical realization of communism.

Paris Police Uncover Czarist Plot

By OUR PARIS CORRESPONDENT.

PARIS, April 15.—The Paris police have uncovered a sensational plot for the restoration of the Czar in Russia . . . and the story gets only four inches of space even in the Socialist press. It will probably get more in the funny papers, whose editors have an eye for the ridiculous. For two years the French and English governments have been financing the reaction in Russia openly and before all the world, and now Millerand instructs the Paris police to requisition papers in two Russians banks and to arrest a few miserable

colonels who have been eking out a hard living doing business with the Russia of the past and of the imaginary future. No wonder the arrested Russians protest and insist upon their sympathies for France. Was not the Czar the friend and ally of France, and did not Pichon move the Chamber of Deputies to tears when he made his famous funeral oration on the Czar's death last fall?

One plausible explanation of the arrests is the close relations existing between the Czarist plotters here and the Czarist plotters at Berlin, and

the latter's close relations in turn with the German monarchists, Kapp and Von Lutwitz. France is not solicitous about saving the Russian people from a monarchist or Czarist yoke, but she is solicitous about a militarist monarchy in Germany which would attempt to revenge the German defeat in a new war. And now that the monarchist business in Russia is all off, the only place a monarchy might be realized is in Germany—at the expense of French security.

The title of one of the arrested men, Colonel Laeonon, is "President of the Delegation from White Russia to the Peace Conference." It serves as an indication as to the manner in which new Russian states spring up—in Paris. The Supreme Council of the Allies itself invented a number of Russian governments, notably the Lianasof and other "Northwestern" governments, and finally succeeded in recognizing the self-appointed governments of the Baltic states—whose base of operations was Paris. There are still numerous "Ukrainian Delegations" floating around the boulevards of Paris, and during the past year the Entente has often entered into dealings with them, but in the end left them out in the cold because Denikin asserted his veto.

The most curious case is the history of the Polish Government—again at Paris. After the

armistice and the German evacuation of Poland, the Poles set up their republic under the nominally "Socialist" government of Pilsudsky. In Paris, however, there existed the Polish National Committee, composed of *emigre* Polish nobles, who, unlike other Poles, had been quite friendly, socially, with the Czarist regime in Russia. This Committee not only succeeded in exporting a new government to Warsaw—today only the name of Pilsudsky remains—but in controlling the entire Russian policy of France and in a large measure of all the Allies. It was the influence of this Dmowsky clique at the Quai d'Orsay that brought about the formal recognition of Kolchak by the Supreme Council last summer. And Kolchak never unequivocally promised to recognize the independence of Poland! When we find ourselves surprised at the voracious demands of the Polish Government in its peace proposal to Soviet Russia, we must remember that back of that government are the Russian counter-revolutionaries who want to make of Poland not a nationalist state, but a base for the restoration of the old regime all over Russia. The Russian monarchists feel quite at home in Warsaw as in Moscow, or for that matter in Berlin and in Paris. They have become quite internationalized, even if against their own will.

Japanese Socialists in America Protest

NEW YORK, April 10, 1920.

Lenin's Birthday.

We, the Japanese Socialists in America, most emphatically protest against the mad, blind, and most outrageous conduct of Japan in Siberia, culminating on the 5th of April in the military occupation of Vladivostok. We condemn the Japanese army that executed this shameful and theft-like task of attacking and disarming the Russians and hoisting the Japanese flag over the city. By such action it is disgracing and undermining the name and the reputation of the Japanese people. For the past few months public opinion in Japan, as expressed in the columns of the newspapers and periodicals and at various public meetings, has favored the withdrawal of troops from Siberia. The Kensai-Kai—the opposition party—demanded it in the last Diet; the withdrawal of the troops from Siberia has become a demand of the people. It was reported only in February that the government had decided to withdraw the troops first from Amur Province and, as soon as the Czech army should have withdrawn, from Baikal. There was hardly anyone who favored retaining the Japanese army in Siberia, with the exception of a few jingoistic newspapers, supported by the militarists. All the intelligent classes have lately been opposing the retaining of the army in Siberia.

But now our army, instead of being withdrawn, has been permitted to occupy Vladivostok. Such conduct is against public opinion in Japan and greatly detrimental to the best interests of the Japanese people.

In Vladivostok, since the recent revolution that crushed the reactionary government of General Rozanov, almost all the leaders of the reactionary and monarchist party have come to Japan. Rozanov, who is now a refugee in Japan with his immediate followers, and who is reported to have brought much gold with him, is the natural ally of the Japanese militarists. But the Japanese militarists are now the most unpopular set of people in Japan. We know that the present outrage in Vladivostok will justly provoke the Russian workers and peasants, and that the Japanese people will have to pay dearly for the conduct for which they are not responsible. We know too that the Japan of the militarists will not ultimately be a match for the Red Army of the awakened Russian workers and peasants.

The Japanese workers, who have been successfully conducting strikes, sabotage and riots against their capitalists and even the reactionary government of the police, gendarmerie, and soldiery, will not submit to the army and fight in the army in the future as it has in the past.

We, the Socialists, are profoundly ashamed of the bandit act of our army in Vladivostok. This regret and indignation on our part will surely be shared by our comrades at home, who are not free to express their socialist thought and feeling.

The bourgeois press of the West seems very lenient toward the barbarous conduct of Japan in Vladivostok. The press that condemned Japan, right or wrong, in the Shantung affair, is now utterly silent. There is hardly any hostile criticism against it, but rather a tendency to approve the act of Japan as being within the sphere of Japanese influence!

We, however, condemn the act of Japan as a great crime against our neighbor, and our indignation and our condemnation of the imperialists of Japan will never cease until we have destroyed their imperialism. We feel profound sorrow and deep regret that we can do no more than express our attitude in words. But our feeling of regret and indignation will soon be taken up by the Japanese workers, who are steadily making progress along the same road as the Russian workers.

The army of Japan which we condemn for its action may hold Vladivostok for a little while, but it will not be long, for our people will not support the wrongs that will make the Russians our enemies. Then the Red Army of Soviet Russia will crush Japanese imperialism. The victory of the Red Army of Russia will mean the Social Revolution and Soviet government in Japan, just as the Japanese victory gave rise to the Russian Constitution in 1904 and the Revolution of 1905!

The present madness of the Japanese army and government in the action at Vladivostok, perpetrated in the name of the Mikado, will eventually mean the self-destruction of them all; they will fall before the mighty force of Bolshevism!

We send greetings to the comrades in Vladivostok, Siberia, Russia, and all over the world!

S. NONAKA,
U. TAGUCHI,
S. KATAYAMA.

The Committee for the Japanese Socialist Group in the United States.

Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK.

May 10, 1920.

"He who will be little affected by an invasion or occupation of his territory—will gain." Von der Goltz, quoted in *Principles of War*, by Marshal Foch, p. 42.

IN reality, a new world-war has just begun. This war began without any declaration. There cannot be declarations in revolutionary wars.

The world is now in the throes of a revolutionary struggle.

A strong coalition of world imperialism, backed by all its capital, has attacked the proletariat of Russia. It cannot be stopped by any League of Nations nor by any Conference which dying imperialism in despair may devise. The outcome can be decided only by force. The world revolution is in progress and only a blind man can fail to see it.

Poland and Japan have simultaneously begun a new counter-revolutionary war against the Russian proletariat. Finland is on the verge of joining the Poles. Rumania is in full military readiness and anxiously watching the development of events in Ukraine. Turkey and the Mohammedan populations of Asia Minor and Arabia are fighting against the foreign foe. Armenia, recognized by Allied capitalism, prefers to join with Soviet Russia (*Evening Mail*, May 6), and is ready to turn against those who pretended to be her saviors.

The Azerbaijan Republic has joined with Soviet Russia, and Baku, the treasure-chamber of oil, is already under control of the Soviet administration. All the small Caucasian republics, with Georgia

at their head, are showing their sympathy for Moscow. The progressive elements in Turkey look on Soviet Russia as on the only power which they need not fear. The Republic of Turkestan has been a part of Soviet Russia since 1917.

Afghanistan is an ally of Moscow and has already fought the British army, arresting the English invasion of Soviet Turkestan, while the Persian population has expressed faith in the Russian policy and is inclined to join with the Soviets.

China has at last recognized the Soviet Government, and, since the end of April, has been in communication with Moscow.

Among the Baltic states there is a notable movement for peace with Soviet Russia. Esthonia was courageous enough to sign a peace treaty with the Soviet Government, in spite of all the objections and threats of the Entente. Lithuania, having been gradually delivered from the Polish invaders by the Russian Red Army, practically became an ally of Russia on the field of battle, while Latvia is bound to establish friendly relations with the Soviets. The Ukrainians are split in two parties; the nationalists, who have joined the adventurer Petlura; and the independent Ukrainians, who are fighting together with the Red Army against the Polish invaders and the Ukrainian reactionaries.

The Balkan states, Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia as well as Italy have already entered the revolutionary period.

The Central powers also have not remained passive while watching the development of events in

the East. Hungary is muttering, ready to rise once more against the imperialistic tyranny. Austria, unable to bear any longer the gradual starvation of her people, is in a state of despair, watching Germany, and ready to follow her unhappy neighbor at the first favorable opportunity.

A dispatch from Berlin, published in the *New York World* of May 6, may be taken as indicative of the psychological state of the Germans:

"Prepare for the new war of revolution," the message says. "The victorious German proletariat in league with free Russia, must wage a revolutionary war against the Entente."

The Spartacists, it seems, are very active, and other groups have grafted Nationalism on Communism. This is a result of the recent compromise of the Ebert Government with the workmen—it is the middle course for Bolshevism.

"National Bolshevism," continues the message, "is taking on a more concrete form in Germany. The Communist Workers' Party has been newly organized for the coming elections. Its membership formerly composed the extreme Left Wing of the Communist Party or Spartacus League. Under its intellectual leaders, Dr. Heinrich Lauffenberg and Fritz Wolffheim, this National Bolshevik Party seeks to make powerful appeals to needy, discharged, retired, or otherwise idle German officers, non-coms and men.

It particularly solicits membership among the embittered Baltic troops and is trying to win over the military elements by giving the Communistic programme a strong nationalistic, patriotic complexion.

"The Baltic fighters are flirting with the National Communists and have formulated the following political program:

"The destruction of capitalism, a Soviet system, a military alliance with Russia, the military organization of all able-bodied wage earners under professional leaders and the dictatorship of a real man for the transition period."

Leaving without comment this new movement in Germany, as far as its political phases are concerned, from a strategical standpoint it can be considered at the present critical moment as a movement of great importance. By whatever way, through whatever methods, the Germans are going to defend themselves, and the movement for such a defense is now highly favorable for Germany, especially if we take into consideration that all the Polish military forces are engaged with Russians far away from the former German territory now under Polish occupation.

Such is the general situation in Europe and the greater part of Asia, at the moment of the outbreak of the counter-revolutionary world war.

"Modern wars have become the business of nations." They have their interests like individuals. National selfishness is inseparable from national greatness," said Von der Goltz, and his aphorism so impressed Marshall Foch that he quotes it on page 37 of his book, *The Principles of War*.

The Great War, in reality, was a business venture, and seems to have been a profitable business for England, but the peoples of our globe are not the same as they were a century ago. Unfortunately for capitalistic England and her imperialistic associates, the whole business scheme, though well prepared, became bankrupt. The Entente peoples

are revolting against further wars and the only way open to the British statesmen to consolidate their gains is to continue fighting without a war.

The imperialistic coalition of the Entente has therefore adopted this method of forcing certain nations to fight an artificially created foe with which they were really inclined to come to a peaceful understanding.

Neither in London nor in Paris, however, is there any strategical plan of campaign against the world proletariat. The general staffs of the allies have no idea where their troops may have to fight tomorrow. It is impossible to accomplish any concentration at a decisive point such as sound strategy requires. The friends of today may easily turn the enemies of tomorrow. The sudden uprising of the most friendly nations against the Allies has become a matter of common occurrence. There is neither strategy nor policy in the Allied reaction—there is only an international anarchy.

France openly controls the Polish aggression against Russia; while England dissembling her sympathy for the Polish adventure, in the midst of peace negotiations with the Soviet Government, continues to intrigue among the minor nations preparing a new coalition against Russia.

Everybody knows that the bankrupt Poland is equipped, armed and financed by the Entente. Everybody knows that to wage a war on a front 700 miles long a huge sum of money is required. Everybody knows that France and England together are unable to furnish to the Poles either money or the war material, and that they have to borrow them somewhere. Where they get it from everybody knows also.

The purpose of the Entente is to crush Soviet Russia by weakening her fighting power through a continuous succession of wars. The first attempt to destroy the Russian proletarian state by means of the reactionary part of population backed by the Allied coalition failed entirely. The Russian revolutionary force triumphed, and the world was on the eve of a general peace had the Soviet Government been recognized. Russia was even ready for compromise with the capitalistic states because she sincerely desired peace. But neither England nor France wanted peace with the Russian people. They were afraid of the existence of a communistic republic in Europe and they determined to destroy it. But there was no hope of a new counter-revolutionary movement in Russia. Among the border states only the Polish *Shliakhta* (petty nobility) and the Finnish nationalists remained irreconcilable enemies of Moscow, and they have become blind tools of western capitalism.

In spite of the desire for peace of the Polish workmen and peasants, the Polish nobility, supported by the militarists of the Entente, forced them into the criminal, bloody war against the workers and peasants of Russia.

"War is the continuation of politics by means

of armed forces," said Clausewitz long ago. If this is the case, the strategical aim of the Allied reactionary coalition, which policy is the destruction of Soviet Russia, must be the annihilation of the Soviet fighting forces—or all the able bodied male population of Russia. It is plain enough that this is sheer lunacy, especially if the accomplishment of this strategy has to be left to Poland in Europe and to Japan in Siberia.

I have no anxiety at all about the strategical position of Soviet Russia, either at the present moment or in the future. All the news which reaches New York from Warsaw does not affect my confidence that the Soviet army will soon be able to destroy the new invaders, as it has destroyed the more dangerous and more numerous enemy in the heart of Russia. About April 28, the American press began to publish news from Warsaw of the steady Polish advance into Ukraine, in cooperation with Petlura and his bands.

The Red army, who only a month ago pushed the Polish army back along the whole front south of the Pripet marshes, as far as the Rumanian frontier, has suddenly fallen back, engaging their enemy by a series of rearguard actions.

The Polish advance was interpreted by the press in the same way as was the famous advance of the Yudenich army on Petrograd. On May 1, the Polish cavalry was reported at the outskirts of Kiev and, according to the message of May 6, two Red divisions had been annihilated. At the same time the New York *World* of May 4 informed us of riots in Moscow and of the occupation of Kiev by the Poles. It was said that "General Pilsudsky, President of the Polish State led the troops into the city." We know the value of that kind of news which later, as usual, were denied.

On the contrary, absolute order and high spirits ruled in Moscow and the national holiday of May 1st was celebrated by the Russian workmen as usual, according to the wireless from Soviet Government. From the same source we learn that at the end of April violent fighting developed in the Kiev region west of the River Irpen and at Fastov, thirty miles southwest of Kiev. "Our flotilla on the River Pripet has captured an enemy steamer," the wireless said.

"In the Podolsk region there is no change. In the Rezhitzka district (Government of Vitebsk), north of Rezenovskaya station the enemy (Poles) drove back our troops, but our former position was restored by a counter attack."

This shows what is befalling the Polish army in its forward movement. Napoleon often said that "an army advancing into enemy country melts like snow in the spring." The Russians know this and act accordingly. We must not forget that since March 8, the Russians have had a series of victories over the Poles, both on the northern and the southern parts of the Polish front, and have considerably weakened the Polish army, which, it

should be noted, is an army without strategical reserves.

Major Sanford Griffith, of the A. E. F., a member of the Armistice Commission, in his second article on the Polish situation published in the *Globe*, May 5, states that Russians, during their previous offensive, captured much artillery from the Poles. He also states that Russians are not interested "in immediate gains of territory." And he is absolutely right. In no case will an occupation of territory decide the war between Poland and Russia. Only the annihilation of the army of one of the belligerents will end it.

Moving towards Dnieper in order to reestablish their legendary frontier of 1772 by military force, the Poles have undertaken a task which, even with the support of the Entente and the Ukrainian counter-revolutionists, they would never be able to accomplish.

The Associated Press dispatch from Warsaw, May 8, stated that the hills north and south of Kiev, were occupied by the Poles, that artillery had been placed in position commanding Kiev, and that Polish cavalry had reached the town. There is no resistance by the Russians, it was said.

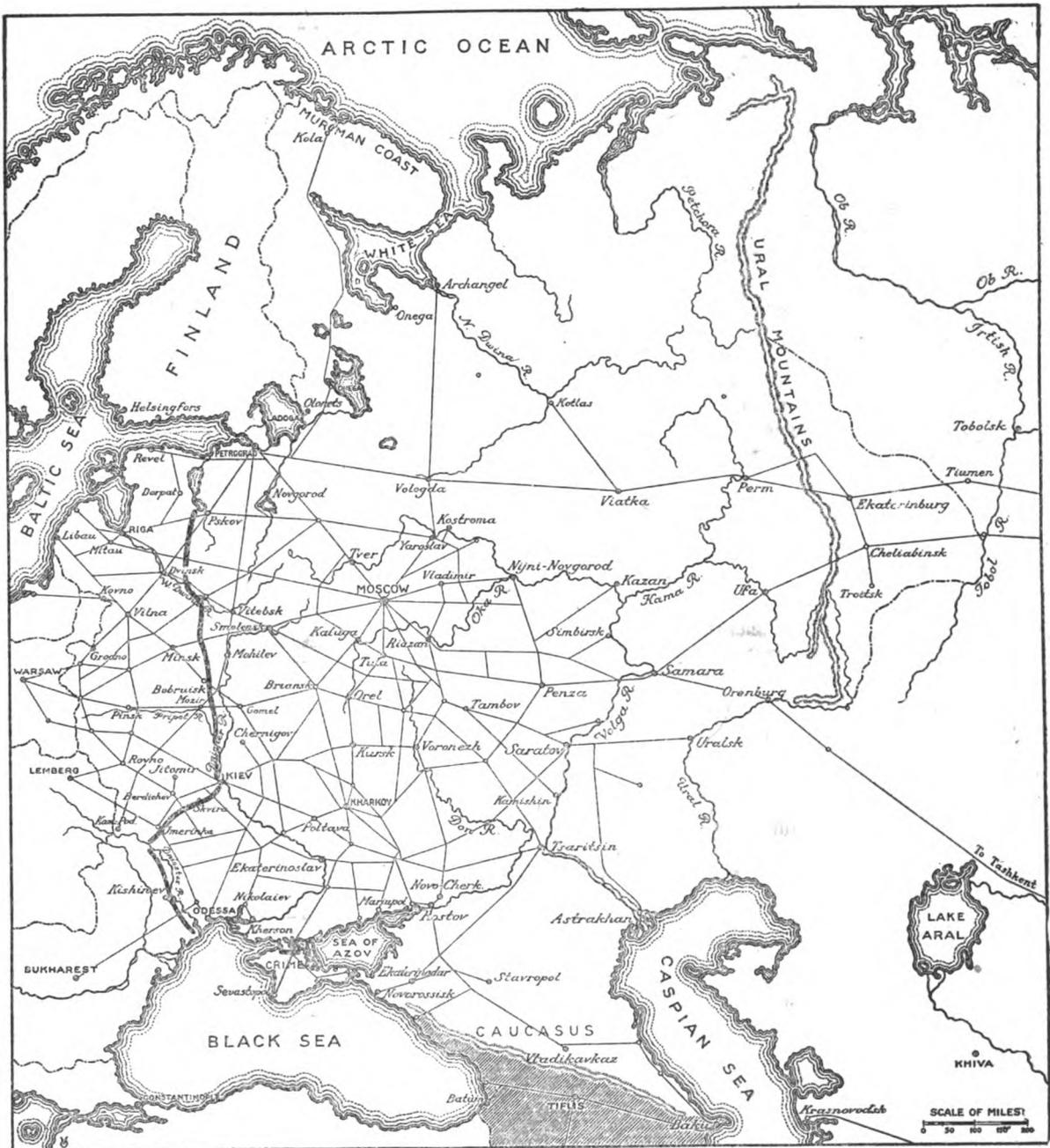
According to the Moscow wireless of May 7, the Poles "toward evening broke into the outskirts of the town, but were held up by our counter attacks. Later our troops, in accordance with orders, started to withdraw in order to the left bank of the Dnieper." This may mean the evacuation of Kiev by the Red Army because the town is situated on the right bank of the Dnieper.

During the civil war in Russia, Kiev has changed hands many times and it has no strategical importance beyond its purely political significance. If it has been voluntarily abandoned by the Red Army there is certainly a purely tactical reason for it. Denikin, Petlura, Skoropadsky, the Germans, all in turn were in Kiev and finally it was always recaptured by the Reds. Now, perhaps, it is the Polish turn to pay a visit to this old Russian capitol.

But while the attention of all the world is thus directed upon that part of the Polish battle front, the situation in the north, namely in the Minsk Government is far from brilliant for the Poles. There the Russians are not only holding the gained territory but have advanced considerably westward. According to the Moscow wireless, "in the direction of Pytalov our troops repulsed the enemy advance twenty-eight miles south of Krasny" (25 miles northwest of Minsk), and in the direction of Igumen, about 36 miles southeast of Minsk, "the enemy attempted to cross the Berezina river, near Berezina village, but was driven back across the river."

These brief reports have a great importance and confirm our supposition that Borisov on the Berezina has for a long time been in the possession of the Red Army and that the Poles have evacuated Vilna. Accordingly we look for very surprising

The Military Situation in Russia on May 10, 1920



The black line represents the position of the troops attacking Soviet Russia from the west, also in the Crimea. The shaded area represents the Republic of Georgia, which has declined to fight against Soviet Russia.

developments in the northern Polish theatre of war.

Being now the masters in Caucasus and controlling the famous Baku and Grozny oil fields, as well as North Caucasian oil industry, and having captured Sochi and established themselves in all the passes of the Caucasian Mountains, the Soviet troops have thus encouraged the Georgian Republic to come to a friendly agreement with Moscow. Finally, they have at their disposal all the ports of the eastern coast of the Black Sea, Batum in-

clusive, thus putting an end to the British intrigues in the Caucasian area as well as in Armenia. The British navy is uselessly bombarding the villages of Crimea on the Perekop Gulf.

While discord and anarchy rule in the imperialistic coalition, Russia is united by a strong government and a clear, firm policy, which it is the aim of Russian strategy to carry out.

In this lies the real strength of the Russian Soviet Republic.

Leonid Andriyev — the Self-Defeat of a Revolté

By GREGORY ZILBOORG.

The death of Leonid Andriyev was utilized in certain quarters as a sensational illustration of Soviet atrocities. In some articles in memoriam it was pointed out that he was a man of crystal honesty, and as a proof of this it was cited that the Bolsheviki had "sought to bribe" him, which means that they offered him a position of some cultural work, which he declined most emphatically. Following the tradition *de mortuis aut bene, aut nihil* all that was said about Andriyev after his death was high and unconditional praise; the man was presented to the world as a martyr, who suffered and died at the hands of his inquisitors. This method of misrepresentation of the causes of the death of one more celebrated Russian has become a common method during the last two years.

Plekhanov's death had been given the same misinterpretation: it was asserted that mistreatment by an atrocious political regime killed him; in reality, to those, who knew the conditions in Russia, the deaths of Plekhanov, Lopatin and Figner were the normal and inevitable results of their old age and physical weakness. Herman Lopatin, for instance, was so weak that he was unable to address any meeting after February, 1917, when the revolution broke out. G. Plekhanov suffered from tuberculosis, and throughout the last period of the Kerensky regime he was in bed, with a high temperature, unable to confer with Kerensky when the latter sought advice during the July, and later the Kornilov troubles. As to Leonid Andriyev, there is no doubt that he was physically and morally weakened, and that he had lost his literary and artistic importance as an intellectual leader long before the Soviets came into power, even before Kerensky became the "hero" of the first revolutionary period. The story of the decline of Andriyev's moral and spiritual prestige is one of the most tragic and characteristic incidents in the history of the Russian intellectuals, and in order to understand this story one must get rid (for a while at least) of present day bias and establish another, nowadays forgotten principle: *de mortuis et de vivendibus aut veritas, aut nihil*.

Leonid Andriyev, like most of our contempo-

rary intellectuals and literary men, began his career in the gloomy moral and political twilight of the 'nineties of the past century; like Chekhov, Maxim Gorky and Sologub, he was an example of the spiritual depression which enveloped Russia with the shroud of Alexander the III's famous "peaceful reaction." Because of the defeat of the progressive forces, which followed the assassination of Czar Alexander II, people lost their faith, their willpower, their energy—it was a time of "dull gray human beings," according to the expression of A. Chekhov. Disappointed, disillusioned souls looked for a new justification for life, or for the sense of life in general; soon many began to doubt the very existence of such a sense, and a painful and pitiful pessimism impregnated most of the literary creations of that decade. Andriyev was one of these pessimists from the very beginning of his literary activities.

Death, blind Fate, malignant accident, the cruel play of unknown and imponderable forces in human nature—all these, condensed into something like a thick fog, press upon us lonesome human beings, drive us in an unknown direction, the goal of which is the endless darkness of the grave. In his earlier and his later writings alike, Andriyev was a typical Russian intellectual of his time, a man who felt an almost morbid joy in looking at and touching upon the melodramatic and pessimistic, the sensitive but hopeless corners of the human heart (from his "Big Slam" and "In the Fog" up to his "Life of Man" and "Anathema").

He seems to have seen in life nothing but the undeserved sufferings of humanity, upon which so many tragic burdens are imposed by His Majesty Fate and His Excellency Accident. Therefore he could not find any explanation or reason for the tragic life of the lonesome father, who has lost his child, his good, innocent beautiful boy ("The Life of Basil of Thebes").

Andriyev has filled life with ghosts, shadows, phantoms and rendered them with such melodramatic, romantic symbolism, that he appeals more than any other writer to the extenuated and weakened spirits of his time. Those, who were strong,

those who had still a religion of life and a purpose for their human activities, remained mostly irresponsible to Andrieyev's phantoms. It is true that Russia at that time had very few if any, who did not lose their faith or who created a new one. But Tolstoy was still alive and with his clear vision and his faith in humanity, he said one day: "Andrieyev tries to frighten me but he does not make me afraid."

But I hardly think that in this respect the lucidity of Tolstoy had a big following, because Andrieyev proved to be really the hero of depression and of self-analyzing pessimism.

Moreover, as life was going on, the reaction became stronger, the Russian-Japanese war had broken out and a new defeat of the aspirations for freedom took place in 1905, and the intellectual, weakened by years of a lightless life, felt still more enmeshed in the complexity of an existence which appeared to him one great, dense net woven of the bloody threads of an unbearable social organization, by the needle of Accident or Fate. Andrieyev's wonderful imagination and his neurasthenic sensitiveness, combined with the protesting power of his energy, has given Russia his remarkable "Red Laugh." He never lived on a war front, but his intuition and his striking gift for visualizing what he felt make the "Red Laugh" one of the most powerful protests ever written against war. Even Andreas-Latzko's and Henri Barbusse's efforts could not compete with it: because theirs are human experiences and only human experiences with all their human regrets, protests and moral wounds, whereas the latter is an accusation, a titanic prevision of the collapse of our civilization, an acute and keen symbol of our modern life as a whole. . .

New Yorkers will recall a performance, at the Neighborhood Play-House, a few weeks ago, of a brilliant farce by Andrieyev, entitled "The Beautiful Sabine Women." It is an excellent specimen of singular mental lucidity and directness on the part of one who later failed to display these qualities at the moment when they were most required. The Sabine men, after the Romans, have abducted their wives, spend a long period in studying the law and preparing to convince the Romans of their guilt—which the latter, of course, readily admit. The Sabine men, who have become emasculated through their dependence on written law and their rejection of force in the pursuit of their "rights," are so amazed by the ready admission of guilt on the part of the Romans, that they march off with no more than an oratorical assertion of the correctness of their moral position, which much amuses the "manly" Romans. And yet, when Andrieyev beheld the Bolsheviki using force when necessary, to achieve their aims, he withdrew into his shell, refused to cooperate with them, and became, or rather, revealed himself as, a counter-revolutionist.

Another characteristic of Andrieyev is illustrated in the following example: A few years

before the revolution Leonid Andrieyev wrote a drama (it is his last) "The Man Who Is Slapped in the Face." The hero has no other name, but "He," or "The Slapped." He had been a famous scholar, a great scientist, a member of the Academy. He left his books, his thoughts, his colleagues and joined a circus as one of the clowns. His trick was to be slapped by his fellow clowns; the more slaps he gets, the more the public is amused, and peals of boisterous laughter fill the circus hall. And he is happy, because he knows that humanity loves horse-play, and it seems to him that it is not he personally who is slapped, but all humanity, its thought, its science, its ideas; the aspirations of which he is a disguised representative are slapped and insulted. On the circus platform he meets a beautiful young girl; she is an acrobat and a horse woman, named Consuelo. He finds that she is an innocent, romantic, upright and clean spirit, like the famous Consuelo of George Sand; one evening, after the performance, when they were still in their clown costumes and make-up he puts poison in the glass of water she will drink and instantly drinks also a poisonous beverage; they die: there can be no place for beauty and honesty in this world; there is no other way out of the deadlock but death.

Not Fate, nor Accident, but the individual himself in an impetus of self-destruction here brings death into life after a period of self-slapping. . .

I remember the last time I saw Andrieyev. It was in the corridors of the "Temporary Council of the Republic" in the Palace of Maria in Petrograd! He wore as usual his somewhat conspicuous black shirt, like a mourning dress; he was walking alone, only from time to time joining one or another member of the Cadet (K. D.) faction to which he belonged. It was a few days before the Soviet Revolution.

"It could not be otherwise," I thought, "with Andrieyev. . . Gorky is with the socialists, Serafimovich with the communists, Azov and others with the revolution, but Andrieyev is with the war party despite his 'Red Laugh,' with the Constantinople Milyukov party, despite his theoretical ideas of fraternity; not with the Russian youth whom he pictured so wonderfully in his 'The Days of Our Life,' not with those, who like his Dr. Kerzhentsev ('The Thought') are ready to become mad, to lose their minds, but not give up the ideal of free thought, not with them because he is the author of 'The Man Who Is Slapped in the Face' . . ."

Since I came to this country I have had another evidence of the soundness of my judgment: His notorious appeal to the Allies to save Russia, his S. O. S. addressed to the rulers of the world, imploring them to come and to reestablish order in Russia is not a political document, as people were ready to believe; it was not even the cry of a man who had some following on this issue amongst the

(Continued on page 492)

SOVIET RUSSIA

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RUSSIA has repeatedly emphasized her desire to trade with the other countries of the world; if the exchanges are not taking place, it is not her fault but theirs. While Allied representatives are talking to Russian trade agents, Polish armies, equipped and officered at Allied expense, are pressing farther into Soviet Russia, which is taken by surprise, having considered that the occupation of a line 200 miles west of the Polish frontier *as fixed by the Versailles treaty* would be enough even for the greedy appetites of the Polish imperialists.

If, therefore, Soviet Russia ceased her negotiations with foreign powers for the opening of trade relations, as she is reported to have done, there is every reason to believe that she knows what she is doing. Our readers will surely welcome the reprint given below of a Copenhagen message to the *New York American*, which, owing to its frank tone and unmistakable language, bears every earmark of genuineness:

Copy of Cable to New York American.

May 5, 1920.—Head of Russian Trade Delegation told me yesterday delegation decided return to Russia. They want sincerity in matter of trade with Russia for following reasons: First, they have waited here in vain for over a week for a reply from San Remo. Second, Lloyd George is evasive and sticking to small points of personalities and resorting to untruthful stories about alleged breach of diplomatic privileges. Third, British fleet conducting active naval operations against Black Sea Coast. Fourth, delegation has come to conclusion that Russia can give much more to Western Europe than Europe can give to Russia and that Russia should not be dictated to or dealt with by way of ultimatums. The country that could help Russia

most, stands aloof. The establishing of Soviet Government in Baku and its alliance with Moscow gives access to oil; opens for Soviet Russia Government new perspectives of greater importance than foreign trade. Lenin was certainly right, they say, in anticipating that the salvation of Russia does not lie necessarily with foreign intercourse, though that is highly desirable, but with intensification and self-disciplining of labor within Russia itself. Delegation believes Allies plan another intervention using Poland and Japan and only when this is beaten will they be amenable to negotiations in a decent way. Russia realizes that a Polish War may be the beginning of a new general European conflagration, but throws the responsibility on Poland and those who are backing her. In the meantime trade negotiations proceed briskly with Scandinavian concerns totaling twenty million kroner agricultural and other machinery actually being fulfilled and others being negotiated total hundred millions kroner, but Scandinavia has comparatively little that Russia needs and it is unfortunate that trade with America is still delayed.

Soviet Russia has learnt by experience what is all too often the function of foreign delegations in Russia: many of our readers may still remember the letter sent to the President of France on September 4, 1918, by Rene Marchand, then a newspaper correspondent (for the *Paris Figaro*) in Russia, describing the counter-revolutionary intrigues carried on in that country against the government that had been set up by the workers and peasants,—carried on by representatives of "respectable" foreign powers, who emphasized the demand of their home governments for "law and order" in Russia by blowing up bridges and in every way obstructing the transportation and production facilities of the new government of Russia.

Soviet Russia has had enough of this. Our readers will therefore understand that when Soviet Russia declines to harbor certain delegations, and fails to respond with enthusiasm to certain extremely mellifluous notes of peace, the tormented and persecuted Russia of the workers has every reason to consider the proposal in question to be a fraudulent and treacherous one.

* * *

WE are pleased to state our agreement with a sentiment recently expressed by a member of parliament who is reported in a recent number of the *London Herald* as having said: "The sooner the Supreme Council ceases to meet, the better I shall be pleased." The statement is credited to Lord Robert Cecil, M.P., who continues by saying: "We have reached a crisis in the world's history, and we have got to find some means of preventing future wars."

It is especially in the matter of preventing future wars that the San Remo Conference seems to display considerable incapacity. For, the disturbing thing about the recent renewed invasion of Soviet Russia by Polish troops is that it comes immediately after the San Remo Conference, and seems to force the conclusion that the advance of the Polish troops was ordered as a result of the conversations taking place at the San Remo Conference. If this is the case—and there seems to be no way of readily evading this conclusion—we

agree that the sooner the Supreme Council ceases to meet the better we shall be pleased.

What the attitude of the people of Poland must be—we suppose our readers may imagine. If the San Remo Conference is guilty of this singular proposition for utilizing the Polish unemployed masses, we have no doubt the Polish people also will agree that the sooner the Supreme Council ceases to meet the better they will be pleased.

* * *

WE herewith present to our readers an interesting article from *Avanti* (April 26), which prints a cable from Copenhagen, dated April 12:

The Russian Delegation, headed by Krassin, acting in the interests of the working classes of both countries, in today's meeting ratified the agreement made between Litvinov and the Italian Cooperative Delegation, which has already been published. The head of the Russian Delegation has asked the president of the council, Sr. Nitti, to transfer the seat of negotiations with the representatives of the Economic Council of the Allies to Italy. Following is the text of the agreement above mentioned:

"Agreement between M. Litvinov, representing the Central Union of Russian Cooperatives (Central Soyuz) as the party of the first part, and M. Angiolo Cabrini, Representative of the National League of Italian Cooperatives, the Azienda Consorziale dei consumi del Comune di Milano, and the National Cooperative Institute for the Exchanges between Foreign Countries:

With the object of regulating commercial exchanges between Russia and Italy to the greater advantage of the working classes of the two countries, the following is agreed upon:

1. All matters concerning commercial exchange between the cooperatives of Soviet Russia and Italy (until the complete re-establishment of political and diplomatic relations between the two countries), will be conducted by Russia through the intermediary of an agency of the Central Soyuz in Rome, and by Italy through the intermediary of an organ to be established under the auspices of the Italian Socialist Party, and of the National Cooperative League, and the Azienda Consorziale dei Consumi del Comune di Milano, and the National Cooperative Institute for Exchanges with Foreign Countries; these organs being related with other similar cooperative institutions in order to assure to the above mentioned object a general and national scope.

2. As regards Italy, all operations "in proprio" of the cooperatives and similar institutions will be exclusively within the jurisdiction of the cooperative company above mentioned. For operations between the Russian cooperatives and non-cooperative, industrial, commercial and agricultural enterprises, the same Italian cooperative organ will serve for conducting with the Russian agency any enterprises with their own organs. Similarly the Russian agency will keep the above mentioned

Italian cooperative organ informed of all the demands and offers which have come directly to this agency through non-cooperative enterprises, making with that organ the necessary agreements.

3. The Bank Istituto Nazionale di Credito per le Cooperative shall become the correspondent in Italy for the Russian Central Soyuz and vice versa for payments, collections and other necessary operations. The manner of these operations will be the object of special treaties and agreements at the proper time.

4. The Russian Cooperatives consent to mention in any ensuing commercial agreements of international or other character, which may touch the interests of Italy, the fact that that country has already arrived at an agreement with regard to the Italian cooperatives for commercial exchanges with Italy.

5. The duration of this agreement, approved in the present document, will be one year, which is to be automatically increased by an equal period in case no denunciation of the agreement is made by either party within one month of the termination of the first one year period.

6. The present agreement, whose object is only to formulate the guiding lines of a detailed and definite commercial relation, which is to follow the regulation of all the points related with the subject of the agreement, will be the object of later negotiations.

7. The present agreement, which is to serve as a basis for the above mentioned definite agreement, shall be ratified by the authorities and organs having jurisdiction, who will have the right to propose eventual modifications.

(Signed) MAXIM LITVINOV,
ANGIOLO CABRINI."

DECREE ON TRADE.

The following decree is taken from a Siberian newspaper, *Krasnoye Znamaya*, dated at Vladivostok, March 19, 1920. It is a copy of an edict issue at Moscow, March 16, 1920.

It is hereby *prohibited to all Russian citizens*, who are holders and owners of all sorts of raw materials and products for export, to sell the said materials and products to foreign firms, individuals and establishments; also to transfer such goods to foreign subjects *without receiving a proper permit for each individual case from the Committee of Import and Export.*

This prohibition becomes valid from the time of its publication.

All foreign exporters are also hereby informed of the above mentioned prohibition.

*Committee of Import and Export
of the Bureau of the Soviet of
Finance and Economy.*

MASS MEETING FOR RUSSIAN RELIEF

We have been asked by the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee to call the attention of our readers to a mass meeting to be held at the Central Opera House, 67th Street near Third Avenue, New York, on Saturday, May 22, at 8 P. M. The admission fee is fifteen cents. Prominent speakers will point out the necessity for medical relief to Soviet Russia

A Declaration of the Russian Laboring Intelligentsia

Undoubtedly, the present economic situation of Russia is a difficult one. The country is in need of systematic and constructive work, without which normal and cultured life cannot exist, it is in need of reforms and measures which would make the development of its constructive power possible.

What will be the method of the development of the Russian Revolution, which leading ideas will be the final victors, and what form the developing spiritual reconstruction, at present forming in the minds of the masses, will take, is difficult to tell and still more difficult to enforce on the path of the revolution.

The only thing that is clear in the Russian problem is, that it is impossible to isolate from the entire world the population of a great country, until the solution of the social and political problems of that country has been accomplished. The life interests, not of Russia only, but of all countries, will not allow this, and for this reason the present situation calls forth the following demands:

1. The cessation of the support of armed intervention in the internal affairs of Russia.
2. The renewal, as soon as possible, of trade and social relations with Russia, notwithstanding her political regime.
3. A wide and impartial aid to the Russian people in their work of recreating their constructive and economic power.

Fervently hoping that Russia will overcome all her hardships and will be born anew for a new cultured life, we believe that the leading circles of European public opinion sympathizing with our commencement, will hear our appeal and will aid the Russian people in their aim to get on the path of peaceful work.

Founders of the Union of Laboring Intelligentsia,
February 18, 1920.

The following persons signed: Maxim Gorky, S. F. Oldenburg (Minister of Education in the Kerensky cabinet), Professor Bekhterev, Prof. Saki, Prof. Shavinsky and many others.—*Izvestia*, Moscow, March 3, 1920.

Leonid Andreyev, the Self-Defeat of a Revolte (Continued from page 489)

responsible intellectuals; it was merely the cry of the Academician-clown, an exposure of his moral wounds, a melodramatic "self-slap" before the great and bloody circus of the world-public.

It would be wrong to say that Andriyev died after he had lost his temperament, his wonderful style, his power of expression or the vehemence of an old pessimistic revolte. He possessed all these qualities up to the eve of his death, but he lost, as did many of his contemporaries, his artistic vision, the height of the imagination's flight. He had lost it before the revolution and was a moral and spiritual stranger in New Russia. With whom does the fault lie? With our groundless romanticism and our *theoretical* revolt, which was characteristic of the Russian Intelligentsia of the last two decades. New Russia has offered them a place; it has extended an invitation to them to come and help. But they are themselves helpless and cannot help others.

FERTILIZER FOR AGRICULTURE

Moscow, March 18.—One of the chief causes of the food crisis in Russia was the lack of artificial fertilizer which has been felt by Russian agriculture ever since the beginning of the war. Steps have now been taken to extend the manufacture of superphosphates. The factories at Kinechma, Nizhni-Novogorod and Petrograd will produce in the course of the next year one million poods of superphosphates.

THE TASK OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Telegram from Moscow.—*Pravda* drafts the following program for the immediate tasks of the new Soviet:

"The duty of all members of the Soviet republic is to work in Soviet institutions. All those members who have not been re-elected may immediately return to corresponding institutions or factories. The deputies will deliver their reports regularly to their constituents. Only in this way we will be able to help the proletarian masses; we will educate every laboring man and woman to conduct the state itself."

COSSACK CONGRESS AT MOSCOW

Telegram from Moscow, (via Vienna).—The first Cossack Labor Congress met here a few days ago. Representatives came from Cossack organizations in Siberia, Ural, Orenburg, Astrakhan, and the Don and Kuban districts, from Semityensk, and from the Amur and Trans-Baikal districts.

SADOUL IN THE KHARKOV SOVIET

Moscow, March 31.—The transport workers of Kharkov have elected the French Captain Sadoul to the Khakov Soviet.

METRIC SYSTEM IN RUSSIA

Moscow, March 22.—The Petrograd Commune is just making arrangements for the manufacture of instruments of weight and measure. The Soviet Government, as is well known, has introduced the metric system all over the country.

The Socialization of Agriculture in Russia

By V. VASILYEV.

The first land decrees of the Soviet Government, those of November 7, 1917, and of January 27, 1918, abolished the right of private ownership in land, but they left in effect the private use of the peasants' lands by the peasants themselves. Even of the National Land Reserve, created from the expropriated lands of the nobility, of the appanages, of the monasteries, and of the churches, and comprising in 1918 in 22 provinces of the Soviet territory an area of 15,800,000 dessyatines, some 12,800,000 dessyatines, or 81 per cent, were distributed amongst the individual households of the peasants. Of course, such a policy was far from being a socialization of agriculture, in any sense, but it was inevitable at the beginning of the Soviet regime in order to destroy the landed nobility, and to secure for the Revolution the support of the majority of the peasants.

However, already in the first half of 1918, the Soviet Government made the first attempt to socialize agriculture by the organization of *Soviet estates* and of *agricultural communes*, and by the promotion of other collective forms of rural economy. Already in August of 1918, the People's Commissar of Agriculture, S. Sereda, published a decree on the organization of agricultural communes, and on November 2 of the same year the Soviet Government promulgated a law on the establishment of a money fund of one milliard rubles for loans to communes and similar agricultural enterprises. As a consequence, toward the end of that year a number of Soviet estates, as well as some 500 agricultural communes, were in existence, and, besides, several rural communities had started to practice a collective tillage of certain lands belonging to the community.

All these preliminary efforts towards the collectivization of agriculture were to a large extent lacking in unity and in a strict elaboration scheme of the work to be done. Even the territory of each branch of the collective rural economy was by no means defined, though as a rule the Soviet estates were organized on the undistributed land area (some 3,000,000 dessyatines) of the National Land Reserve. To eliminate these defects of land policy, the Soviet Government convened, in December, 1918, an All-Russian Congress of the Rural committees of poor peasants, and of the agricultural communes, a congress which elaborated a project of a fundamental law on socialistic land organization. On the basis of that project, the Soviet Government promulgated, on February 14, 1919, its most important agrarian law—the very comprehensive "Decree on Socialistic Land Organization, and the Means of Transition to Socialistic Agriculture," which established the basic Soviet policy in the socialization of agriculture. This decree has been in effect up to the present time. Its essential features are as follows:

First of all, the decree emphasizes that all the land constitutes a single *national reserve*, under the administration of the appropriate people's commissariats and local Soviet institutions. The decree acknowledges, for the ends of socialization, the necessity of the organization of large Soviet economies, agricultural communes, collective tillage, and other phases of the collective utilization of land. From individual use there are entirely excluded, except in extraordinary cases, all the lands which at the time of the promulgation of the decree, were not allotted to the individual rural households, and, in particular, the lands upon which there have already been or are to be organized the above-mentioned collective forms of agriculture, or the lands with rural industrial enterprises, experimental stations, experimental fields, and other agricultural-educational establishments.

All the work on the socialistic land organization is to be conducted by the county and provincial *land departments* (composed of representatives of the Soviet Government and of various labor and peasants' organizations), under the supreme guidance of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture.

The decree contemplates the *Soviet estates* as model agricultural enterprises, purposing to get out of them the maximum of productiveness, and to make them serve as large agronomic centers of agricultural instruction for the surrounding peasantry. For the Soviet estates are particularly designated and reserved: the former private highly cultivated large economies; estates with granaries, orchards, vineyards; tea, tobacco and beet plantations; with complicated technico-agricultural arrangements (cheese factories, buttershops, dairies, corn-mills, wine-producing plants); with highly developed stock-farming; with rural industrial enterprises (agricultural repair shops, etc.); and with ponds and lakes for fish-breeding.

For the ends of agricultural instruction the decree provides for the organization on the Soviet estates, of experimental stations, experimental fields, workshops, agricultural courses and exhibitions, agricultural schools, libraries, museums, theatres and other cultural institutions.

The Soviet estates are placed under the supreme authority of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture, and locally their affairs are directed by special provincial, regional and local boards of the Soviet estates. The technical and administrative business of each separate estate is conducted by a steward-specialist or by a council, appointed by the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and the corresponding provincial board. A labor committee elected by the laborers of the estate from their own ranks regulates the internal arrangement of the work and supervises the economic and sanitary conditions of the life of the laborers.

On the Soviet estates only state laborers are

employed, at a wage fixed by the Labor Unions and approved by the People's Commissar of Agriculture. The decree urges the sending of experienced industrial workers from the cities to the Soviet estate.*

Finally, in order to render material assistance to the surrounding poor peasants, the decree obliges the Soviet estates to establish on their territory veterinary posts, to improve the local roads, to organize agronomic assistance, and, in general, to act in close contact with the remaining part of the rural population.

The *agricultural communes*, according to the decree, are voluntary associations of rural producers on the basis of communal land, its collective cultivation, and communal use of the produced goods. The land area and the inventory of a commune are made up of the individual land allotments and of the inventories of its participants, or of land and inventory placed at the disposal of the commune by a land department from the Land Reserve and from the inventories of the expropriated large estates.

For the convenience of production two or more adjoining communes are obliged to combine into one, while scattered communes must unite in a union of communes.

The communes are under the supreme supervision of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and must adapt themselves to certain working plans and regulations elaborated by the land departments. Work in a commune is to be performed by its members. The only permissible hired labor is that of permanent salaried specialists and of temporary hired workers during times of pressing work (harvesting, etc.).

All the administrative, technical, economic and sanitary affairs of each commune are managed by a council elected by the members of the commune from among themselves; the salaried specialists and the temporary hired laborers having an advisory voice in its business. The provincial boards of the Soviet estates may place their representative on the councils of the communes, which in such cases enjoy the privilege of sending their delegates to the boards.

Of the products of the communes, first; a certain amount is used for satisfying their own needs; second, the surplus must be delivered to the supply authorities of the Soviet Government, in exchange for loans received, agricultural implements, artificial fertilizer and other modes of compensation, which should be utilized for the improvement of the communal economy.

The communes also are obliged to perform educational work among the surrounding rural popu-

* Shortly after the promulgation of this decree, the Soviet Government published a new and very important decree, which emphasizes the great significance of the use of the industrial workers on the Soviet estates and contains detailed regulations to that effect.

lation and to help the poor peasants against the village profiteers.

A commune may be dissolved by the decision of the majority of its members or by an order of the Soviet authorities, if it has not operated productively and successfully.

As "*collective tillage*" of land the decree designates collective ploughing, sowing, harvesting, etc., of certain lands, by the collective application of the labor, the inventories, and the working cattle of a whole village community or of a portion of it, the decision to that effect being made by either of them. The decree suggests for collective tillage: the lands of a community not distributed amongst its individual households; of its individual members who, for some reason, are not able to till them; and those of the Land Reserve which temporarily cannot be utilized by the Soviet estates or the agricultural communes.

The participants in the collective tillage combine in associations and partnerships, taking equal part in the collective work. The use of hired laborers is allowed only temporarily, during urgent work that requires haste, and they have the right to an advisory voice in the partnership and to be admitted to full membership in it if they so desire.

In addition to the personal inventories of the participants, used for collective tillage, the partnership may expropriate, with or without remuneration, for its exclusive ownership the superfluous inventories of its well-to-do members, or secure inventory from the Soviet authorities.

Each partner must carry a fixed amount of manure to the fields constituting the collective tillage. From certain contributions by the partners, and from subtractions from the annual crop, a fund is formed for seeds to sow the collective fields and another one for their artificial fertilization.

A part of the crop from the fields of the collective tillage is subtracted for seeds, for fodder for the domestic animals owned collectively, for the securing of manure and agricultural implements, or for repairing the latter. A part is to be distributed among the members of the partnership for their private use; and the surplus must be delivered to the Soviet supply authorities, and from the income are to be paid the allotted loans and public taxes.

A group of peasants or a whole community may gradually apply collective tillage to all their land allotments, simultaneously transferring all their inventories and working animals into collective ownership.

All the affairs of the partnership in collective tillage are managed by a committee elected by the members from their own numbers.

In conclusion, the decree lays upon the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and its subordinate institutions the duty of supplying all these and similar agricultural organizations with seeds, inventories, agronomic aid, money loans, and, in general, with every kind of assistance.

As to the merits of each branch of collective agriculture which are provided for in the decree, only the Soviet estates represent completely socialized, or nationalized, agricultural enterprises, operated by the state for the good of the whole people. The communes are producing primarily for the needs of a group, though closely connected with the state, but they are supposed in the course of time to transform themselves into state organizations. The great significance of the collective tillage of land lies in its power to draw into the process of collectivization the most numerous masses of the peasants, as each village community possesses some lands suitable for collective tillage, and may, in turn, transform the whole partnership into a commune. Thus, both the communes and the partnerships for collective tillage are only transitional agricultural steps, leading from individual cultivation of land to a complete socialization of agriculture on a national scale.

The land law outlined above was dated January 30, 1919, preceded by a decree placing at the disposal of the state all the lands which formerly were cultivated for sowing, but were at that time—on account of the tremendous destruction of agriculture caused by the war, not utilized any more by either the individual or the collective economies. Thus, the decree extended considerably the land area for the socialization of agriculture.

To create a single policy in the awarding of loans from the one milliard fund to the collective agricultural enterprises, the Soviet Government published on February 23, 1919, regulations to that effect. According to these regulations, the fund is permanently replenished from the repayments of the loans and from government resources. All the operations of the fund are handled by a special Central Committee, composed of representatives of several commissariats and of the unions of co-operatives and of agricultural communes in the provinces. The business affairs are transacted by local committees of analagous composition.

The loans, in money or in implements, manure, and other supplies for modern agriculture, are awarded to agricultural communes, partnerships for collective tillage, and other rural productive associations for the organization, the improvement, or the restoration of their collective agricultural enterprises. The loans are repayable, without interest, except in cases in which a fine of one per cent a month is imposed for a delay in the re-funding of a loan.

The receivers of the loans are under obligations to fulfill in their agricultural enterprises certain requirements of the land departments, aiming to secure a successful and productive operation of the respective collective economies.

To place all branches of the collective agricultural enterprises, and agriculture in general, on a modern scientific basis of intensive operation, the Soviet Government passed several decrees to that effect, designed to nationalize agronomic instruc-

tion and the application of agricultural knowledge. By a decree of January 30, 1919, all agricultural specialists with elementary, secondary, and higher agronomic education, or with practical experience instead, were ordered to register themselves at the People's Commissariat of Agriculture, which was empowered to mobilize them at any time for agricultural service in any locality of the Soviet territory. On the basis of that decree, the Soviet Government on March 20 of the same year for the first time called into the national agricultural service all the respective specialists of 12 Soviet provinces, and subsequently the mobilization was extended to the other provinces. On March 12, 1919, a decree nationalized all experimental stations.

Of course, the nationalization of agronomic instruction and of scientific agricultural labor is not meant only for the Soviet estates and other collective forms of rural economy, but it is for the good of all the individual peasant holdings, also, as the peasants, in consequence of the land laws just outlined, enjoy the privilege and opportunity to take advantage, in full measure, of the agronomic instruction and of the practical lessons in model agriculture which are offered to them by the Soviet estates, agricultural communes, experimental stations, and experimental fields. Besides, the agronomic education in general was nationalized already in 1918, and thus made public and free for all.

With reference to the methods of inducing the masses of the peasants to collectivize and communalize their agricultural households, it should be emphasized that the Soviet Government does not favor the employment of compulsion or force. This is proved, among other things, by the attitude of the head of the Soviet Government, Lenin, who at the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of Russia (a month after the promulgation of the fundamental law on socialistic land organization) made the following statements on the agrarian question:

"There can be no greater stupidity than the mere thought of compulsion in the sphere of the economic relations of the middle peasants. Our decrees regarding the economy of peasants are substantially right . . . , however, it is wrong to force them upon the peasants. We must convince the peasants and convince them by actual example."

This spirit of education, of endeavor to convince in matters of agricultural collectivism, has dominated the policy of the Soviet Government during the past year (1919). The Soviet authorities believe that collective agriculture is technically superior to the individual small agricultural economies, and that this superiority in the course of time will gradually draw the middle and poor peasants into the process of agricultural collectivization and communalization.

Such was the socialistic land policy of the Soviet Government until recently. After the promulga-

tion of the land decrees, analyzed above, the subsequent work of the Soviet Government on socialistic land organization consisted mainly in the practical realization of the principles laid down in those decrees. Many Soviet estates were organized and agricultural communes promoted. As a result, toward the end of 1919, the cultivated land area of the Soviet estates amounted to some 1,000,000 dessyatines, and almost in every Soviet province tens and hundreds of agricultural communes have sprung up.

However, the results achieved are not impressive: only a small percentage of the vast agricultural area has been nationalized or collectivized in respect of cultivation. The main causes of the slow process of the agricultural socialization as yet have been: the ignorance and the prejudices

of the masses of the peasants; the lack of live and dead inventory in particular of agricultural machinery; and the employment of hundreds of thousands of the best agricultural producers in the military service. But as soon as—after the inevitable conclusion of peace—Soviet Russia will be able to employ in productive work all its laboring forces and to get the needed agricultural implements, the socialization of agriculture will proceed more successfully. The Soviet economists purpose to increase in 1920 the territory of the operated Soviet estates to 2,000,000 dessyatines, not counting the eventual organization of additional agricultural communes. Altogether it will form a deeply rooted and safe foundation for the further socialization of Russian agriculture.

Radio Dispatches

LENIN'S STATEMENT ON CONDITIONS

Moscow, (via Vienna).—Lenin addressed the Congress of the Red Army, on conditions in Soviet Russia. Speaking of the international situation Lenin points out that Soviet Russia still endures after two years of struggle against the five greatest world powers, and declared that this was made possible because of the allies founds in the camps of the enemy, that is the working masses of the different civilized countries. The English and French were compelled to withdraw their soldiers from the north and the south as they refused to fight against the Bolsheviki. In the future we may still expect many difficulties, but the greatest difficulties we have already overcome. We do not fear the world power of the Entente.

Speaking of the national economy Lenin says that we are here facing a hard struggle in the reconstruction of economic life. The rural districts will help us to put Russia in good condition, not after the old, but after new methods—after all the lessons of modern technique. Without doubt the battle upon the bloodless front will lead us to far greater victories than the victories of our troops over the international imperialism.

FREIHEIT DEMANDS DECISION.

Berlin, Thursday, (N.P.C.)—*Die Freiheit* attacks the foreign policy of the national government and demands that negotiations with Russia be hastened, for strong economic reasons. It warns against a precipitate emigration into Russia, especially since there is a great demand for workers in Germany.

RED ARMY VICTORIOUS.

Telegraph from Moscow.—The Military report of March 7 states that 30 cannon, 6 machine guns, 1,300 rifles and other equipment, were captured

by our troops at Kem. In the direction of Ilchev our army penetrated to the region of the village of Khichev.

Persistent battles are going on in the Ovruch and Mozer regions. In the Mogilev-Podolsk region battles have begun, towards the northeast of the city. At Dniester, on the coast of the Black Sea, there is quiet. In the Rostov region our troops have taken the station of Umanskaya, where prisoners and guns were captured. Our advance continues in the Velikoknashe region, to the railway line, where our troops are located 20 versts east of the station of Tikhoretakaya. In the Sergiopol region our troops have, after battles, taken positions at Kuvkazaki and Znamensky, 50 versts southeast of Sergiopol and Taldyk Kuduksky. The enemy has retreated in a southerly direction.

In the Svyatokrestov region our offensive continues and five hundred prisoners, 2 cannon, 15 machine guns, and other trophies were taken.

TRADE PLANS OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

Moscow.—Rapid preparations are being made in Petrograd for the opening up of sea traffic. The merchant vessels are being put into condition because it is considered that a merchant marine is necessary in the spring for the reopening of relations with western Europe. In the Commissariat for Foreign Trade at Petrograd, and in the Council of National Economy they are working feverishly on fitting vessels and furnishing equipment for the imminent opening of the season.

FREE CAR RIDES IN PETROGRAD.

Moscow, March 5.—The Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet has suggested to its Communal Section to declare all traffic on surface cars to be free of charge.

APPEAL OF THE COSSACK CONGRESS|

Telegram from Moscow.—The Cossack Congress at Moscow which ended recently has addressed to the Cossacks who are still fighting against the Soviet power an appeal in which it says:

"Brother Cossacks! The laboring Cossacks, the first All-Russian Cossack Congress, elected by the Cossack villages peopled by the Don, Orenburg, Astrakhan, Ural, Semeretch and Siberian Cossacks, liberated by the Soviet power from the yoke of the generals and land owners, appeals to you to discontinue your murder of your brothers, your war against the workers and peasants. Cease to be executioners of the laboring people. The Czarist generals and land owners and manufacturers have deceived you. They have persuaded you that the Soviet power will destroy you. 'Cossacks, close your churches,' etc. All of this is the most detestable misrepresentation. The Soviet power will live with us, the working Cossacks, in peace and harmony. It comes to our help. Religion is not persecuted by anyone in Soviet Russia. On the contrary, all citizens have liberty to believe what they wish. The Soviet power, however, does not show any mercy to the Czarist parasite land owners, who are enemies of the laboring people. But every one of these is our enemy. Have the bourgeois not already robbed us enough, working Cossacks? Have the Czarist generals and police not sneered at us sufficiently? Brothers! Cossacks! Remember. Cease defending these parasites,—your blood will not save them anyhow. The counter-revolution is dead. It is hard for us to see you, our brothers, fighting by the side of the Czarist hangmen, whilst the majority of the laboring Cossacks fight on the side of the Soviet power. Your wives and children are waiting for you here, none of them has been harmed or dishonored by the Soviet power. The All-Russian Cossack Congress assures you that neither harsh inquiry nor punishment awaits you here, but the outstretched hand of brotherhood of the laborers and peasants."

THE PROGRESS OF RED LABOR ARMY.

Telegraph from Moscow, via Vienna.—Trotsky has sent a report of the progress of the Red Labor Army, covering the period from the first to the 17th of February. All those obstacles which confronted them in the beginning of the activities of this army, he says, are already overcome. The military conditions enabled the forces to be managed and controlled with much greater ease than would have been possible otherwise. We can count upon great successes in the future, he says. During the period mentioned the labor army has accomplished the solution of the fuel problem in the following way: It has obtained 90,000 cubic meters of wood and has delivered to railway stations half of this fuel and loaded upon railroad cars 16,000 cubic meters; in the transportation system it has repaired 97 locomotives, 104 railroad cars, cleared

tracks of snow over a distance of 102 versts, and loaded railroad cars and made ties; it has also been building hospitals, bath houses, and other health and sanitary establishments; it has repaired automobiles; surgical instruments; and has made linen garments. Two hundred and forty thousand red soldiers and more than two thousand civilians have participated in this work.

RAILWAY EQUIPMENT PRODUCTION.

Moscow.—During the year 1919, *Izvestia* states, 49 ordinary locomotives, 19 locomotives for use at the front, 27 armored locomotives, 77 passenger cars, 1,119 freight cars, 450 trolleys, 125 oil tanks, and one tank for military use were manufactured in the largest of the shops of Soviet Russia, at Sormov, Kolomna, Kuliabensk, Mityiteschensk, Kharkov, Ischevsk, Briansk, and other factories. Furthermore two hundred thousand poods of extra parts were manufactured. During the course of the year 80 ordinary locomotives, 12 armored locomotives, 145 passenger cars, 1,600 covered freight cars, and 26 armored platform cars were repaired.

RICH BOOTY AT ARCHANGEL.

Moscow, March 6 (radio via Christiania).—The booty which has hitherto been captured at Archangel includes more than 80,000 cartridges, 42,000 rifles, 92 Mauser rifles, 163,000 hand grenades, 170 cannon, 11 wireless installation apparatus, and several wireless apparatus, 6 aeroplanes, and 147 gallons of benzine, 24,000 gallons of lubricating oil, 6,000 tons of coke, 4,500 tons of coal, 1,000 scythes, 30,000 saws, 15,000 axes, 8,000 poods of soap, 20,000 poods of fish oil, 145,000 gallons of medicaments, 500 beds, 6 sanitary trains, 302 tons of meat conserves, 1,000,000 cans of condensed milk.

RECONSTRUCTION IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Telegram from Moscow.—In the Bogalov and Novgorod districts, the factories located there, which had discontinued for some time, have now begun to repair railroad cars. In a few days the artels of weavers will resume their activities.

News from Pakov states that in the city of Ostrov registration of all non-working elements has been decided upon, at a meeting of the Soviet, and all men able to work will be sent from the city to the rural districts for farm work.

WHITE RUSSIANS AND FINNS FLEE.

HELSINGFORS, Thursday, (N.P.C.).—The White Russian troops of General Skobeltsin have retreated for safety to Repola. The Finnish military school which up to the present occupied the village of Rajakontu in East Karelia, the scene of many skirmishes with the Bolsheviks, has been broken up. Wednesday afternoon the school troops retreated to the Finnish side. Shortly afterwards the village was occupied by the Bolsheviks.

Press Cuttings

RUSSIA WANTS PEACE.

The following letter from George Chicherin, addressed to a friend in France, makes it plain that Russia has neither desire nor intention towards aggression; that if peace is granted the attention of the whole country will be devoted to reconstruction and production.

January 31, 1920.

Dear Comrade.—I take this opportunity to emphasize and to beg you to do your utmost to emphasize, how false is the idea that we are preparing military attacks or invasions against other countries, and especially against the small border States' as if we were desirous of imposing Communism by violence from without.

Nothing is more false.

We are convinced of the coming victory of Communism in all countries, and this conviction is based on a survey of all the facts of the present historical moment. But Communism can only conquer by the peculiar development of the historical life of each country, as the result of the struggle of the working class itself in each nation. Any idea of implanting Communism by material force from without could only compromise it, falsify revolutionary development, hinder and retard the victory of our ideas.

It is consequently absolutely false to think that, when we seek to make peace with England, France, Esthonia, the other Baltic States, Poland, we are secretly cherishing aggressive intentions, and are only drawing back for the moment. It is an absolute lie.

Peace, definite and lasting peace, is what we seek, and we leave to the Esthonian working class masses the task of altering the system of society in Esthonia, to the Polish laboring masses the work of conquering power in Poland.

We desire peace, we need peace for our work of internal reconstruction. The latter is our fundamental aim.

Whatever the course of development in other countries may be tomorrow and the day after, we wish to arrive at a *modus vivendi* with them which will permit us to consecrate all our forces, to devote ourselves entirely to organizing and creative work at home, in Russia. Everything has to be reconstructed, rebuilt.

Every army at the front which is set free, as the result of its victories or the successful negotiation of peace, is immediately set to peaceful work, and employed in the war against Nature and chaos.

One of the armies, which yesterday was victoriously fighting Kolchak, is already occupied today in cutting wood, organizing the transport of fuel and food, repairing agricultural machines, assisting the local population in industry and agriculture. As the other armies, one by one, are freed from their military tasks, they will pass to the same task of peaceful labor.

But the use of the armies for industrial and agricultural work is only an expedient of short duration. We are suffering too acutely from the transport and industrial production crisis to deny ourselves recourse to labor-power organized in the form of armies, in order to satisfy the most pressing requirements and overcome the greatest straits of the crisis, which call for immediate and heroic measures. The latter are just as transitory, however, as the present painful state of industry and transport, ruined by the blockade and the civil war.

We are at the same time working out other plans, plans of a wider sweep, which can only be applied tomorrow, and which are destined to inaugurate a new, durable, and permanent order of things in our economic and social systems. The plans for universal compul-

sory labor which we are at present working out are drawn up for a long period of economic and social reconstruction in Russia.

In this respect we are pioneers, going forward on virgin soil; we have to work out, to discover a whole new positive system of human relations. The Congress of Economic Councils, at present in session, is discussing Trotsky's theses on Compulsory Labor Service, which constitute the first gigantic step forward into a new region of social activity. Our territorial organizations of the general popular militia must become the territorial organizations of the general labor service—social, useful, and destined for the common good.

We have to create a new labor discipline, basing itself on the universal realization of its necessity for the happiness of all. But, so long as this realization has not become general, compulsion will have to be applied.

Such is the gigantic problem we are placing before ourselves.

It must be ceaselessly repeated, it must be driven home to all who are capable of understanding, that war is only a necessity imposed upon us from without by an attack upon us, that we ask nothing better than to bring it to an end as quickly and as soon as possible, and that all our desires and all our ideas are turned in quite a different direction, towards peaceful, constructive, and creative work.

The Soviet Republic is in its essence a peaceful republic of labor.

Our arms are not the sword, but the hammer and the sickle. We only take up the sword to defend ourselves when we are attacked, and we lay it down as soon as our enemies permit. The hammer and the sickle are our true weapons; it is peaceful productive work to which we desire to devote ourselves.

Make this understood, and you will be contributing to the task of facilitating the coming of the new social order.

Communist greetings.

G. CHICHERIN.

Published in *The Call*, London, April 15, 1920.

RUSSIA

"And you, Russia of mine—are you not also speeding like a *troika* which nought can overtake? Is not the road smoking beneath your wheels, and the bridges thundering as you cross them, and everything being left in the rear, and the spectators, struck with the portent; halting to wonder whether you be not a thunderbolt launched from heaven?"

"What does that awe-inspiring progress of yours fortell? . . ."

"Whither then are you speeding, O Russia, of mine? Whither? Answer me!"

"But no answer comes . . . But rent into a thousand shreds, the air roars past you, for you are overtaking the whole world, and shall one day force all nations, all empires, to stand aside, to give you way!"

—From "Dead Souls," Nikolai Vasilevich Gogol.

MARTYRDOM OF RUSSIAN PRISONERS

Attention has frequently been called in these columns to the manner in which Russian prisoners were being treated in France. We had hoped that finally these victims of Czarist, German and French imperialism would be returned to Soviet Russia, but the French Government seems unwilling to permit them to go to any Russian ports through which they could reach Soviet Russia. All arrangements for repatriating them seem to be based on the hope of recruiting them in counter-revolutionary armies.

The possible resumption of commercial relations with Soviet Russia has not improved the condition of the Russian prisoners in France.

Our government is still holding them back in great numbers in certain concentration camps in France and Africa. In the camps at Souhemes, near Verdun, there are 600 of them. They had sent a petition to the Chief of Staff at Chalons to be repatriated to Soviet Russia. Under date of January 6, the President of the Council, Minister of War, replied to this petition by offering to repatriate the Russians to Southern Russia through the ports of Novorossiysk, at that time in Denikin's hands. Our Russian comrades know what fate awaits them in territory that is under the domination of the White Army. They reject an apparent liberation which is conditioned on the obligation to fight against the Soviet army.

Similar complaints are arriving in this office from the camp of Allibandier (Aube), where 3,038 of these unfortunates are victims of the most disgraceful treatment.

But sad as is the fate of those who are in the French camps, it is easy to bear when compared with the barbarism of the administration of the African prison camps.

From the *bagne* of Kebire, the Russians have sent a touching appeal to the Socialist and trade union workers of France and Africa.

They are demanding energetic action on our part to oblige the French Government to return their liberty to them and to furnish them the means of going back to Russia.—*Le Populaire*, February 8, 1920.

WHITE FINLAND AND KARELIA

Suomen Sosialidemokraatti reports that the Finnish state in the districts occupied by White Finnish troops in East Karelia has purchased great quantities of timber. About 30,000 trees have been cut down this winter, for which work the Finnish state has paid about 1,000,000 Finnish marks, and the payment for the lumber itself is only to be made after it has been transported into Finnish territory. The payment is to be made as an amortization of the loan received by the population in order to obtain foodstuffs. The work was carried out as an aid against unemployment and was paid for on that basis. If the situation remains unchanged until summer, the state will not suffer any losses, for it is believed that all the timber that has been cut down will have been transported by that time into Finland.

But various lumber firms have much greater interests to conserve in these districts. The greatest purchases of lumber have been made by the so-called Russian purchasing ring, to which belong the most important firms of Finland such as:

Gutzeit, Halls, Cederberg, Hackman and Salva. Their demands in Eastern Karelia amount to at least three million marks. In addition, other firms, standing outside of the ring, have also big interests to guard in Porajarvi and Repola.

It is therefore to the interest of the holdings of the stock companies that Finland shall continue its war against Soviet Russia.

"FREE CHURCH" IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Izvestia reports that the Archbishop at Penza, Vladimir, has offered a program for the activities of the Free People's Church to the executive committee of the district. In this program the sections dealing with the holy relics and the civil war deserve special attention. The new church is entirely at one with the Soviet power in declaring the statements concerning the holy relics to be a lie, used for the exploitation of the ignorant. The new church is willing to take all measures that may be required for the further unveiling of such swindles and frauds.

Archbishop Vladimir writes as follows, on the question of the civil war:

"Christianity condemns all bloodshed, and endeavors to attain eternal peace, but it does not deny class differences and the class struggle. The orthodox church itself fights against the oppression of the weak by the strong. From the point of view of the true orthodoxy the civil war is an inevitable evil and the only means of attaining the aim which is common to the People's State and the People's Church, to create eternal peace and to lift the banner of labor high upon a reconciled world."

SOVIET RUSSIA AND AUSTRIA

The following telegram of November 13, 1919, sent from Moscow, but which was deliberately withheld by the Austrian Government, has reached us through a different source:

To the Representatives of the Communist Party in Austria, Comrades Toman and Koritchoner:

The Executive Committee of the Third International received information to the effect that the Russian Proletarian Government is ready to receive in Soviet Russia a commission of the bourgeois Austrian Government for the consideration of the question of prisoners of war. There is a condition, however, that the Austrian Government should receive a similar commission from Soviet Russia.—*Swit*, February, 1920.

AMNESTY FOR RUSSIAN SOCIALISTS

The *Krasnaya Gazeta* (Petrograd) in its issue of February 27 reports the Government's ratification of a declaration of amnesty for all socialists who had turned away from Soviet Russia, as well as for such White Guards as were ready again to take up their work in the Soviet institutions, in case they had formerly held such positions.

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN MOSCOW

The registration of the craftsmen and small industrial enterprises, which started in September of this year, is being completed at the present time. According to the data of the Registration and Control Sub-Committee of the Art and Crafts Department of the Moscow Council of National Economy, there are 4,990 art and craft enterprises: shoemakers, tailors, chemists, production of food, etc. The prolonged registration can be explained by the fact that every enterprise was investigated in order to determine whether it really belonged in the hand-craft classification.

The registered craftsmen and first of all those engaged by order of the Municipal Council of National Economy, are to be supplied, as far as it is possible, with raw materials. The Art and Craft Department will also try to help the craftsmen to get back the art and craft productions and implements which were taken from them before the decree about the art and craft industry was issued. The latter question will be discussed in the board of the Municipal Soviet of the People's Economy.

Furthermore, the Municipal Council of National Economy offered to arrange for the municipal repair of shoes (according to orders), with the help of shoemakers who registered about 791.—*Economicheskaya Zhizn*, December 13, 1919.

POLISH COMMISSION TO RUSSIA

We wrote recently that a Polish reactionary party, which had been sent to Warsaw was withdrawn from the frontier line, because the Polish Government had not sent, as agreed, a group of revolutionists from the Polish prisons. According to the daily Warsaw press reports, the Government of Russia forced the Polish Government to carry out its obligation. A party of political prisoners left Poland for Russia. The inexact information of the bourgeois press forbids knowledge of the personnel of the party. There were altogether 170 persons of whom our Communist comrades undoubtedly constituted the major part. Some of them had been imprisoned since the establishment of the republic.—*Swit*, March 5, 1920.

SWEDES IN SOVIET RUSSIA SAFE

The following short article is quoted from Stockholm Dagblad of April 7:

The former Swedish attache in Russia, the actuary P. E. Brusewitz, arrived home on Easter day from Russia, where he has recently spent more than a month engaged in study. He has informed *Dagens Nyheter* that the Swedes in Russia are out of danger and may return home as soon as they like. All the Swedes in that country are at liberty with the exception of A. Laurin of Stockholm who was recently arrested. His case is now being tried. A preliminary permission has already been issued to those of our countrymen who wish to travel home and they will probably arrive here some time in May.

There are about 150 Swedes in Petrograd, most of them workers and almost all in the service of the Republic. Living conditions are quite poor. At Moscow, where there are about 50 Swedes, the conditions are decidedly better. While there were about 80 Swedes in Petrograd who declared themselves ready to return home, the corresponding figure from Moscow was only 25.

There follows a list, with which we are not burdening our readers, of all the Swedes living in Moscow and Petrograd. The complete list is on file in our office.

ICE BOUND BOAT IN KARA SEA

The Russian Soviet Government, as has been made known previously, recently applied to the Norwegian Government with a request for freeing the Russian ice breaker "Salorey Bondomerovich," which is firmly lodged in the ice in the Kara Sea with its crew of 80 men. The chief need was immediate forwarding of provisions. It has been now decided to send "Heimdal" to Murmansk with provisions for 80 men for one year. From this point the ice breaker "Poyarsky" will carry the supplies to the ice bound ship.

The provisions have been forwarded from the supply stores or the army at Trondhjem to Vardo, from which place "Heimdal" is to depart on the following Tuesday.—*Social Demokraten*, Christiania, March 27.

PLANS FOR EXCHANGE OF GOODS.

Communication from Reval.—The chief of the trade legation of the Bolsheviki in Esthonia, Gukovsky, has informed in the first place aims at the that Soviet Russia in the first place aims at the establishing of trade relations with America, England, Norway and Sweden. Soviet Russia has rich supplies of grain, wool, leather, flax, hemp and fur. It would be desirable that those states interested in exchange of goods should assist in the Russian means of transportation.

The Russian Cooperative Unions, which are represented by Gukovsky and Litvinov, consist mostly of organizations for the distribution of products. According to Gukovsky the English at Copenhagen have had a wrong conception of the cooperatives. If the English do not accept the Russian interpretation of the cooperatives it will be hard to predict the results of the negotiations of Litvinov. The English also make severe conditions for trading with Soviet Russia in case the exchange of goods is agreed upon. Reval will become the most important center of exchange. Railroad connection with Soviet Russia can be arranged from that point in two weeks.

Another official article on the United Consumers' Society will appear in the next issue of Soviet Russia. It is an excellent supplement to the article by Miasnikov which appears this week and which is also official.

Soviet Domestic Relations Law

(Continued from last week.)

PUBLISHED BY THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF JUSTICE

AN ACT RELATING TO CIVIL STATUS AND DOMESTIC RELATIONS: MARRIAGE, FAMILY, AND GUARDIANSHIP

ARTICE V.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF SPOUSES.

100. The parties to a marriage shall possess a common surname (a surname by matrimony). At the time of the marriage ceremony they shall determine whether they will adopt the husband's (bridegroom's) or wife's (bride's) or their joint surname.

101. The parties to a marriage shall keep their surname by matrimony during the continuance of the state of marriage and also after the dissolution of said state by reason either of death or a declaration by the court that one of the parties to the said marriage shall be deemed to be dead.

102. The petition asking for a dissolution of marriage by divorce shall state by what surname the parties to a marriage shall be known henceforth. In default of an agreement between the spouses on this question the divorced spouses shall be known by the surname which either of them bore prior to their marriage.

103. If the parties to a marriage shall be of different citizenship, provided that one of the parties is a Russian citizen the change in citizenship if any, shall be made in accordance with the wishes expressed therein by the bridegroom or the bride pursuant to the general rules relating to citizenship.

104. The change of residence by one of the parties to a marriage shall not impose an obligation upon the other party to follow the former.

105. The marriage shall not affect the separate rights of property of the spouses.

106. The parties to a marriage may enter into mutual lawful contracts pertaining to their property. Agreements concluded between spouses tending to diminish the rights of a husband or a wife over their properties shall be deemed void and not obligatory upon any person whatsoever including the parties to said agreements.

107. A party to a marriage unable to perform any work and being in a state of need (eg. unable to provide the minimum living expenses) shall be entitled to receive a support from the other party provided the latter shall be able to afford this support.

108. If one of the parties to a marriage shall refuse to support the other in case of want and inability to work the latter party shall reserve the right to apply to the Department of Social Security attached to the Council of Workmen and Soldier Deputies in the place of residence of the defendant whether husband or wife, and request the same to compel the said defendant to afford the support aforesaid.

109. A petition providing for the payment of alimonies shall be free of stamp duty and may be presented personally or sent by mail. Complaints may also be made orally provided that an official report thereof shall be prepared.

110. The said Department of Social Security upon the receipt of the said petition shall summon the plaintiff and the defendant or should it be convenient shall communicate with them by mail.

111. The said Department of Social Security after making a thorough inquiry and ascertaining the justice of the claims so presented shall decree that alimony shall be paid and shall determine the amount and form thereof.

112. The said decision of the Department of Social Security relating to the payment of the alimony shall be pronounced in an open session not later than one month from the day of the receipt of the said petition.

113. The said Department of Social Security in determining the amount and the form of the said alimony shall take into consideration the degree of exigency and the petitioner's ability to work as well as the minimum living wage, as fixed by the collective agreements concluded between workmen and employers in the locality under consideration.

NOTE: Persons under age, men who have attained the age of 55 years and women who have attained the age of 50 years shall be considered without any additional proof as incapable of performing any work.

114. The said Department of Social Security shall not be permitted to make a decision substituting periodical payments of an alimony by a single payment of a sum total of the said periodical payments.

115. The decision of the Department of Social Security relating to the payment of an alimony, the form and the amount thereof, shall be obligatory upon all persons and institutions, shall have the force of a judicial decision and shall be executed in pursuance of the general rules prescribed therefor.

116. Appeals by the interested parties against the decisions of the Department of Social Security may be brought at any time to the local courts.

117. The local court in deciding the question pertaining to the payment of alimony and in determining the amount and form thereof shall take into consideration the principles set forth in Sections 109, 111, and 114 aforesaid and the general regulations of the legal procedure prescribed for the local people's court.

118. A decision of the local court on any question raised by the appeal shall be subject to a further appeal in accordance with the general rules prescribed therefor.

119. In case either of the spouses shall be in a state of want and shall be unable to work at the time when their marriage shall be annulled by death or a judicial declaration that one of the parties to the said marriage shall be deemed to be dead, the survivor of the said marriage shall be given an alimony out of the property left by the deceased spouse.

120. An alimony shall also be granted to a spouse indigent or unable to work whose other party to a marriage shall be deemed by the court to be civilly dead.

121. In case the person dead or judicially declared to be dead or absent shall be the owner of a trading or an industrial enterprise the survivor shall be entitled to an alimony derived from the income of the said enterprise, which shall be managed henceforth by the local Council of Workmen and Soldiers Deputies.

122. Petitions pertaining to the payment of alimony or in cases specified in Sections 119 to 121 aforesaid shall be presented to the Department of Social Security attached to the Council of Workmen and Soldiers Deputies at the last place of residence of the person deceased or declared to be dead or absent.

123. In cases of immediate urgency the payment of an alimony to a spouse may be made temporarily by an institution engaged in the preparation of the inventory and the valuation of the property left by the deceased.

NOTE: The order for the payment issued of an alimony made by the institution mentioned in this section shall be immediately transmitted to a proper department of social security. In case there is a difference of opinion on the question of alimony between the said institution and the said department the matter in dispute shall be transmitted to a local court for a due consideration. Payments of said alimony shall be made without interruption until the original order shall be reversed by the said court.

124. The Department of Social Security in deciding the questions pertaining to the payment of alimony and in determining the amount and form thereof shall be guided by Sections 110, 111 and 114 aforesaid.

125. The decisions of the said Department of Social Security may be appealed from at any time by the interested parties by filing a suit in a local court in the form prescribed by law.

126. In case the matter in dispute between the plaintiff and the Department of Social Security shall not affect the right to alimony but shall merely extend to the question of the amount and form thereof. The said alimony shall be based on the amount and form ordered by the Department of Social Security until such time as the final decision shall be rendered thereon by a court.

127. The institution in charge of the property of the deceased spouse may within one month from the date of the said order file an appeal to the People's Commissariat of Social Security. In case the Commissariat of Social Security shall reverse the said order the matter in dispute shall be transmitted for the consideration of the local court. The filing of the said appeal against the said order shall not cause an interruption in the payment of alimony until the final settlement of the matter in dispute shall be arrived at by the People's Commissariat of Social Security or the local court.

128. An alimony paid to a spouse out of the property of a deceased spouse, shall be provided paripassu with the payments made to the relatives of the deceased, but in priority to the creditors against the estate of the deceased.

129. In case the total estate of the deceased shall not exceed in value 10,000 rubles and shall consist of a house, furniture and working implements for agricultural or trade purposes the said estate shall be delivered for disposal to the survivor. The said survivor shall dispose of the said estate in equal shares with the relatives entitled to share in the estate of the deceased.

NOTE: In case a dispute between the relatives and the spouse of the deceased shall arise pertaining to the management of the estate mentioned in the present section the matter of the dispute shall be transmitted to and decided upon by the local court.

130. The right of a spouse in case of indigency and inability to work to an alimony shall not be affected by a dissolution of the marriage by divorce. Until such time that a change in conditions entitling to an alimony occurred. (Section 107 above.)

131. In case the parties to a divorce come to an agreement on a question of alimony the court simultaneously with the rendering of a decision pertaining to the dissolution of marriage shall determine amount and form of alimony to be paid by one spouse to another.

132. In case of disagreement between the parties to a divorce the right of alimony, the amount and the form thereof, shall be considered in an ordinary law suit by the local court irrespective of the amount involved. Nevertheless prior to the final settlement by the court of the matter in dispute the indigent and unable to work spouse shall be paid temporarily an alimony in amount and form as determined by the court which has made the decree dissolving the marriage.

THE RUSSIAN FUGITIVES

The Russian fugitives who came from Murmansk to Tromso when the Bolsheviki occupied that place, and drove the English and Finnish White Guards therefrom in February, will, according to hearsay, be interned at Vaernesmoen. These reactionary fugitives, of whom there are about 700, will be accommodated at the expense of the military authorities of Norway, and those who need them will be supplied with civilian clothes at the expense of the state. The people of Tromso are much afraid of the anti-Bolshevik fugitives, on account of the epidemic.—*Folkets Rost*, (Norwegian).

NEW ANTI-BOLSHEVIST COALITION

According to a Lettish paper *Latvi Kar*, Hetman Skoropadski was at Berlin on March 13, occupied with the realization of a new alliance between the large land owners of Ukraine, the German reaction, and the Japanese, with a view to a new campaign against the Bolsheviki. Swedish military men take part in the enterprise, which depends particularly upon Mannerheim. The latter hopes to overturn the actual governments of Finland and Esthonia and to establish in both of the countries a base for future military operations.—*Le Populaire*, March 27, 1920.

SOVIET RUSSIA

will contain in its next issue, among other interesting articles, a continuation of the **DIARY OF L. Z.**, with her experiences on the Death Train; a story of **SIBERIAN SCHOOLS** before the Counter-Revolution, by Mrs. Gertrude Tobinon, and very interesting documents on the Reconstruction Work now going on in Soviet Russia.

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Economic Reconstruction in Soviet Russia

The basis for the socialization of the means of production and transportation must be solved in Soviet Russia by a process of adaptation to the economic conditions existing in the country. Whereas the large industrial undertakings could be transferred by one stroke into the possession of all engaged in work, that is the proletarian state, the small and the home industries as well as handicrafts must travel only gradually upon the long road toward socialization. The chief role will have to be played by the formation of producers' and consumers' organizations and by supporting the state in the domain of marketing and obtaining raw materials. The methods of expropriation or compulsion are here completely inapplicable and purposeless. These considerations have been laid down as a basis for the decree of April 26, 1919, pertaining to small or so-called home industries. Owners of home industry undertakings (which employ ten workmen at most and use one-horse power machines) are granted a right to use the raw material supply of the state. The articles manufactured by the workmen in home industries from the state raw materials must be delivered to the same organizations which delivered the raw materials. The articles manufactured of the raw materials monopolized by the state are to be distributed among the population according to a plan that must be endorsed by the state. As to articles that are manufactured of raw materials obtained by the home workers themselves, the latter are permitted to distribute them in the whole domain of Soviet Russia. Small industrial undertakings of home workers and artisans are subject neither to nationalization nor to municipalization.

While the Soviet power grants the small in-

dustry a right to an independent existence by the side of the large industry, it is endeavoring to form an organic connection between the two. The principles for such union are well indicated in a report which is a contribution to the study of the home industry region of Pavlovsk. There, the large industry must provide the small industry with experienced foremen and managers and must assign to it steady, not incidental, orders and for such articles as those, the production of which in a large undertaking would cost considerably more. Furthermore, the large industry must supply such half finished products as those without which the small industry in most cases is helpless; besides, rejected articles and pieces that cannot be used in large scale production but which are desirable for the small industry. On the other hand, the large industry is entitled to demand of the small industry the preparation of a staff of workers and employes possessing a sufficient degree of practical training, to bring forward a demand for relieving it from superfluous workshops of secondary importance, because the latter complicate and increase the cost of administrative apparatus, and to ask that such shops should be taken over by the small industry. Finally, the large industry may demand that such orders as require for their execution personal initiative and skill be taken up by the small industry. The approach of harvest time compelled the consideration of measures necessary for the best possible realization of this task. In order to relieve the situation arising from a lack of labor forces and to hasten the bringing in of the crops, special harvesting detachments were formed, composed of the workers and peasants of the provinces in greatest need, and sent to the

producing provinces. In the meantime the provisioning organs were busy taking hold of the surplus crops and administering measures for the supplying of the villages with manufactured products by way of exchange.

This process has brought to life in many places a method of dealing with peasant communities and cooperatives which has developed into a system. A computation is made of the crop figures on the basis of which the community gets a request for a certain amount of products. For its own part, the supply committee of the particular province assumes the obligation to place at the disposal of the community a certain amount of wares. The merchandise is delivered in the same degree as the contract is lived up to. In this manner the peasantry feel in reality that the receipt of the products of urban industry is connected with the delivery of the grain surplus to the city at maximum prices. A trial of this method was made last year in the province of Tula, and was crowned with success. Within the period of six weeks there was collected there 1,600,000 poods of grain in a single district.

The providing of grain is the barometer of the strength of the Soviet power and the durability of its conquests. The successes of the Red Army against Kolchak have not only opened to the Soviet Republic new sources of bread, but they have also greatly enlarged the grain stores in the neighboring localities. The confidence of the peasants in the solvency of the proletarian state, which is in a process of being built up, finds exact expression in the fact that they advance their grain on account. It is in place here to recall the words of Lenin: "When the peasant will see that the proletariat builds its power in a way indicative of care for order—and the peasant demands and asks for order, and justly so,—he will then, after a number of vacillations, follow the workingmen."

The village needs ware, agricultural tools and machinery. The situation of industry in connection with the blockade does not permit of a complete satisfaction of its needs. None the less it has been possible to provide the village with means of production to an extent greater than last year. For the period from October 1, 1918, to July 1, 1919, there were turned over to the villages the following products: 107,141 ploughs, 17,186 harrows, 1,420 sowing machines, 479,000 scythes, 5,563 harvesting machines, 1,178 flails, 2,438 winnowing machines, 56 locomobiles. Let it serve as a comparison to state that in 1918 there were delivered altogether 32,000 ploughs, 972 sowing machines, 100,000 scythes, and 72,000 sickles.

Still more has been done for the development of agriculture and the spreading of agricultural knowledge.

The agricultural institutes are being organized as tremendous work organizations. The recently opened institute of agronomy has had assigned to it 300 dessyatins of land, which is to be used by

the students for the organization of model farms for vegetable gardening. Seven hundred students have registered for the first semester, coming mostly from the peasant and workmen's circles.

The state production of grain from August, 1918, to August, 1919, amounted to 106,800,000 poods. Of this amount 1,500,000 poods fall on the first two months. There is reason to believe that the next harvest will yield twice if not thrice as much. The Soviet power has already at its disposal a more or less systematized supply-apparatus, which consists of 800 persons working in the territory to be supplied and more than 400 supply divisions with 15,000 workers coming from the contingent of peasants in the most needy provinces. It belongs to the duties of these divisions to take possession of the crop and to render aid at the harvesting. There exists besides a supply army of 5,000 men which is being kept for exigencies, in case the wealthy peasants in the villages who aim at grain speculation should offer resistance.

The state supply organ lacks only the necessary elasticity. It has specialized in the obtaining of grain products. The other agricultural products play a secondary role. The production of grain suffers from a lack of system and is entirely insufficient in its scope. Thus, for instance, the production of oil seeds did not exceed in the average one and a half per cent of the crop.

A differentiation of the supply apparatus according to the character of the products with the use of specialists for every particular territory—that is the conclusion which must be drawn from experience up to now. Where it is not a question of products for immediate consumption, there the best instructors on production may be procured from those branches of industry which are engaged in the working up of the particular products of agriculture.

A still greater elasticity is required by the actual organization for distribution. An organization that is to serve for supplying the whole population can be produced only through the efforts of the whole population. Such an organ is the cooperative organization.

The decree of March 20 carries out the principle of uniting all cooperatives that are found in one locality into a uniform cooperative organization of which every grown up person is bound to become a member. To this organization is assigned the most far reaching task of supplying the population with the products of every day use. The kernel of this cooperative association is naturally made up of the workers' cooperatives.

The Moscow Cooperative, built on the basis of this decree, represents a commune with the right of self-administration, to which belong all citizens who have the right of suffrage in accordance with the Soviet constitution. According to the statute, the cooperative takes over, outside of regulating distribution, a number of other creative and cultural tasks. It attends to the procuring of the

various products of every day consumption and of daily needs, organizes agricultural undertakings, dairies, vegetable gardens, creates for the members of the association organizations for the spreading of culture and education, carries on the study of the manners and customs of the population, etc. An all-Russian union of all such organizations, combined with the productive associations, will form the kernel of that organization which is destined to replace the state.

In order to get an idea of the basis on which the Moscow Cooperative is built let us produce some figures showing the development of the Moscow Central Workers' Cooperative. The returns for the first six months of the year (1919) reached the sum of three and a half billion rubles (for the whole of 1918 it amounted to 1,033,000,000 rubles). The membership was, on January 1, 1919, 130,000, on August 1, 1919, 321,000. The organization owns 147 food stores and five stores for manufactured products, besides eight department

stores. It possesses 32 agencies in Great Russia, Turkestan, White Russia and Lithuania. During the past year the agents of the cooperative bought merchandise for the sum of 321,000,000 rubles.

The cooperative has at its disposal tens of thousands of dessyatins of land which is used for horticulture; owns dairy farms; oil mills; a few drying lofts for vegetables, of this number four with machine appliances for drying and working capacity of a million poods. Outside of their own undertakings, the Moscow Cooperative imports the products from the gardeners' *artels* (small artisan cooperatives), vegetable gardeners, and fishers, with whom it has concluded contracts for delivery. The non-commercial part of the cooperative possesses eight district clubs, two libraries, six children's homes and six clubs for juveniles.

Such is the organization which is now being used as a basis for the Moscow Uniform Cooperative Organization. Its example will doubtless find imitators elsewhere in Russia.

The United Consumers' Society

The Soviet Authority has had to solve the extremely complicated problem of unifying the whole system of distribution, to destroy parallelism and the chaos connected therewith which is prevalent in this field, and to create new forms of distribution—such forms as would be consistent with the fundamental principles of Soviet policy,— in the sphere of economics and food. The difficulty of solving this problem lay in the fact that nothing new could be set up—the old cooperative apparatus had to be made use of and adapted, with the least possible disturbance, to new methods. Cooperation, in its day, grew up from the depths of capitalism, as a means of self-defence and struggle for existence used by the petty owners, uniting against organized capital. The European war facilitated the growth of the cooperative movement. All were thrown into it—all those whom the growing appetites of big capital threatened to turn out of the bourgeois world. The number of cooperative societies grew with remarkable rapidity, and, since the number of consumers' societies was increasing, a contradictory element was beginning to be felt, the beginning of which formed itself by its very nature of capitalistic cooperation.

At first only shareholders could take advantage of the cooperatives, whose members were thus distinguished from the rest of the population. But it was to their own interest to attract more and more members, to expand the limits of their activities and, finally, a network of all kinds of cooperative societies embraced nearly the whole population. The difference between shareholders and non-shareholders was eliminated. The cooperatives became the organ of the *whole population*, and the State could, and really ought to have taken ad-

vantage of this organ of distribution. By the decree of the 20th of March, 1919, the State took over this cooperative apparatus, which has taken deep root, and proved its utility, and is adapting it to the uses of social distribution.

Distribution, in this manner, is placed in the *hands of the population itself*. The fundamental principle of this system of supplying the population with all that is necessary is that of *self-activity*. But this principle of cooperation, which was formerly the motto of the egoistic, individual, privileged shareholder, in the hands of the Soviet state acquires a different meaning: *all the population* participates in procuring and distributing the products. In fact, all the population of the Soviet Republic is in one way or another bound up with the cooperative organizations. The decree of the 20th of March has made the registration of the whole population in the cooperative societies compulsory.

Having in this manner placed the distribution in the hands of the population itself, the State has taken steps by which the system of distribution should bear a strictly organized character. With this aim in view, it has united *all* the individual cooperative societies into *one* cooperative society, having one stock, one fund, one administration, its members being the whole population. Having created this single distributing apparatus the State removed its own organs from the direct participation in distribution, retaining only the function of supervision and control.

On the 20th of May, 1919, a decree was issued. During a period of five months a tremendous amount of work was carried out in preparing to put it into practice. A series of instructions and

regulations were worked out by the Cooperative Commission connected with the People's Food Commissariat, for the establishment of local organs (cooperative departments) to bring the decree into force, for preparatory work for the organization of districts and the registration of the population, for committees for supervising the realization of the union of the societies, regulations, etc. Furthermore, a period was appointed for the bringing into force of the decree, instructions were given and many other steps taken for its realization. Finally, a meeting of the representatives of the cooperatives belonging to the governmental food committees was held. In this manner the center worked all the time in perfect contact with the provinces. When the preparatory work was nearing completion, the process of uniting the cooperative societies was begun. It took place in a most easy and harmonious manner in Moscow, where the United Moscow Consumers' Society has existed since the 31st of July. It was composed of three organizations,—the food department of the Moscow Soviet of Workers' Deputies; The Moscow Central Workers' Cooperatives; and the consumers' society "Cooperation." In order to avoid misunderstandings and disputes in the matter of supplying the population, while these three organizations were being united, a supervisory committee was formed under the presidency of a member of the Moscow Soviet.

The union began its functions on the 31st of July, by the election of a provisional administration of the United Society. By the middle of September all the departments of these three organizations were finally united. From that time on, all further work of the distribution of food among the Moscow population has been carried on by the United Consumers' Society in whose hands is also the Central Registration Car Bureau, i.e., the registration of the Moscow population. The old organs of distribution are ceasing their activities. In the provinces, of course, the process of establishing one distributive apparatus is rather complicated as the work of registering the whole population into one society cannot proceed with such organization and rapidity as in large towns, where the card system simplifies matters. However, the reports of representatives of the Riazan, Orlov, Kursk, Moscow, Tver, Vladimir and a number of other governments, have made clear that the preparatory work for the bringing into force of the decree of the 20th of March is nearly completed everywhere,—the population is actually registered into the cooperatives nearly everywhere, the conditions for the passing of the decree are favorable generally, as the distribution is at present practically in the hands of the cooperatives; and the population is well disposed towards it. If, however, a slight tendency towards separatism is noticeable, it is only to be found among ill-informed persons, and therefore, in order to

hasten the realization of this reform, it is necessary to increase the staff of instructors.

What is the reorganized cooperative system? We will try to give a general explanation. All the population of each district is a member of one United Consumers' Society. All the citizens have the right to vote, in accordance with the Soviet Constitution, have the right to elect and to be elected in all the organs of the administration and control of this United Consumers' Society. All the citizens supervise the activity of this society through their representatives and the administration elected by them. The smaller districts merge into government (gubernia) "Alliances of Consumers' Societies" at the head of which are provisional administrations. These government alliances are the organs of supply and distribution among the groups of consumers' communes of a given district. The units of factory, works, and town consumers' communes, so-called government sections, enter, as autonomic sections, into the government alliances with the aim of immediate and direct distribution of food and articles of primary necessity among the workmen. In this manner, the workers' cooperative, as it were, operates on its own, and does not mingle with the other general cooperatives. This is explained by reason of the fact that the workers' cooperative does not contain any indirect outside elements, is more energetic and can serve as an example in the bringing into life of the fundamental principles of the decree. All these government sections unite into one Central Section, entering on an autonomic basis into the union of all government alliances, the Central Alliance.

The administration of the Central Alliance is in this manner the administration of the United Consumers' Society of the Republic. The United Consumers' Society, being an economic-technical organization, with the aim of carrying out the task of supplying and distributing, has in its possession all the stores, transport means, productive enterprises, farms, gardens, preparatory offices, agencies, distributing points, shops, institutions for public feeding, and medical and cultural institutions, which formerly belonged to private cooperatives, workers' cooperatives and the food organs of the state. Thus, owing to this unity, the Moscow distributive apparatus has in its hands: 1,300 shops, 107 warehouses, 268 feeding points, and 23,000 employees. With regard to the finances of this huge state apparatus, in the first place all the property and funds of all the cooperative societies have passed over to it; secondly, the society can take advantage of state credit; and finally, the advances received from the members can be counted on for the future. The reform is now being completed. By the 1st of November this unified distributive apparatus must start its activity. The state has laid the supply and distribution of food and articles of primary necessity on the shoulders of the consumers themselves—in the hands of the

consumers' organizations, retaining the right to supply such products as are obtained by state requisition (bread), leaving its distribution to these cooperative organizations. The decree of the 20th of March has opened a new path; great new perspectives in social construction have been opened, and, at any rate, such forms of capitalism as were expressed economically by the old cooperative societies, competing with each other, each tak-

ing the best for itself, without any system whatever, in every sense of the word "populist capitalists,"—have been destroyed. By uniting all the separated societies into one united system, and by drafting *all* as members of one single cooperative, the institution of a new life, closely bound up with the interests of a social state, to which it is united by ties of blood, and from which it must logically emanate, has been created.

Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK.

SUNDAY afternoon, May 10, at 2:28 o'clock, the wireless station at Moscow "suddenly stopped sending in the middle of a sentence, and since then has been silent."

This was despatched from London on May 13, and interpreted as a sign of a revolutionary uprising in Soviet Russia.

The London *Daily Mail* suggests that "the Polish and Ukrainian successes may have given the cooperative societies and other enemies of the Soviet Government an opportunity to attack the Bolsheviki."

I read this news, which was spread by the English and American newspapers, with great scepticism, seeing in it a new method of using the press for the benefit of Russia's enemies.

After a complete failure of the method of lies, the strategists of the reactionary coalition now turn to absolute silence concerning the Russian situation on the Polish front. There was little said about the successes of the Red Army during the whole period of its advance toward the west. Some short wireless messages from Moscow, which passed the censor, as by a miracle, reveal to us a series of reverses which the Poles have suffered since the beginning of March, and up to April 21, when the general counter-offensive of the Polish army, supported by Petlura's forces, began.

Everybody knows that the reports of the Soviet Government, good as well as bad, have always been valued by the public for their accuracy.

The New York *Times* of May 13 says that "The Moscow wireless usually was busy with all kinds of messages. It operated ceaselessly throughout the revolution and during the Bolshevik regime, apparently being a most efficient station, most likely would have an emergency installation, which could be operated in case of need. But the fact that no emergency installation has been used," the message adds, "suggests that the interruption is due to some extraordinary cause."

Having followed with the utmost watchfulness these wireless messages from Moscow, I can only state that if the Soviet wireless station was as active as is said by a representative of the Marconi Company, in an interview with the London *Daily Mail*, we have in reality read very little of

these messages in American newspapers, and in no case can the information which we have seen printed as *the wireless from Moscow* be taken as a proof of the great activity of the central wireless station of Soviet Russia.

The readers of our weekly may have seen that almost all wireless news published in the columns of *Soviet Russia* is of rather remote date, taken mostly from Scandinavian or other continental newspapers which reach New York, with some delay, by ordinary mail.

Consequently, the enormous material which the Moscow wireless station daily issued with the idea of keeping all the world fully informed about the situation in Soviet Russia was used as the private property of governments hostile to the Soviets. Naturally the enemies of Russia could take advantage of the frank and accurate Moscow reports and use them in accordance with their political and military needs. In a moment of grave danger for the Red Army in the field, therefore, there is nothing surprising in the fact that the Moscow wireless should stop sending messages.

On the other hand, the alleged silence of Soviet Russia can be explained by the fact that the messages flashed from Moscow may be of such character as reactionary censors may in no case be prepared to communicate to the press. A new attempt to issue lies would be dangerous; an absolute silence, without plausible explanation, would diminish the effect of the "victorious" cables from Warsaw, thus harming to a certain extent the plans laid by the reactionary coalition, which needs new funds for a continuation of its Polish adventure.

Therefore, a "silence of the Moscow wireless station" was invented, I suppose, as an excuse for keeping the public in complete darkness about Russian affairs, just at the moment when, again, all the Russian population rose against the invaders.

Without any hesitation, I can state that the Russian people are far from any intentions of counter-revolutionary character. On the contrary, they are united now, as they were never before. Even the element which shows some feeling towards the Soviet Government will willingly and enthusiastic-

ally respond to its appeal to fight the most hated and most reactionary foe—the militaristic Polish Shliakhta.

The Polish invasion—like the Japanese attack on Vladivostok—will result in a general uprising of the Russians, not against their government, but against the Polish army.

We can see this even amongst the Russians in America. Many Russians who seemed to be irreconcilable enemies of the Bolsheviki, approached me on several occasions, since the Polish offensive began, and each of them said almost the same thing: "Now we are ready to fight the Poles, together with the Bolsheviki." Each of these persons sincerely desired a full victory for the Soviets over the invaders.

Hated by all their neighbors, and by their "allies," the Ukrainians, more than by anyone else, the Poles are blindly advancing farther and farther into Russia, having forgotten the bitter lesson which their ancestors received in absolutely similar attempts, which ended in the partition of Poland. We must not overlook the fact that Denikin's failure in Russia was chiefly due to his advance in Ukraine. The well-known treachery of Petlura, in the rear of his advancing army, had bitter consequences for this counter-revolutionary general. The same, we may expect, will happen in Ukraine to the Polish army; in the present case, Petlura will be betrayed by his troops in the same way as he betrayed Denikin.

A letter, dated May 3, 1920, from Mr. Milton Wright, Director of the Ukrainian National Committee of the United States, published in the *New York Times*, can be taken as evidence of the way in which the Ukrainians look on their new ally and protector, Poland. Here are the opinions of Mr. Wright, as well as of Dr. Longin Cehelsky, one of the leading Ukrainian statesmen in Eastern Galicia, and a member, for many years, of the Galician Diet.

Dr. Cehelsky, it is said, has just arrived in the United States as a representative of the Eastern Galician Relief Organization.

"The occupation of Eastern Galicia by the Poles never can be accepted by the Ukrainians," says Dr. Cehelsky. The international recognition of the Polish occupation would mean nothing less than a new Armenia, and would be a source of never-ending trouble to imperialistic Poland. The 4,500,000 Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia, conscious of their nationality, succeeded, under the most difficult conditions, in developing their culture under the Austro-Polish regime. Afterward they set up their own government and defended their country for nearly a year against powerful enemies. They never will submit to Polish rule, but always will strive to unite with the major portion of Ukraine."

With regard to the present Polish drive into Russia, the letter says, that "recognition of Ukraine by Poland has practically no value. The

imperialistic, anti-democratic policies of the present Polish Government are contrary to the principles of democracy and self-determination which were proclaimed by America and the Entente Powers. Also, Poland today includes more non-Poles than Poles." "Poland represents the principles of aristocracy, imperialism and militarism. The offensive of the Poles in Ukraine will end in disaster, just as did the offensive of General Denikin." The latter failed, the letter states, "because he was reactionary, but the Poles are more reactionary than he was. Poland will never solve the problem of re-establishing peace and order in Ukraine . . ." The 40,000,000 Ukrainians certainly are able to find for themselves a government which they will consider a practicable one, and it is certainly not Moscow which is depriving them of their rights.

In Germany, the Polish invasion of Ukraine and Russia is considered as an extraordinary opportunity for the Germans.

The foremost military critics in Berlin regard the Polish invasion "merely as a hasty adventure" and "prophecy that the Bolshevik armies will speedily sweep the Ukraine clean of invaders." (*N. Y. Times*, May 13.)

Colonel Von Zielenievsky, Skoropadski's representative, in his interview with the correspondent of the *N. Y. Times*, was very pessimistic concerning the Polish operations in Ukraine, which he considered as "born of hysterical imperialism, backed by considerable power."

"I visited Poland only recently," he said, "and was very much impressed by the powerful army, which next to that of France, is doubtlessly the strongest in Continental Europe at present, counting nearly 500,000 men, officered mainly by able and ambitious Frenchmen, and splendidly equipped."

Colonel Zielenievsky fears that Polish ambition may not know where to stop. The Polish army, he thinks, is inspired by French officers, who do not want peace, but desire glory and advancement, and care little for Ukraine's fate. "The present enterprise, would therefore hardly end with liberation of Ukraine," he held, "but might lead to most fatal adventures that would soon involve Rumania and other European powers." This opinion was also expressed by us in our former article, and this opinion is shared also by Mr. Asquith, who on May 12, discussing the Lloyd George attitude towards the League of Nations, declared "that Poland is claiming territory as large as all of Germany, and populated by about 5 per cent of Poles." Mr. Asquith suggested that the matter "should at once be taken in hand before a situation is created which will be dangerous to the Poles now, or sooner, to the whole future peace of Europe."

And under these political circumstances, the Poles have to carry out strategical problems which millions of Germans failed to accomplish.

The evacuation of Kiev by the Soviet army began late on Thursday, May 6, and the crossing of the Dnieper was fully accomplished by the retiring Russians, mostly on boats. The Poles did not dare attack the Russian army, which moved on the left bank of the river under the cover of their numerous artillery. Even the Polish monitors, which steamed along the Pripet, reached the Kiev region only late on Saturday, May 8, after the evacuation was completed.

According to the cable from Warsaw, May 10, to the *N. Y. World*, the news of the occupation of Kiev caused little excitement in the Polish capital, because at Warsaw the people believed that Kiev was already captured a week ago, owing to the premature announcement of its capture after a complete defeat of the Russians. The evacuation by the Russians of their ancient capital was successful, thanks to the brilliant behavior of the Red Army, whose task it was to cover this operation.

Even the Associated Press, in its dispatch from Warsaw, of May 12, described the rearguard battle of the Russians around Kiev. "An official communication announces that the Bolsheviki, after bringing up reinforcements, launched a counter-attack. The ground changed hands in the infantry encounters, and the Poles and Ukrainians captured two newly arrived battalions." "Lively air fighting" is also mentioned in the communique, against the Kosciuszko squadron, commanded by American officers.

At the same time, the Petlura regiments moved toward Odessa, along the Odessa railroad, and occupied the town of Kniazopol. The Ukrainians claimed a thousand prisoners in the region of Czeczyca, west of the Dnieper.

North of Kiev, the enemy, as is alleged, forced the Russians to fall back along the Berezina, capturing Rezhitsa, an important Dnieper river crossing; the fighting, the message says, is now going on over a front of approximately 420 miles. The American Red Cross is very active, and twenty-two cars of Red Cross supplies were to leave Warsaw for Kiev, in charge of Major Charles Halliday, of Metropolis, Ill.

The London dockers, meanwhile, have decided "to take drastic action with regard to the shipment of munitions of war to Poland, or other enemies of Russia, by refusing to load such cargoes on boats bound for those destinations." This action was precipitated by the refusal of a number of dockers engaged in loading aeroplanes and guns upon the *Jolly George*, a tramp steamer of 900 tons, now lying in the East India docks, to continue such work, on the ground that the cargo was bound for Poland, "for use against the Bolsheviki" (*N. Y. Times*, May 13). The situation of the Russian army, difficult as it may look, is far from dangerous. The position in the Far East improves every day, and there is no danger threatening Siberia from Japan. Only today, I had

an opportunity to speak with a Russian officer who has just reached New York from Vladivostok, and who was with me in the same staff during the Russo-Japanese War. He knows Japan well, and agrees with all the statements I have published in the American press in connection with Japanese movements in Siberia. "The Japanese cannot and would not dare to make war against Russia, they know that they will be beaten," he said.

The alleged recovery of the White army, now sheltered in Crimea, under General Baron Vrangel, is a senseless dream of a group of brainless Russian monarchists abroad who, even in the Polish invasion, are ready to behold the downfall of Soviet Russia. They have lost everything except hope and of this they cannot be deprived.

But the short news published in the *Globe*, May 12, from Prague, Czecho-Slovakia, dated May 10, and from Vienna, May 8, have great significance: "A serious political situation is ripening in the Teschen district of Silesia," says the message from Vienna, "a heavy concentration of Polish troops on the frontier is noted." On the other hand, "the Maehrisch Ostrau coal miners near Orlan have formally notified the Allied Plebiscite Commission in the Silesian district, that unless they are guaranteed against further aggression by Polish miners, they will shut down the entire coal-fields within fourteen days. This action follows repeated reports of outrages."

And this is not from the Moscow wireless station.

Summing up the political and military conditions, under which Poland is invading Russia, I come to the conclusion that the period of the Polish victories has attained its zenith, and that we shall soon hear, in spite of the silence of the Moscow wireless, of a powerful counterstroke of the Red armies, which was precisely the case with the Poles, as far back as the seventeenth century; and, later, when the Reds met the invasion of Denikin near Tula.

The *New York American*, May 11, informed us "that Leon Trotzky, the Soviet War Minister, has gone to the Polish fighting front, to assume direction of the Soviet's campaign against the Poles, says the staff correspondent of the *Daily Express*, at Moscow."

Let us remember that Trotsky arrived at the critical moment in Petrograd and it was he who, at the most dramatic epoch of the Denikin offensive, from Orel on Tula, was with the Red Army. The result of his presence we know. Let us calmly await the same fate for the Polish invaders. History is repeating itself with extraordinary accuracy.

The Poles will be beaten. Polish imperialism, like Prussian Kaiserism, will vanish, and on the wreck of the present Poland, a Soviet Poland will arise, and then it may be as large as its population may consider necessary.

Russia's Problems Before the Central Executive Committee

[A full report of two of the sessions of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee is presented below. We believe no other such full report has ever been printed of these sessions, outside of Russia.]

The Russian wireless issues the following account of the conference of the All-Russian Supreme Executive Committee, held in Moscow in the Kremlin, February 2. This body, representing the supreme legislative power of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, met in accordance with the decision of the 7th All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which ordered that this body hold sessions every second month, for the purpose of receiving and passing upon reports presented by the permanent presidium of the Executive Committee and by the Council of People's Commissars, and to discuss other measures required by the prevailing political and economic situation.

Lenin's Report.

The first session of the conference took place in the Kremlin on February 2. The President of the Council of People's Commissars, N. Lenin, presented a report on the general policies of the Workers' Government of Russia. Lenin stated in his report that the international position of the Soviet Government is now more secure than ever before, as a result of the victories of the Red Armies on all fronts. The Entente Governments are beginning to understand that it is not easy to crush Soviet Russia with the aid of the White Guard counter-revolution. This is the main reason for the lifting of the blockade. The decision of the Supreme Council of the Entente Governments, of January 16, practically represents an indirect recognition of Soviet Russia and marks the beginning of a new era of the Socialist Revolution. The opposition of the laboring masses everywhere in the world against the blockade of Soviet Russia played an important role in the decision of the Entente. It has thus become possible for Soviet Russia to open a window toward Europe.

"Another victory in the domain of our foreign policy is the conclusion of peace with Esthonia, which the present session of the All-Russian Executive Committee is called upon to ratify. This represents an event of the greatest historical importance. A bourgeois government of a small nation has entered into an agreement with us, preferring peace with us, because it clearly understands the robber plans of imperialism, the oppressor of small nations. We brought about this peace at the cost of territorial concessions and by recognizing the independence of Esthonia. Through our victories over Denikin, Kolchak and Yudenich we have demonstrated our ability to oppose force with victorious force and our peace agreement with Esthonia has demonstrated that we are also able to win by declining to employ force."

Lenin read a series of documents delivered to

the Soviet Government by a White Guard officer, Orlenikov. These documents demonstrated that the Russian White Guard diplomacy had exerted all its powers to persuade Esthonia not to make peace with Russia. "Our relations with Latvia have so far been limited to negotiations regarding exchange of prisoners, but the conclusion of peace with Esthonia will compel Latvia in the very near future to define her future relations with Soviet Russia. Our relations with Poland are more complicated. Tremendous efforts are being made to incite Poland into a war against us. The Polish question is very acute. The Council of People's Commissars addressed the Polish Government announcing our willingness to establish peaceful relations with Poland. We urge the Executive Committee to ratify this move. We are also sending an appeal to the laboring masses of Poland.*

"Against us are the imperialists of the whole world. For us are the laboring masses of all countries. The future will show who will be the victor.

"We proposed to the Governments of Georgia and Azerbaijan concerted action against Denikin. but we were met with a refusal. Very soon we will know what the working masses of these countries have to say about that.**

"In the East the prestige of Soviet Russia is very high. The colonies, who have themselves experienced the oppression of greedy imperialism, are more and more inclined to ally themselves with us. Our task is a compact union of small nations against imperialism."

In his report on the internal policies of Soviet Russia, Lenin dwelt upon several questions which required the ratification of the Executive Committee. The Council of the People's Commissars, at the recommendation of the Chairman of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, abolished capital punishment. As soon as our full victory on the counter-revolutionary front was established the Workers' Government found it permissible to abolish extraordinary methods of punishment.

"Another important question which demands the action of the Executive Committee is the question of labor inspection. On this question a separate report will be presented by Kamenev.

"A problem of the greatest importance is the decision of the Council of People's Commissars regarding the development and unification of the

* A full account of the recent relations of Soviet Russia and Poland, with full texts of notes passing between the two countries, will appear in the next number of *Soviet Russia*.

** But these governments have since adopted a more friendly attitude, and it is very probable that they are now already in alliance with Soviet Russia.—Editor *Soviet Russia*.

cooperatives. We desire that the Russian Soviet Republic in its entirety shall become one single cooperative of the workers. Cooperatives of small property owners, who demand free trade, represent forms of cooperation which mean nothing else than profit for a few and privation for the majority of the population. There is no place in Soviet Russia for such cooperatives."

Discussing the measures for the organization of labor armies, Lenin explained in detail the necessity of such measures during the transition period from a state of war to conditions of peaceful economic construction. Extraordinary measures are necessary to deliver the country from the terrible consequences of economic disruption.

"Our most important task is to create supply reserves for the workers of large industrial centers and to reconstruct the disrupted means of transportation."

Lenin concluded his report referring to the very important measures undertaken by the Executive Committee of the Commissariat of Agriculture for the electrification of the industrial centres of Soviet Russia.

After Lenin's report, Kamenev presented a draft of a proclamation addressed to the people of Poland. The Executive Committee accepted the proclamation with slight changes. The decision to abolish capital punishment was adopted unanimously.

Markhlevsky, representing the Polish Communists working in Soviet Russia, read a protest issued by such Polish Communists, denouncing the lies disseminated by the enemies of Soviet Russia. "The Polish capitalists and land owners," he said, "are eager to incite the Polish workers into a state of war with Soviet Russia and to attain their purpose they are spreading lies about the Communist Party."

SECOND SESSION.

At the second session of the Executive Committee, on March 3, the President of the Supreme Council of National Economy, Rykov, presented a report on the economic policy of the Soviet Government.

Rykov's Report.

Rykov pointed out that our economic disruption is caused not only by the external attacks, but also by the civil war, which at times raged over almost all the territory of Soviet Russia. Bridges, roads and factories have been destroyed. Kolchak's policy in retreating was to carry away by force a great part of the skilled workers and almost every technical expert.

"Production in our factories has greatly decreased, especially in the metal industry. The production of foodstuffs and leather, on the other hand, has not only not gone down, but has actually increased.

"Our victories over the counter-revolution, however, give us at this time an opportunity rapidly to improve the economic life of the country. We

have now in our hands the most important sources of raw materials and fuel. The Urals, Siberia and the Donetz basin are in our possession and the victories of the Red Army have caused the breaking down of the blockade. With the commencing of the exchange of commodities, we shall take from western Europe in exchange for our raw material only such commodities as are absolutely indispensable, and not what is offered us. Up to the present, western Europe has offered us unimportant manufactured goods, dried vegetables, and vinegar (!), whereas we need lathes, tools, machines, etc., whereby we may accelerate the reorganization of our productive enterprises. It is also obvious that western European countries are more to be benefitted by the exchange of products than is Soviet Russia. Although available stores of raw materials have been greatly depleted, we are still able to exchange a certain amount of such materials for goods needed by us. We are able immediately to export not less than two million poods of flax (72,000,000 lbs.), several millions pieces of all kinds of furs, a great quantity of platinum, about 100,000 poods (3,600,000 lbs.) of bristles, and great amounts of lumber. In exchange for this, we will accept only such goods as are indispensable for the rehabilitation of the basic productive enterprises of the country.

"The nationalization of the means of production has developed rapidly in all fields of industrial production. At the present time we have in our hands about 4,000 nationalized factories, in other words, we have been able to nationalize not only the big industries, but also a considerable number of smaller enterprises.

"During the past two years we have endeavored to concentrate available supplies of raw material, fuel, and labor in such factories as are best organized and most up to date. This process of concentration has progressed very rapidly: 30 per cent of all the enterprises have been unified into socialistic 'trusts.' The number of workingmen in these factories is 74 per cent. We find that by concentrating 74 per cent of the industrial labor in 30 per cent of our factories we have been able to economize on overhead expenses to a great extent.

"Our most important problem at this time is the reconstruction of the means of transportation, and thereafter, to create large reserve funds of food supplies, fuel and raw materials, which will form a basis for a rational organization of the economic life of the country."

Rykov discussed at great length the problems connected with the exploitation of the immense national wealth of the country. Immense stores of slate, peat, coal and oil are now available. Especially, there are great supplies of slate and peat in the Volga valley.

"The utilization of slate is a new field, which received no attention in Russia during former regimes, but which has been fully studied and worked up by the Soviet Government. The preliminary

experiments in this field have been completed, and two big government plants are now exclusively exploiting the slate deposits. Deposits of slate and peat are immense. They exist in northern Russia as well as in the Volga valley. This kind of fuel is very bulky and cannot be transported. Peat and slate must be utilized on the spot, and electrical energy derived therefrom made to supply the needs of the surrounding territory. This condition led the Supreme Council of National Economy eighteen months ago to undertake the building of gigantic power stations which would use on the spot the available peat and slate supplies. Provincial cities and rural organizations have also taken steps for the electrification of their territory. It is necessary to consolidate these efforts and to create a unified, centralized system of supplying electric power, whereby the utmost attention must be given to supplying electricity to the rural communities. The realization of these plans would greatly accelerate the development of relations between the cities and rural communities."

In conclusion, Rykov expressed his conviction that the economic disruption will be conquered through intensive labor on the part of the conscious proletariat, through the establishment of universal labor service, through the organization of labor armies, etc. In this manner, Soviet Russia will rapidly heal the wounds caused by the world war and the civil war, and bring Russia's economic life to a high level.

Labor Mobilization.

The Chairman of the Supreme Revolutionary Military Council, Trotsky, presented a report on the mobilization of labor.

Trotsky first gave an outline of the situation on the various fronts.

"On the western front we note first of all the complete collapse of Yudenich's army. On the Esthonian front military activities have ceased altogether. But the extreme imperialistic elements of the Entente Governments are trying to incite against us a new enemy—the Polish Government. It is to be hoped, however," said Trotsky, "that the Polish Government will display sufficient caution and common sense to refrain from attacking the Soviet Republic."

"The Soviet Government," said Trotsky, "has fully demonstrated its peacefulness. You have accepted the manifesto of the Soviet Government to the people of Poland. The Soviet armies will not encroach on the line of demarkation, but if the Polish Government, disregarding the interests of the people of Poland, will undertake an attack on Soviet Russia, the armies on the western front, with the aid of the necessary reserves, will do their duty to the end.

"The eastern front is completely liquidated. On the southern front we are finishing Denikin, after having effected a necessary regrouping of our forces.

"We are approaching the final liquidation of the civil war. We are unable, however, fully to demobilize the army until we receive serious international guarantees for our national integrity. We are demobilizing certain parts of our army, but will retain some permanent forces in endangered territories for the safeguarding of our national existence.

"The demobilization in the army represents our transition to a militia army. The organization of our militia army will have to correspond to the needs of the economic life of the country. We will have to reorganize the administration of each territory, with due consideration for the position of important industrial centers. Our economic problems depend on the proper relation between the large manufacturing industries and agricultural production. Our economic administrative districts must be composed of industrial centers surrounded by rural districts gravitating toward that center. Our militia districts must correspond to such rural districts. The centers of such districts will be located in the productive centers, where we have on hand a nucleus of workmen who are trained to be leaders of the economic as well as of the intellectual and political life of the district. The officers of our future army, now being organized by us, must at the same time be the officers of our industries. They are our best workers and our best and most conscious working peasants, who will be the leaders of our industries and of our agriculture. In such centers we will also establish educational courses for the training of Red commanders, to replenish the present commanding element, and at the same time not to detach the future Red officers from their productive bases."

Having described the organization of the labor battalions, Trotsky discussed at some length the question of universal labor service and of the registration of the labor forces.

"The economic condition of the country," he said, "demands the establishment of universal labor service. Whereas we are compelled to mobilize the industrial workers through the apparatus of the trade unions, the enrolling of peasants in the universal labor service is possible only by undertaking a mobilization along military lines. For this purpose it is necessary to organize a Supreme Committee of Labor Service, which will be the principal agent for supplying labor forces for the needs of the workers' government. It is necessary to concentrate all requisitions for labor in the hands of a centralized organ, to avoid confusion and conflicts of authority. Some of our needs require seasonal work, some periodical, others temporary; and still others permanent, employment of labor. It is the task of local committees to see to that no conflicts arise in this respect."

Trotsky emphasized the tremendous difference between compulsory labor under conditions of private ownership and under conditions created by the establishment of a socialistic state. "Only peo-

ple who think along the lines of a bourgeois liberal ideology are unable to see this vast difference. In former times we had to submit to compulsory labor to strengthen the rule of the serf-owning landlord. Now we are working for ourselves,—for the building up of our own socialistic society. The state of the workers and peasants has responsibilities towards each citizen; but at the same time the duty of every citizen is to give the whole of his labor to the socialistic state.

“To facilitate the introduction of universal labor service it is necessary to conduct energetic educational work along broad lines, among the peasant population. It is necessary to explain to the peasants that by giving bread and labor to the state they will get in the very near future manufactured products which will be supplied in sufficient amounts by our own industries as soon as they have been revived. It is necessary to increase verbal and written propaganda among the peasants and to explain to the most backward peasant man and woman, the nature of the Soviet Republic as a cooperative state founded on the principle of social, unified labor.

“We must borrow from the Red Army that enthusiasm, that ability of effort which made it possible for us to become victors on all fronts,—this is that ‘militarization’ of our productive life, which has been so much discussed. It is nothing but the development among the laboring masses of a high class labor discipline, a spirit of self-sacrifice and firmness.

“Our most dangerous front at this time is the economic front. There we are threatened with hunger, cold, epidemics, etc. This danger is much more formidable than the danger from Denikin, and it demands the concerted efforts of the entire country. Our greatest problem at the present moment is the organization of a large reserve of supplies. But for this purpose it is necessary first of all to reorganize our means of transportation. We must gather all available supplies of raw material, food and fuel, and bring it to the industrial centers by all possible means, by rail wherever possible, or, if necessary, carry it on our own backs.

“This problem is many times as difficult as the military problems which have confronted us. There is no doubt, however, that we shall solve this problem as we have solved all our other problems, thanks to the heroism of the working class. Millions and tens of millions of workers must take a hand at this new, live, creative work and only then will we be able to elevate our country from the depths of filth, poverty and disease.”

Report by Krassin.

Krassin, People's Commissar of Ways and Communications, reported on measures taken by the Commissariat in its struggle against the disruption of means of transportation. The situation in this respect during the past two months has become much worse, he said.

“It should be remembered, however, that a trans-

portation crisis prevails at this time not only in Soviet Russia, but in every other European country. Railroads have been utterly exhausted during the imperialistic as well as during the civil war. The destruction of rolling stock by the White Guards, the food crisis, the labor crisis, the fuel crisis,—these are reasons for the breakdown of transportation. The number of sick locomotives has increased to 56 per cent and the situation is getting very threatening. The only escape from this dangerous situation lies in heroic efforts on the part of the working class and in a more efficient and organized application of labor. We are confronted with the task of creating a railroad personnel as efficient and harmonious as is the Red Army, wherein every member is imbued with the importance of his task.”

Discussing internal reforms undertaken by the Commissariat, Krassin emphasized the very important function of the political organization connected with the Department of Ways and Communication. Trusty political workmen, Communists, are employed in every district in the railways, engaged in the task of counteracting laziness, exploitation and speculation, and educating the large masses of the railroad proletariat fully to understand the necessity of a regularly functioning railway transportation. Of great importance has been the agreement made between the Commissariat of Ways and Communications and the Commissariat of War, regarding the utilization of the reserve army of Kazan for a month's work on the railroad line between Kazan and Moscow and Kazan and Yekaterinburg, and regarding the participation of the Red Armies on the Western front for the repair of rolling stock. It may be noticed that only a month after the establishment of such cooperation very good results were achieved on the railroad line Moscow-Kazan. The Commissariat notes with great satisfaction great improvements in the speed with which wagons are loaded, the increase in the number of supply trains to Moscow, an increase representing (20 per cent) the increase in the supplies of fuel, the achievement of greater regularity in the train schedules and an increase of repaired locomotives.

Report of Zurupa.

A report was presented by the Commissar of Supplies, Zurupa. He reports that by the first of February, the Commissar of Supplies had gathered a reserve fund of various supplies to the amount of 108,000,000 poods (3,800,000,000 lbs.). The Commissariat of Supplies has at its disposal at the present time: 34,000,000 poods (1,224,000,000 lbs.) of grain, including 10,000,000 poods (360,000,000 lbs.) of oats and 30,000,000 poods (1,080,000,000 lbs.) of hay. The supplies of grain are 50 per cent greater than at the corresponding time last year. On the other hand, great difficulty has been encountered in gathering vegetable fats, due to the fact that those parts of Russia which supply oil-seeds have been ravaged by Denikin's

troops. Available meat supplies amount to 6,500,000 poods (234,000,000 lbs.), potatoes 23,000,000 poods (828,000,000 lbs.) and dried vegetables 100,000 poods (3,600,000 lbs.). The condition of the railroads is such, however, that it is very difficult to bring these supplies to the hungry districts and great privation prevails in many parts of Russia for this reason. The Commissar pointed out that the willingness of the peasant population regularly to supply breadstuffs is increasing now, and that the Commissariat is developing measures for the supply of other rural

products, such as milk, butter, game and eggs.

The activities of the Commissariat of Supplies had encountered much criticism, and the Communist Party of Russia had suggested that the Executive Committee should appoint a committee to reorganize the machinery of the Commissariat of Supplies. This suggestion was accepted by the Executive Committee and a committee of three was appointed, one member representing the Executive Committee, one member from the Commissariat of Supplies, and one member from the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions.

Siberian Schools Before the Kolchak Reaction

By MRS. GERTRUDE TOBINSON.

Public schools were not in existence in Siberia during the old regime. The existing schools of that time were privately owned and controlled by the rich and by the priests. Consequently, only the wealthy enjoyed the privilege of having their children educated. Besides, the requirements of the schools were such that it was economically impossible for the workers and peasants to comply with them. Tuition fees were charged; the children had to be elegantly dressed or they were made fun of, and it was a strict rule to wear uniforms. As a result, the poor remained uneducated and we therefore find at present so many Russian peasants and workers who cannot read and write.

When the first revolution occurred in March, 1917, the teachers in Siberia started a movement for the establishment of public schools. But no assistance was given to them by the Kerensky government, which was too busy preparing and mobilizing the best and strongest sons and daughters of Russia for war. The problem of education in general, and in particular the public schools, remained untouched except for a few philanthropic societies that opened private charity schools for the poor. The teachers, realizing the importance of a change in the educational field, were patiently waiting and hoping for a change in the government.

With the approach of the Bolshevik revolution in November, 1917, the teachers began to see a possibility for the realization of their dreams. Indeed the most significant phenomenon in the process of reconstruction in Siberia was the attention given to education. When the Soviets were established, the teachers immediately called conferences all over the country for the purpose of changing the entire system, in fact, with the intention of building up a new system of education. A split occurred at each conference, with the majority expressing sympathy and confidence in the Soviet Government. Only a handful of the old reactionary teachers resented the formation of a union and recognition of the Soviets. But the opposition was so insignificant that it did not count. It was

the dying old order. The new generation had come to rule.

There sprung up at that time teachers' unions in each city, which were composed of young men and women full of enthusiasm, idealism, and devotion to a new form of education. Many girls and boys whose fathers were officers in the old regime were compelled to leave their homes because of the attitude they took to the Soviet Government. In Khabarovsk, the city where I had the pleasure of spending nine months, many young girls who had recently graduated from *gymnasiums* left their homes to join the teachers' union. They lived in the Teachers' Home, a building which was rented by them for that purpose. There they would come together evenings, sitting in candlelit rooms, sipping their sugarless tea, seeing visions and enthusiastically discussing the best means for bringing them to life. "We must," they would say, "appropriate for this purpose the finest and most sanitary buildings of the city. We must organize the mothers and bring education within the reach of the peasants and workers." They would come together night after night, planning, discussing and dreaming. There were among them Bolsheviks, Left Social Revolutionists and even Mensheviks—all with one idea and one purpose,—to work with the Soviet for the progress of free education.

Immediately after the election of one of the ablest teachers to the State Soviet, the best buildings were assigned for public schools. Children from the city and surrounding villages began to pour into these buildings. Notwithstanding the fact that they were greatly handicapped by the lack of a sufficient number of teachers to cope with the situation and the lack of new text books (the old text books were entirely discarded), they showed wonderful progress in a very short period. In addition to the public schools, various educational institutions were established. Workers' universities, evening schools in the unions, a conservatory of music were established in the city of Khabarovsk. Libraries were opened in practically every

street, a call for donations of books was enthusiastically responded to, the old libraries which had been neglected were cleaned, the cobwebs wiped away, and books were put on the shelves for public use.

An educational committee was elected for the purpose of making inquiries into the moving pictures that were shown to children. This committee brought into the moving picture theatres pictures that were of educational value, thus using the motion-picture as a means for better education.

The new public schools were conducted in the most democratic manner. The old system of having principals to watch the teachers was abolished. There were to be not more than 25 children in one class and this number was to be reduced as soon as the scarcity of teachers could be filled. There were set hours at which to come and leave the classes, but once in school, the children were made to feel that it was not only a place where they had come to learn to read and write, but a place of comradeship and love as well. Every morning they would elect a chairman from among themselves, and decide upon the subject to start the day's work. On bright sunny days the studies were conducted in nearby parks by request of the children themselves. In spring instructions in gardening and the planting of flowers predominated. The children derived much pleasure from the task of planting flowers in the gardens of the Soviet building.

On visiting the classes I observed the happy and joyous expressions in the children's faces, regardless of the fact that they were poorly clad, bare-foot, pale and often hungry.

The main object of the teachers, although young and inexperienced as they were, was to study and to know each individual child and to develop the best that was in it. Very often they would visit the parents to study conditions at home in order to better understand the children.

How sad it is to think that the birth of this new and free education, the first light that dawned in Siberia, was extinguished, when the allies in 1918 formed a pact with a handful of reactionaries in Siberia and crushed the People's Republic.

I recall a conversation I had with one of the teachers in Khabarovsk after Vladivostok was invaded by the Entente power and the menace was threatening the city. "Yes," he said, "it is coming. I feel the wing of reaction spreading once more over our heads. What will we teachers do, you ask? We will never submit to the old order. The people will not stand for it. Once they have tasted freedom, they will endure slavery no more. It is a pity," he said, "all our endeavors, all our strivings will be destroyed, but we shall not submit. We will leave the city schools and go to the villages to teach the peasants and will patiently wait until the Allies withdraw their troops. Then we will continue our work for reconstruction and progress and free education for Siberia".

A Swede Visits Russia

By OTTO GRIMLUND.

PETROGRAD, March 29.—My impression after having undertaken studies in various fields, and after conversations with persons in various positions and of different political views, is that the Soviet power in the year that has elapsed since my last visit, has not only solidified its position, but that it has also built up a system of production and national organization that is based on very secure foundations. The population of Petrograd has suffered much this winter from hunger and cold, and especially these spring months are a time of great food stringency, which, however, seems easily capable of solution by energetic work on the part of the Provisions Commissariat. The situation is critical, but all are firmly convinced that it will be possible to fight one's way through the difficulty. Particularly children are being well taken care of; 28,500 children get daily dinners, which are better and more nourishing than the rations (about a million in number) which are distributed to grown-ups. For the striking metal workers in Sweden there have been collected to date not less than 10,000,000 rubles. At a meeting yesterday we were asked to transmit the warmest greetings to the Scandinavian revolutionary workers. Keen interest is felt here in learning how strong is the inclination of the Scandinavian states toward the question of resuming relations. Goods of every kind are needed here, as well as medicines. The consignment of medicaments from Norway, which has not yet arrived, is being eagerly awaited.

TREATY WITH ESTHONIA

Moscow, March 24.—On his journey to Petrograd the Chairman of the Esthonian Economic Delegation expressed the belief that a commercial treaty between Esthonia and Soviet Russia would be signed in the near future. Esthonia can deliver to Russia clothing, textiles and leather goods, in exchange for such raw materials as Esthonia has from time immemorial been receiving from Russia.

SOLIDARITY IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Moscow, (radio via Christiania).—The peasants along the coast of the Black Sea have sent the catch of one day's fishing to the starving children in the cities. It consisted of 4,000 poods. The workers in the same district have decided to give up a week's pay for the same cause.

We have received some interesting radios (unfortunately not by wireless) which will appear in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

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LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK, in his military article this week, discusses the technical and political prospects of the offensive which the Allied powers have just succeeded in coercing the Polish Government to undertake against Soviet Russia. It is with pleasure that we call the attention of those who are interested in world affairs to the fact that this military action is not an independent Polish adventure, and that those European powers who are affecting to "watch it with grave concern" are in reality hoping against hope that the forces they have now unleashed may, by some unforeseen accident, turn out to be their savior in the crisis of their Russian relations—may appear as the St. George that will slay the dragon, the Russian Soviet Government. Of course, they are leaning upon a reed, and their dismay, when Poland crumbles—as it soon must—will be a sorry sight. But meanwhile, let us be frank, and let so honest and matter-of-fact a newspaper as the *Springfield Republican* not utter such sentences as this: "In Washington this development is causing anxiety and in Europe it is watched with no less concern."

ALTHOUGH the outcome of the Polish offensive is bound, therefore, to be a disastrous disappointment to the Allied governments, certain newspaper circles are again enjoying their periodic feast on the ruins of a "collapsed Russia." Viewing Russia, as they do, as the missionary of a new faith, their joy in her alleged dissolution can be compared only with that of hungry cannibals awaiting the decease of a foreign missionary; and,

like the cannibals, they have already done all in their power to accelerate this "dissolution." The specific cause for gratification just now appears to be the remarks on Soviet Russia, communicated by the Associated Press in Washington despatches, of Colonel Edward W. Ryan, Red Cross Commissioner for North Russia and the Baltic States, who is said to have paid "a surreptitious visit to Russia with the Esthonian peace delegation," and concerning the length of whose stay in Soviet Russia the Associated Press dispatch of May 13 (from Washington) says the following:

"Colonel Ryan left Reval on March 23, travelling as a private citizen with the Esthonian mission. He spent the following day in Petrograd, arriving in Moscow on March 26 and returning to Petrograd five days later and to Reval on April 2."

Colonel Ryan's impressions of Soviet Russia are extremely unfavorable: in his week—or let us give him eight days—in Russia, he observed that:

"Both Moscow and Petrograd were indescribably filthy in appearance," Colonel Ryan said. The streets, he was informed, have not been cleaned for four years and were at least ankle deep, in most places knee deep, in dirt.

"Women," he said, "presented a doleful appearance everywhere." Colonel Ryan declared that he saw no attractive looking woman during the entire course of his stay.

Leaving aside the question of the appearance of the women, for we cannot know how fastidious a judge Colonel Ryan may be in this field, we may say that his statement on the amount of filth in the streets of the Russian capitals has been contradicted in advance by no less an observer than Mr. Lincoln Eyre, who spent three months in Soviet Russia (November, 1919—February, 1920), and who took pains, in a Paris cable of March 7, to the *New York World*, to contradict a few silly newspaper stories that had appeared in English newspapers of December 27; here is the story as it appeared in the English newspapers:

"According to telegrams received by way of Finland, the people of Petrograd passed a very desolate Christmas, being without food or fuel, while spotted typhus and Spanish influenza were rampant. The sanitary conditions of the city baffle description. The water supply is frozen, so that water from the Neva or melted snow has been used for drinking purposes. The weather is very cold and kitchen furniture is being burned as fuel.

"Only one disinfectant is obtainable and only four infirmaries are open. Bands of robbers frequently visit unoccupied premises, and the authorities are quite powerless against these marauders, who carry off everything left by the Red Guards. Misery is so great in Petrograd that the inhabitants are contemplating death as a relief."

And here is the answer of Mr. Eyre, who is surely not inclined to be a lenient or friendly critic of conditions in Soviet Russia:

I was in Petrograd several days before, during and after Christmas week. From my own comprehensive observation, I say without hesitation that the only accurate statement contained in the above despatch is contained in these words: "The weather is very cold."

While there were a few cases of typhus and Spanish influenza, neither of these diseases was "rampant." Sanitary conditions were as good as could possibly be

expected in a city that a short time before had had an enemy at its gates. The water supply was not frozen and there was no necessity to burn kitchen furniture, since everybody had enough fuel for cooking purposes at least.

As for the story about a four years' accumulation of dirt in the streets, read what Mr. Eyre (in the same message) says on the subject:

Outwardly Petrograd presents a more attractive appearance than overcrowded Moscow. All the time we were there the street cars were running normally and removal of snow was being carried out with a far greater measure of efficiency. The sidewalks afforded less precarious footing, since some attempts were made to break up the coating of ice that formed upon them.

In fact, the reader might with profit read the pamphlet which the *New York World* has made of Mr. Eyre's articles, under the pretentious title "Russia Analyzed." But, as we have often had occasion to say, misrepresentations concerning Soviet Russia are manufactured so fast that it is impossible to answer them all, and sometimes as in the latest case, they are a little slow and repeat stories intended for circulation at an earlier date.

BUT the Ryan "disclosures" on Russia have some significance, nevertheless. They are one of three elements that are giving aid and comfort at this moment to the friends of counter-revolution in Russia. The other two are the reported temporary successes of the Polish offensive, and the recent "inside information" that is printed by newspapers, allegedly emanating from Washington, quoting Soviet sources as predicting an early downfall of the government in Russia. Some color of truth is lent to these ardent and hopeful assertions of Russia's early collapse, by including in them quotations from recent speeches and other declarations of such authorities as Tomsy, Krasin, Rykov, and others, which frankly present even the unfavorable side of recent developments in Russia. We have often pointed out (as has also the *Springfield Republican*) that the Soviet communications seem remarkably ready to state openly to all the world not only the triumphs of the Soviet Government, but also its reverses, and that unscrupulous use of this frankness has sometimes succeeded in representing its disclosures as evidences of weakness.

It is very probable, however, that the Soviet Government feels that it can afford to continue telling the world frankly of its needs as well as of its successes, and it is to emphasize this point that we herewith call the special attention of our readers to the complete report of two of the sessions of the Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, recently held at Moscow, which is printed elsewhere in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

PERHAPS there is a lack of medical supplies in Russia, as Colonel Ryan also suggests. We have been asked by the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee to state that they will point out

this need at a mass meeting, to be held at the Central Opera House, 67th Street near Third Avenue, New York, on Saturday, May 22, at 8 P. M. The admission fee to this meeting, which will be addressed by prominent speakers, will be fifteen cents.

ISAAC McBRIDE has also been in Russia. Unlike Colonel Ryan, he felt that a week was a rather short time, and, according to the preface of his new book ("Barbarous Soviet Russia," New York: Thomas Seltzer—soon to be reviewed in SOVIET RUSSIA), he spent five weeks in that country in September and October of last year. For the present we wish to call the attention of our readers, not to Mr. McBride's interesting book, but to his comments on the present military situation, as made by him in a lecture delivered at New York on May 18, 1920. Mr. McBride said the Polish offensive would share the same fate as the offensives of Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich (and did not Trotsky six months ago say the same thing: "After Denikin comes Yudenich; and after Yudenich will come Poland"?)

"First it will advance a little," said Mr. McBride, "but suddenly it will turn back. And then it will keep on going back and finally it will collapse altogether, just as the offensives of Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich collapsed, which were also victorious at the start. And then, what will happen? You know very well that the Poles—do not hiss them; everyone in Europe hates them now—are merely the tools of the Allies. Upon them rests the last hope of the capitalists in Paris, London, and New York, and when even this last hope has been dissipated—which will be quite soon—the Allies will beg Russia for peace, and the Soviet Government will be in a position to dictate peace to them."

If Mr. McBride is right, we may soon expect interesting revelations from the Polish front.

Mr. McBride will address a meeting in Ashland Auditorium, West Van Buren Street and Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, on Saturday evening, May 29, at 8 P. M. Subject: "What I Saw in Russia"; admission 35 and 55 cents.

LABOR LAWS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Price Ten Cents.

These laws, carefully revised and improved in language, have been reprinted in pamphlet form, including, together with the introductory answer to Mr. William C. Redfield, 48 pages of text.

— Other Pamphlets will Follow —

SOVIET RUSSIA

Room 304

110 W. 40th St.

New York, N. Y.

Stenka Razin — the Free Cossack

[*Stenka Razin, the subject of the following sympathetic study, is the Russian Robin Hood. He won the affection of the Russian peasant masses forever, by organizing peasant uprisings which culminated in 1668, in a movement embracing all of Russia as far north as the White Sea. Like all other peasant uprisings of early modern times, this movement was crushed, and Stenka Razin was tortured to death in Moscow in June, 1670. Alexias Mikhailovich (died 1676) was Czar of Russia at the time.*]

The Bolsheviks, it seems, have erected a monument in Moscow, in honor of Stenka Razin. The bourgeoisie are bursting with indignation at this act. The sight of the famous brigand standing in their way, in a menacing posture, fills them with horror. He is for them the ferocious Cossack who lived on robbery, murder and pillage, plundering the vessels of the rich, without pity to the owners, defying the Czar himself and ridiculing the priests. The following seditious utterances were attributed to him:

"Churches—what for? Priests? What good are they? To marry people? A fine thing! Get together in pairs around a willow and dance in a ring, and your marriage ceremony is performed." This did not mean, however, that he was not religious, for he liked to meditate over the New Testament in the solitude of some monastery.

An atrocity committed against a young Persian princess whose father he had killed during one of his adventures, is particularly held against him. She was his mistress and he adored her, but he had a still greater love for the Volga river, the scene of all his glory and success. And during one of his pleasure trips on the river which he idolized, in a fit of intoxication and exaltation, he embraced his beloved one for the last time, saying:

"Volga, dear Volga, thou hast lavished on me gold, silver and honor, but I have not given thee anything in return. But, wait—I will offer thee that which is dearest to me!" And he threw the princess into the water.

Stenka Razin appears in an entirely different light in the memory of the Russian people. He is, to the peasant, the savior of the poor, bringing them "land and liberty"; they call him "the free cossack." This expression, very frequently used in popular language, reminds one of the origin of the Cossacks.

The run-away peasants and artisans, escaping the decree of servitude, were the first to abolish the Saint George custom. That saint's day had up till that time been a blessing to the laborers, for they could, on that day, change their owners. Then, with one stroke of the pen, in order to please the nobility, the czar attached the peasant to the land. And Saint George's day, which had been the synonym of rejoicing, became the day of misery. Hence the popular saying: "There's St. George's day for you, Granny." It means, "You never expected that."

This occurred in the middle of the 17th century. From all parts of Russia the peasants fled to the provinces bordering on the Dnieper, the Don and the Volga, the "little mother," towards the beautiful rivers flowing amidst the vast prairies or steppes which to the Russian people were the symbol of the land of light and liberty as opposed to the dark forests of the north. There all the rebels against slavery sought refuge. There were not only peasants there, but also artisans and city dwellers, overburdened with taxes, who had run away for fear of severe punishment.

The Cossacks organized themselves into agricultural, industrial and military communes. After a number of battles, the czars naturalized them, granting them some favors and a certain autonomy in exchange for military service. Their function was to keep within bounds the neighboring tribes on the Russian frontiers. This pact with the czars gradually compelled them to serve as an instrument of counter-revolution. But their love for liberty remained proverbial and the Russian people still delight in the memories of the seditious exploits of their high chief Stenka Razin, who freed the convicts, saying: "I am fighting the noblemen, the rich; as to the poor, the common people, I am sharing everything with them, I am their brother."

Stenka Razin's love for the poor and his bravery still live in the memory of the Russian people and make him the beloved hero, the model of a good man, strong and free. Numerous songs illustrate the picturesque incidents of his life. Pushkin, the great national poet, has collected them. He said that "Stenka Razin was the only poetic character in Russian history." Pushkin felt the charm of this pirate, the counterpart of Don Quixote, who is surrounded, in the mind of the people, with beautiful legends.

"The first half of the 17th century," says the historian Kostomarov, "was a preparation for the epoch of Stenka Razin."

When he took possession of the city of Tzaritzyn, a mandatory of the czar demanded that he give up the runaways from the villages and from the cities, who had enlisted in his army. He answered in such a splendid manner, and his ardent words, permeated with a sense of the humane, struck so deeply into the hearts of the peasants, that even to this day they are sung with keen emotion:

"To surrender my friends! And you dare to utter these sacrilegious words. You threaten to

digrace me. Tell the governor who sent you that I am not afraid of him and that the czar himself does not inspire me with fear. Wait a little, I am going to cross swords with him. The scoundrel, he counts on his power and turns up his nose at me, in fact he treats me as a slave. But he is only a fool. I have more power and strength than he. I am a free man!"

The cruel avenger of the victims of the ferocious bourgeoisie of the 17th century probably provokes savage instincts in the breasts of his malignant and unconquered enemies of today, but the memory of the chivalrous friend of the poor, the valiant defender of "land and liberty," calls forth

in the hearts of the Russian people profound admiration and boundless gratitude. The monument to the popular hero erected in a public place in Moscow ought to call forth the enthusiasm of the poor and remind the wise of Tolstoi's remark:

"The greatest error that one can make is to class all people as intelligent or fools, strong or weak, good or bad. One can be all these things at the same time. One necessarily fluctuates and has in him all the potentialities, for evil as well as for good."

VERA STARKOV,

(*Le Populaire de Paris*, April 3, 1920).

The Red Army

By LAZAR SHATSKIN.

MOSCOW.

Day by day the telegraph brings joyous reports of the victories of the Red Army. The Russian Soviet Republic, which was still receiving serious setbacks at the hands of Kolchak in the spring, and at the hands of Denikin in the fall, and which in October was still trembling as to the fate of the Petrograd Commune—this army is now defeating all its enemies, destroying them, and advancing irrepressibly to the consummation of a complete annihilation of the Russian counter-revolutions. The end of this counter-revolution will be the final act of the civil war, the beginning of peaceful reconstruction of the socialist society.

But what is the nature of this army, which is fighting so victoriously against the White Army, against forces, which, from a military standpoint are far stronger than those of Soviet Russia? What is it that imparts to the army of Central Russia, cut off as it is from the grain districts; from raw materials, and fuel, the power of victory over counter-revolutionists who are in possession of these resources and who, in addition, are supported by the Entente bourgeois?

It is the first time in the history of humanity that a full fledged army is fighting not for the interests of the oppressors and rulers, but for those of Socialism. This is the first army in the world that has declared war against war, that is fighting for the destruction of weapons, for the fraternity of nations and men. It is the first army that is not fighting within the outline of capitalist society, but in the period of the transition from capitalism to communism, the epoch of proletarian dictatorship. And it is these circumstances that explain the almost incredible victories, as well as the entire internal organization of the Red Army.

This army is moving toward the great goal—Socialism. The consciousness of the inevitability of the struggle for its goal is the foundation of this power.

Formerly the soldier was the humble tool of

his commanders. He never knew the truth as to the why and wherefore of the war he was waging; no one told him about this and no one cared to tell him, for if the soldier had learnt the true purpose of the war, he would have turned his bayonet at once against his commander. Formerly the soldier was kept in the dark on everything lying outside of his regiment, in the country, among the people, on everything outside of the walls of the barracks. Nothing was told him of this, for they knew if he should know the truth he would refuse to shoot at his brothers, the workers, and would unite with them to struggle against capitalism. Formerly the Russian soldier was a dark, unenlightened, crafty creature, who was kicked and cuffed instead of given instructions in reading and writing.

Now, the work of political enlightenment, at the front as well as in the rear, is not less important—if indeed it is not more so—than the providing of munitions and rifles. In the rear, the sections of political education of the Communist Party and the sections for agitation by instruction of the commissariats of war are carrying on their work. The organs of these sections are the individual collective groups in each unit of the Red Army. In each barrack there is a club with a library and reading room, to which books, pamphlets and newspapers are sent from all parts of the country. Every important political event is discussed in great meetings, which are addressed by the best speakers, and in which the soldiers thereupon exchange their views. In these clubs there are often performances, concerts and entertainments, in which excellent artistic talents appear. Among the soldiers there have been formed, on the model of the Proletkult, political, scientific, musical, dramatic and literary groups and circles. Systematic courses as well as lectures with lantern slides are delivered. In almost every train there are courses in writing and reading for illiterates. The soldiers are not detached from the political

life of the people, but, on the contrary, are thrown into this life; they are members of the Party; they send their delegates to the Workers' Councils, they also attend the workers meetings, and take active part in all revolutionary celebrations. Often conferences of the workers are called—one delegate to each ten members—in which the representatives in the Workers' Councils report on all their practical activities. In Moscow these conferences are addressed by Comrade Lenin and other People's Commissars. Every newspaper has a little page "For the Army." In this little supplement the soldiers tell about the life they lead, criticize defects, discuss the political and military situation or make practical suggestions for the improvement of the Red Army.

Much more difficult is the activity in the field of cultural educational work, when carried on immediately on the line of battle. But even in this case it plays an extremely important role. It is conducted by the political sections of the army at the front, and carried out by the communist commissars in the regiments and companies. Thus, newspapers are distributed in great numbers, and meetings are held, sometimes even under the enemy's fire. Whole railway trains of special cars of American construction, beautifully painted and decorated, provided with moving pictures, accompanied by actors, lecturers, musicians, and, in addition, full of inexhaustible quantities of literature, are constantly moving between the fronts; this literature, as well as the train-newspaper is prepared in special printing offices, in addition to which the train also has a radio station, canteens, baths, and cars with gifts for the soldiers. Traveling troupes attached to the Proletkult give performances immediately behind the front and thus cultural work is the general function of the Red Army.

The Red Army is not a small band cut off from the great mass of workers, but is simply an advance guard of armed people. For the military organizations include all the workers and peasants, even a considerable number of women. General obligatory military instruction is given to every worker, enabling him to manipulate rifle, machine gun, revolver and hand grenade. The commissariats of war combined the active workers into reserve formations which are ready at any hour to drop their peaceful work in the factory or in the field and to proceed to the front. This is the second great source of power of the Red Army. The Red Army is a class army, an army of peasants and workers, an army of the proletarian dictatorship, and as such reflects in its structure the period of transition from capitalism to communism. Only such active workers are mobilized in the army as are not supported by the work of others. No weapons may be handed to a bourgeois; he would not fight for communism! he would only use such weapons for purposes of counter-revolution. Therefore the bourgeoisie are mobilized for

work in the rear. The leaders and officers of this class army are the most conscious and efficient communists. But we must dwell a moment on the question of the command, for this is the weakest side of the Red Army, in which the entire character of the transition period expresses itself. For we are living in a period in which the proletariat is compelled to utilize the useful remnants of the old system for its present purposes.

The Red Army is engaged in conflict with armies which are equipped with all the resources of engineering and science (the armies of Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich are not mere hordes or bands). Effective resistance can be offered to such armies only by an army at the same standard of perfection; we have learnt this from our first defeats. Specialists must guide the whole matter. Therefore feverish activity is developing all over Russia, in order to train workers and peasants, in courses of instruction as well as in special war academies, to make military leaders of them. But the number of Red soldiers is increasing much more rapidly than the number of officers and the participants in the courses that have been formed—and they are always the best men, who have for the most part performed veritable miracles of valor—are sent to the front to dangerous situations, and are then put in the ranks as simple soldiers, which involves an interruption of their training. Therefore the officers of the Czarist army insofar as they had not gone over to Kolchak or Denikin had to be resorted to. Some of these officers are working because distress and the Soviet power are forcing them (while their sympathies remain on the side of the Whites), others are working because they consider they are defending the inhabitants of Russia against Entente or German imperialism. A few, finally, have accepted the revolutionary standpoint by contact with events. It is evident that in view of the enormous number of non-communist elements, the unified command, which from a strategic standpoint would be most desirable, cannot be introduced, all the more since a large number of traitors had also found their way in among the really efficient officers of the old regime. Therefore the old officers have been under the strict supervision of the political commissars, whose task, without interfering in purely strategical affairs, is to prevent the commissars from carrying out counter-revolutionary intentions. These commissars, who are also under strict supervision, are the most able workers of the Communist Party. The control of the front and of the armies is in the hands of the Revolutionary War Council, consisting generally of representatives of the Soviet power. The course of events, which now requires us for a moment to use the old generals and officers, is leading to a unified command on the part of the Communist commissars. And more,—the Bolsheviki have often been censured for having demanded the election of officers under Kerensky, while they now appoint the of-

ficers. This is a purely tactical question, perfectly clear to any communist. The officers appointed by Kerensky during his reign were faithfully serving capital, whose sole aim was the restoration of the old regime. The proletariat could not but consider them as enemies; the military organs of the Bolsheviks could not do otherwise than demand their removal. Today, the proletariat having the power, they are fully confident in the success of the proletarian dictatorship, in the efficiency of their appointed fighters, in their purposeful procedure, in accordance with proletarian principles. They know it is more useful from the military standpoint to appoint the command than to elect it. The army, furthermore, is not an affair of the soldiers alone, it is the chief weapon of the dictatorship, the cream of the whole armed nation.

Warfare demands also discipline and this discipline is completely realized in the Red Army. Not the *cadavre* discipline of the Czarist army, whose methods were the "nagaika," the blow in the face, the discipline of epaulettes and of degraded service. The soldier, outside of the service, is absolutely equal to the officer. In service his treat-

ment is that of a comrade; but the non-fulfillment of orders issued under a state of war is punishable by shooting. This penalty was voluntarily introduced by the Red Guard at its inception. The whole country is working feverishly in the production of war material. The military shops are operating day and night. Of course this disturbs the work of peace and of inner production, but the Russian proletariat says it is better to starve as a free man than to be a well fed serf. Economically also it is more useful to crush the enemy with a single powerful exertion than to continue for a long period of unrest and of civil war within the country.

Such is the Red Army, the army fighting for communism, the first army of the proletariat, the first army which bears in its bosom the germ of self-destruction; for it is fighting with weapons for a society in which weapons shall be unnecessary. This army, surrounded by the affection of an entire people, the army of free citizens of the Soviet Republic, will destroy all its enemies.

Moscow, January, 1920.

Russian Labor Leader Visits Sweden

Scandinavian countries seem to be the first ones to free themselves from that hysterical fear with which all other countries seem to be imbued in respect to Russia. Various delegations from Soviet Russia are visiting Sweden and Norway and normal intercourse between these countries is being rapidly established. Among recent visitors to Stockholm from Soviet Russia there was one of special interest to the trade unions of that country. Mr. Alexander Shliapnikov, formerly Commissar of Labor in the Russian Soviet Government, arrived there on the 8th of April to renew the bonds of friendship between the labor movement in Sweden and the workers of Russia. The Stockholm Daily *Politiken* publishes interviews with Shliapnikov, which, in addition to the information he gives about the labor union movement of Soviet Russia, contain interesting information about the gradual crumbling of the blockade and the resumption of intercourse between Russia and Western Europe. So for instance, we find that a regular route of communication has been established between Petrograd and Norway by way of Murmansk.

"We left Petrograd at the end of March," said Shliapnikov, "on the first train that was dispatched from that city after the liberation of Murmansk from the grip of the counter-revolution. The railroad was in fine shape having been rapidly rebuilt by our labor battalions. Everywhere we were met with great enthusiasm on the part of the population. Their joy over their deliverance from the terrorism of the Whites was boundless. We left

Murmansk for Vardo on a small ship without any difficulties, and we had no complications in reaching Christiania, Norway."

Mr. Shliapnikov gave the following information about the purpose of his journey to Norway and Sweden:

"My intention is to resume relations between labor organizations in Russia and in other countries and I am planning to have conferences on this subject with the Swedish labor organizations. I am also bringing special greetings to the Swedish metal workers from the workers of Petrograd." The workers of Petrograd have been conducting a collection of funds to aid the locked-out Swedish metal workers. At the time Shliapnikov left Petrograd, 5,000,000 rubles had already been collected. Shliapnikov brought with him an address from Russian union labor which in warm words expresses sympathy for the Swedish workers. Shliapnikov also expects to discuss with Swedish labor men the proposed plan of shipping Swedish skilled workers to Russia.

Mr. Shliapnikov stated that there are about 3,600,000 members in the Russian labor unions. Railway transportation unions comprise 900,000; metal industry 500,000; textile industry 400,000; boot and leather industry 200,000; water transportation 200,000; etc. The work of organizing the mining industry, lumber industry and the clothing industry is progressing splendidly.

At a conference of the metal workers union of Stockholm, Mr. Shliapnikov made a speech wherein he stated that the Russian metal industry has

suffered much from the civil war, especially in view of the fact that the principal steel districts in Russia are situated in the Ural region and in the Don valley, where the war has raged in its most bitter form. Tens of thousands of metal workers have been killed and many of the most important steel and metal factories have been damaged. Now the Russian workers are confronted with the task of rebuilding what has been destroyed by the counter-revolution. "It is natural," he said, "that during the war the metal industry worked principally to supply the needs of the front. It has not been possible to satisfy the needs of the civil population as the defence of the Workers' Republic required immense amounts of bullets, guns and munitions. The Russian metal workers are proud of the fact that their great efforts have contributed to the victory of the workers over the reaction."

Mr. Shliapnikov gave the following interesting information about the position the unions occupied in Russia. "The entire metallurgical industry," he said, "is managed with direct participation on the part of the metal workers unions. All posi-

tions of leadership in the industry are filled after consultation with the union and from a list of candidates submitted by it. We have one big metal workers union. We do not recognize any small organizations within the industry because such organizations only split up the working class. You are, of course, interested in the living conditions of the Russian metal workers. I will state frankly that the conditions are very difficult. We were poor before this and during these two years we have become still poorer. We have been hungry and cold and sick, but we have been too much taken up by our tremendous struggle to pay much attention to our personal sufferings and privations. The main thing has been to defend our Socialistic Republic. Only now, three years after the Russian Revolution, is it possible for us to take up the struggle against misery and we are confident that we will win that war as we won in the war against reaction.

"We are our own masters now within our industry. We have no lockouts, no employers' unions, no police brutalities."

EDUCATIONAL WORK IN RUSSIA

Moscow.—At the last Congress of Soviets in Moscow, at which Kamenev presided, the People's Commissar of Education, Lunacharsky, delivered a report stating among other things that in Soviet Russia 1,650 schools were opened in 1919. Altogether there are now in Soviet Russia 50,000 schools of the first grade* and 21,000 schools of the second grade.** In 1919, 150,000 pairs of boots were distributed to needy school children. To stimulate higher education, the Commissariat for Popular Instruction has appropriated a sum of 140,000,000 rubles in its budget. The number of university students in Soviet Russia is now 158,000 including auditors at people's and peasants' universities, as well as the participants in a number of other courses. The number of professors is 5,500. In addition there are in Petrograd, Moscow, Voronezh, Kazan and Saratov various schools for the training of artists, attended by more than 4,000 students.

last effort to form a counter-revolutionary bloc, made up of elements from the extreme right, down to the social-traitors, in order to combat Socialism. But their efforts will be of no avail."

SOVIET RUSSIA AND AUSTRALIA

SYDNEY, April 14, 1920.—The Russian Soviet Government has opened a Bureau in Australia, the office of which is at Sydney. The head of the Bureau is Peter Simonov, the Consul General of the Soviet Government in Australia, who is now taking the necessary steps to secure an early resumption of trade relations. Australian business men seem very eager for the opening of trade with Soviet Russia. The Australian Consul General intends to issue a monthly paper, to be called *Soviet Russia*, in order to keep the people of Australia informed concerning the progress of events in Russia.

ANNIVERSARY OF PARIS COMMUNE

Moscow, March 23.—"Now is the day of the Paris Commune," is the heading used by *Pravda* for an article concerning the historic significance of the Paris Commune. "Now the day has come when the workers are beginning to rise, to the great terror of the bourgeoisie, which feels that its end is approaching. They are making their

THE RED INDUSTRIAL ARMY

By March 17-18, 85 locomotives and 618 freight cars had been restored by the reserve army; by March 20-21, it has restored 90 locomotives and 662 freight cars. The railroad workers from now on have made a voluntary addition of two hours to their working day. In Petrograd on March 21, "Transportation Week" began. In all enterprises relating in any way to transportation, the working day will be lengthened in order to get the domestic fleet into the best condition for the resumption of inland navigation.

* Primary Schools.

** Secondary Schools.

Press Cuttings

LENIN'S SPEECH TO CONGRESS

Moscow, via Stockholm, April 10.—At the Congress of Trade Unions, Lenin made a speech upon economic problems and the organization of workers and peasants in the transition period.

"It is necessary," he said, "to suppress classes and class distinctions, particularly the distinction between the workers and peasants. Peasants are also workers, and Socialism will never be realized without them.

"The proletariat, as the vanguard in the class war, must play the first part. The dictatorship of the proletariat is legitimate, because the peasant masses lack the discipline which is possessed by the proletarians. This power of the workers has enabled them to triumph over capitalist states richer than they in cannon and dreadnoughts.

"No country held as many congresses during these past years as Soviet Russia. No state is so imbued with a democratic spirit. Soviet decisions have an authority enjoyed by no others, and that is the foundation of our power."

Lenin then observed that the organizations of the working class were growing into larger forms each day. The only task now is to aid this class to achieve its aim. This it can only attain by labor discipline.

"What is necessary now is organic cohesion. There must be no more discipline imposed by one man. There must be no single responsibility. There must be no more dictatorship. The trade union army numbers three million. Six hundred thousand of these are Communists; they must be the leaders of the rest. We must reject the interest of groups and crafts for the sake of final victory."

The Congress then passed three resolutions: (1) appealing to all workers to join in energetic work; (2) the introduction of strict trade union discipline in all factories, with the object of rapid and economical work; (3) resolving to continue to follow the Communist Party in politics.

The Congress began on April 8, and 2,000 delegates attended.—*London Daily Herald*.

NORWEGIAN MERCHANT ON RUSSIA

The Norwegian merchant, Director Jonas Lied, who spent some time in Moscow, as the representative of a number of American and English firms, gave an interview after his return to Christiania to the newspaper *Aftenposten*, from which we take the following passages:

After conversing with a number of government officials, I feel justified in saying that their attitude toward the interests of foreign countries, as well as towards the resumption of economic relations with those countries, deserves a sympathetic understanding. The answers they gave to my searching questions on these matters appear to me to indicate that it will not be at all important to find a basis for an eventual understanding, even assuming that the present Soviet Government will continue to exist.

Although it is clear that Russia is willing to do everything to arrive at an understanding with foreign countries, it seems to me, as a business man, that it would be a mistake for us to imagine that Russia believes herself to be entirely dependent on the rest of the world. The country seems to have overcome all its difficulties and to have defeated its most dangerous opponents. Without doubt, Russia recognizes the advantage of the immediate assistance of foreign capital and enterprise, but seems also to be convinced of the possibility of

existing without those things. The country very well recognizes that it would involve perhaps many years of hard labor and privations, if no help should be received in its reconstruction, from other forces than its own; but it also understands that the other countries would likewise attain great advantages by coming to an agreement with Russia. From a business standpoint, it appears to me to be quite within the bounds of possibility that Russia possesses in its newly created works alone a means of making itself independent, and even overcoming all its difficulties, should it be willing to proceed energetically and ruthlessly, when we recall the unparalleled natural resources at its disposal. We should, in this connection, be willing to ask ourselves, whether there can be any utility for foreign countries in permitting so great a market to be closed to their capital, their products, their enterprises, by assuming an altogether too rigid attitude and a too obstinate insistence on their prejudice against the Soviet Government.

I did not go to Russia in order to sit in judgment over the principles and methods of the revolution, but simply to determine whether the Soviet Government was so firmly rooted as to justify the inauguration of negotiations with it with a view of resuming normal relations with the New Russia. Once more declaring that I have attempted to judge the matter impartially, and that I have thoroughly studied the situation, I must say that I can answer those questions affirmatively.

NEWS ITEMS FROM ITALY

The following interesting items connected with Russia appeared in Italian newspapers about April 1:

To quell the agitation of the Polish Proletariat for peace with Russia, the social-patriots, Szaplinsky and Niedzialkovsky, announce their departure for Reval, in order to confer with Radek.

Besteiro and Anguilero, Spanish Socialist delegates now in Holland, will leave for Brussels, where they are to meet the British mission, which is going to Russia to study the organization of the Soviet Government.

Hon. Bombacci,* under the direction of the Socialist Party, and Hon. Cabrini, for the Italian cooperatives, have had today their first conference with Litvinov, in which they brought up the question of the prisoners.

Hon. Bombacci extended greetings from the Italian Socialists, expressing their continuing solidarity with Soviet Russia, and the ready willingness of the party leadership to do all they could to solve the problem relating to the prisoners.

Litvinov's reply expressed the friendly feeling of the Russian proletariat for Italy. He said, moreover, that he knew the struggle that the Italian Socialists had been carrying on to help Soviet Russia in her difficult times, and therefore, he could rely on the party in the question of prisoners as well. Litvinov added that today the whole

* See full text of agreement between Bombacci and Litvinov in last number (20) of *Soviet Russia*.

of Russia was very glad to see the new attitude of the Italian Government. The Russian Government is ready to give the greatest consideration to this new attitude forgetting differences of the past.

The Syndicalist Action of the Russian Workers and the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro

The C. G. L. has received the following telegram from the Syndicalist Workers of Soviet Russia:

"The All-Russian Congress of Russian Syndicalist Workers will open April 5, at Moscow. Leaders and C. G. L.s of other countries are fraternally invited to send delegates."

FREDERICK STROM,
(Representative of the Soviet
Republic at Stockholm)

The reply sent by the C. G. L. is:

"Having received your invitation to the All-Russian Congress too late, we advise you that next April, the commissions representing the C. G. L., the Socialist Party, and the Cooperatives will leave for Moscow."

RUSSIAN PRISONERS IN BELGIUM

In *De Tribune*, a journal of the Dutch Communist Party, Adolph Borgers of Antwerp speaks of a visit which he made to the colony at Wartel in the northern part of Belgium where 900 Russian soldiers are interned who were on the western front in September, 1917, when the Bolshevik movement triumphantly seized the power in Russia. They were then removed as if they were infected, and imprisoned in French camps where they suffered every possible imaginable mistreatment.

In Belgium where they have been awaiting (and for how long will they still wait?) the moment of the

return to their own country, they have been well treated, in the material sense, and have even enjoyed a certain degree of liberty, being allowed to take walks within a radius of three kilometres. But they are closely watched in order that no correct news from the outside world could reach them and that they may remain ignorant of what is really happening in Russia; they are in contact with ignorant peasants who have not the slightest idea of international politics. Care has been taken to prevent all newspapers except bourgeois newspapers from reaching them, and the result is that they read only false news on Russia. Of course it has been suggested to them that they enter the counter-revolutionary armies of Denikin and Yudenich "in order to deliver their country from tyranny," but they have not been compelled to enter these armies. Gendarmes, soldiers, policemen, created a hermetically sealed wall around these unfortunates and they cannot cross it without being examined and closely watched.

Thus, the Belgian Government, although it includes a number of Socialist ministers, consents to be made a servant of world capitalism in its struggle with the new Socialist society.

IMAGINATION IN THE PRESS

News writers are too often inclined to write in the vernacular. Sometimes, to one who knows the facts, their efforts to cloak with mystery, which is one of their own phrases, any person ever suspected of being a "Bolshevik" are quite amusing. It will be recalled that Ludwig C. A. K. Martens is a representative of the Russian Soviet Government in the United States. It may also be remembered that he has been "slated," as the papers have it, for deportation a few times. He therefore becomes legitimate prey for the distributors of mystery. One day last week he returned to New York City from Washington, accompanied by Gregory Weinstein and Santeri Nuorteva, two of his assistants. They came as any other persons come from Washington, apparently without any attempt to conceal themselves, and frankly with the intention of transacting business at their New York office, where any of them might have found that day. And yet a New York paper had it that the Department of Justice had announced their coming, which coming was written down as "suddenly appeared," and added that they had "as suddenly dropped from sight again." And yet some people say that American news writers have no imagination.—*Christian Science Monitor*, May 6, 1920.

Two Months on a Death Train

(Continued from a Previous Issue of SOVIET RUSSIA)

October 11. We are told that again some men made their escape last night. Today "government" bread was distributed to us—for the first time since we left Samara. They promise to give us dinner. It is difficult to say which we need most—food, fresh air or cleanliness: All of these things we miss badly and one cannot take the place of the other. The filth is indescribable: 35 women in one car! No water for washing purposes. Other conveniences like lavatories, etc., are out of the question; there never were such things on freight cars . . . Neither are there any pails to hold water or anything to sweep the filth out—nothing, though legally they are compelled to furnish all these things.

We have nothing to eat and nothing to keep us

warm. I feel that my mind becomes more and more occupied with the physical inconveniences so that the moral discomforts become of little importance. I am becoming convinced of the truth of the saying: "A sound mind in a sound body."

I long for almost no one, I even do not long for home. I am nearly always thinking of eating, of washing, of sleeping on clean linen, etc., and of being alone at least for one hour a day . . . I even lack the energy to strive hard for my freedom, but I do wish to be alone. This, it seems, is my greatest desire now.

October 12. Today we were fed at the eating-place of the station in Ufa. The weather was very nice. As soon as we were out in the fresh air I forgot all my misery. I was instilled with

a stream of energy, cheerfulness and life . . . Except for the guards' acts against us everything seemed to me like a joke . . .

We were lined up two abreast and the convoy closely surrounded us. Ahead of us walked an officer (drunk as Lot) facing us with a revolver in his hand: I never yet enjoyed a walk as I did this time . . . I had forgotten everything in the world and only saw the earth, the sky, the people who were walking around free . . .

In the eating room I met many comrades of the train. Remarkable to relate, everybody was in a good mood today. As a nurse I must attribute it to the food and fresh air. In the dining room the scene resembled a village wedding as regards the way the food was distributed. On each table there was one bowl and all ate out of it. The guards did the serving and now and then brought us another bowl of soup or mush or a piece of bread.

On our way back an officer met us and urged us to hurry our steps for they had received orders to evacuate. (Ufa had then begun evacuation, the Reds having pushed on close to the city.)

When I reached our car I became conscious of such a dreadful longing that I wept like a child.

While we were having our dinner the following incident occurred in the car: one of the (criminal) women who remained there was approached by Officer Ozolin who dragged her into his own coach.

When we returned she was already back in her car . . . The occurrence depressed us. What now?

From Ufa to Zlatoust.

October 13. A terrible, horrible night during which shooting has never ceased. The convoy, stationing themselves on the roofs of the cars were shooting in the air so as to prevent any escapes. But this method proved futile, for that night many had made their escape. When the commandant was informed of this he ordered the convoy not to waste their bullets in the air, but to shoot directly through the roofs into the cars.

In the middle of the night someone rapped on our door. An officer came to tell Madame Rushavi that her husband had been wounded by the convoy shooting through the roof. We found that one was killed and several wounded by this process.

I had by this time learned that there were no medicaments on the train and here were 2,700 prisoners! The wounded are tying up their wounds with rags.

It is said that they are preparing to do a lot of shooting today, employing the system of picking every tenth man as their victim out of the car where an escape had been reported. Thus the result was that each prisoner watched the other lest he risk his own life by a possible escape of someone else. Such a method is suitable for cut-throats and pogrom makers.

Apparently our convoy consists of great heroes—they are 250 soldiers and 25 officers—all recalled from the front to escort our train; they are supplied with an abundance of arms and ammunition and there are plenty of worn-out and sick people to serve as targets for them . . . But the murderers will probably get a reward from their "democratic" government—the Samara committee of the constituent assembly which consists almost entirely, I think, of socialists . . .

O! They are not socialists, they are social-traitors! They will be called to task by the Russian people in the future. Nothing shall save them . . . How much blood was spilled on their account!

October 13. Another shooting and voices of alarm. The train had not stopped. Evidently the convoy had again emptied their rifles through the roof of a car close to our own . . . Now the train stops. I shall attempt to open the window and try to learn from the watchman what has occurred . . . It was the usual story—the convoy had wounded several prisoners. They thought there was too much tumult in the car so they did not care to waste their bullets in the air . . . There are no words that can express our condition.

October 15. I did not write yesterday. I lay all day starved and exhausted . . . Arrived in Cheliabinsk today. The people received us well. They brought us bread, bologna, pickles, etc. But not always do they succeed in bringing us food for the convoy does not allow the peasants to get near us nor do they let us open the windows.

The women's car is privileged in this respect . . . and I think the reason is obvious to everyone . . .

So we have eaten today. I called for the officer on duty. He came. I attempted to plead with him and point out the inhuman treatment we received . . . He tried to explain but all that he did was to place the responsibility upon the commandant. However, our window was open all day today on one side of the car. The windows in the rest of the cars (not real windows of glass) were closed. When an attempt is made to open it one of the guards point their rifles towards it . . . We had food today, but they, poor devils, must starve . . .

It is rumored we are to be left in Cheliabinsk. It is too good to be true. I know that we will be released anyhow but the prison seems to me like a paradise compared to the freight car . . . I wish it were tomorrow, maybe our sufferings will come to an end . . .

October 16, Cheliabinsk. Today we had dinner in the eating place. It was just barely enough to strengthen us sufficiently to withstand their further tortures . . . We are to proceed to Omsk today, they say.

Evening. We are moving again. Midnight. We had an unexpected incident. We were sleeping when a knocking at the door awakened us. Some-

one enters the car and calls the nun, Miss Madison, for an "examination" . . .

We all protested against this "examination" in the middle of the night. She shall not go. We won't let her. But a rifle and a revolver were pointed at us immediately . . . Miss Madison, weeping and shaking like a leaf, wrapped herself in her large shawl and left the car . . .

In about half an hour she was brought back by Officer Kolotuchen . . . It turned out that the officer who had taken her away was the commander of the train—Lieutenant Ivanov. He was leading her to his car when they were met by Kolotuchen who forcibly took her for himself . . .

Ivanov soon came to our car. Other officers had congregated and a dispute arose between Ivanov and Kolotuchen. The former threatened to blow our car into pieces, to annihilate the entire train . . . and so it continued until we began to prepare for death.

Suddenly we heard someone approach and we caught the name of Samara in his information given to the others. We strain our ears and learn that somebody had brought the report that Samara had been recaptured by the Czecho-Slovaks or the "Peoples Army" and that the train would be returned to Samara . . . And that is the way our lives were saved that horrible night . . .

October 17. Arrived in Petropavlovsk. I have never been in Siberia. How I would like to see the cities we were passing, but we are behind bars . . . I have not eaten for 24 hours almost. The watchman informed me that about 50 men who were alleged "Bolsheviks" were segregated in a car by themselves and that they are to be shot . . . My heart is heavy . . .

Evening. We began moving ahead. Bright night. Snow was falling. After two hours' ride the train halted . . . As usual we ran for the "windows" (holes in the wall). We saw the guards rushing back and forth . . . they were busy around the cars . . . and a little later we beheld a few score

of men being led by the guards to a field on the left side of our train. Several minutes later a shot rang out . . . Ozolin then finished by firing his revolver into the dead bodies . . .

October 18, evening. Just arrived in Omsk. It is rumored that this is as far as we shall go. Our strength is gone . . . We are despairing . . . and do not want to live any longer . . . I cannot endure such horrible crimes . . . Since last night I feel as if my life had ended . . .

October 19, morning. We have had no food for three days . . . We were awakened at two o'clock in the morning to have dinner . . . I felt like spitting into their faces. Such humiliation, such mockery! . . . To be called to eat in the middle of the night after three days' starvation! . . . I felt nothing but contempt for them and I could not eat. I wanted to destroy everything, especially myself.

It was busy around the train. Bread and soup were distributed and a couple of hours later when we had again fallen asleep they brought us mush. I shall never forget this meal . . . It seemed that they could not even endure the thought of having allowed us to eat in peace. But our lives they must support so they give us mid-night meals and—"choke yourselves."

We are now on the road from Omsk to Novo-Nikolaievsk. We are moving rapidly today. Where to?

It is getting real winter. We are freezing and have no stove. We are lying on the floor. At night it is not quite so bad for we lie close together and it keeps us warm. True, this method is not hygienic, but it is high time to forget hygiene . . . Many of us have sold our clothes for a piece of bread and these are now suffering from the cold.

During the day they again shot into some car and wounded a few. In this pastime Lieutenant Kunak distinguishes himself above all other officers . . . He very much likes to shoot people.

SOVIET RUSSIA

will contain in its next issue, among other interesting features, the following:

1. Diplomatic correspondence between Soviet Russia and Poland (March-April, 1920).
2. The All-Russian Economic Center of Municipal and Factory Consumers' Societies.
3. *Maxim Gorky*, Two Cultures (just received from Russia).
4. *Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek*, Weekly Military Review.

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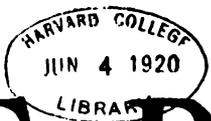
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Economic Organization of Workers' Cooperatives

[The following article is an official account of the All-Russian Economic Center of Municipal and Factory Consumers' Societies, known as the "Centrosection."]

As is well known, the Czarist regime, used all possible means to prevent the growth of public organization. For this reason the endeavor of small cooperative societies to unite always met with many obstacles. The existence of such societies as legal associations was out of the question. Not until 1916 did seventeen consumers' societies succeed in uniting on the basis of *agreements*. On January 1, 1917, the number of shareholders in this association of consumers' societies had already reached 38, consisting, mainly, of consumers' societies in factories. The first share-capital amounted to 2,650 rubles. At the end of the first year, out of 129 societies which had taken shares in the associations, 84 were workers' societies, 26 clerks' and officials' societies, 17 town societies and two students' societies. During the first months after the February revolution, the number of workers' societies was increased by 39 additional societies. At that time there were 150,000 members in all the workers' societies which had entered the association. The share-capital of the workers' societies formed at that time 84.3 per cent of the whole share-capital, in addition to which the share-deposit amounted on an average to 15.43 rubles for each member of the workers' societies, whereas, in the case of the town societies, the share-deposit for each member amounted to 12.38 rubles. Besides this, moreover, the workers' societies were the most important from the point of view of membership. For instance, of 45 societies with a membership of from 1,000 to 5,000, 37 were workers' societies, and of 10 societies with a membership of from 5,000 to 10,000, eight of them were workers'

societies. Thus the workers' consumers' societies represented a major part of the association.

When, after the revolution of 1917, the association of consumers' societies obtained the right to become legal, to draw up rules, and to widen its field of work, it became not only an important factor in the economic life of the country, but it aimed likewise at being a definite political force. At this time this first association of consumers' societies, uniting workers' societies for the most part, began to consider itself as an association of *workers' societies*, and at the All-Russian Cooperative Conference which took place in September, 1917, a distinction was at once made between *political* and *general trade cooperatives*. This political particularization was proof of the fact that the class character of the workers' cooperative was already sufficiently pronounced, and that it had its own career before it.

In 1917 was created what is known as the All-Russian Council of Workers' Cooperatives. The functions of this All-Russian Council were, organizing new workers' cooperative societies, propagating the combining of workers' societies, and publishing suitable literature, as well as sending instructors around the country. This council was successful in the organization of the so-called "Moscow Manchester" in the South Urals (Central Industrial Region).

The work of uniting the societies, however, was not all. The demand became more and more insistent to separate the workers' cooperatives in their economic relations from the general cooperatives, by the creation of their own administrative

centers. This question was raised officially at the Third Conference of the Workers' Cooperatives in December of 1918, but without resulting in any concrete and practical solution of the matter. In January, 1919, the representatives of the Workers' Cooperatives began by demanding seven seats out of a total of 13 in the administration of the General Central Cooperative Association, that is a majority of the votes. In this they were unsuccessful. After this the All-Russian Council of Workers' Cooperatives set about the organization of a united center of workers' cooperatives. The All-Russian could not be taken as the basis of the newly formed center, as that itself had no economic basis. It could only *facilitate* the organization of such a center.

In this manner, the struggle of the workers' cooperatives for independent existence came to an end at the time when the Soviet authorities, by the decree of March 20, 1919, placed upon the cooperative apparatus the obligation of distributing and also, partially, supplying food products of primary necessity. Thus, the endeavor of the workers' cooperatives to unite cleared the way for the decree of March 20. It remained only to unite those who were already uniting by themselves.

The All-Russian Conference of Workers' Cooperatives, which took place in April, 1919, resolved to name the center, which had been organized by the All-Russian Council—the All-Russian Management Center of the Municipal and Factory Consumers' Societies, or "Centrosection." The "Centrosection" enters on an autonomous basis into the Center-union—a union of the general citizen cooperative societies. The fundamental aim of the "Centrosection" is the "economic and organized combination of workers' cooperatives for storing and distribution."

II.

At the time of its formation, the "Centrosection" was composed of 88 factory cooperative societies and unions with a general membership of about 400,000, and the consumers (members of their families) numbering about one and a half million. During the period of the existence of the "Centrosection," the number of cooperative societies amalgamated with it rose to 174, representing a membership of about one million, and consumers numbering about three millions. (Figures from all governments were not attainable.) It is interesting to note that the nearer one approaches the center, the smaller are the cooperatives which go to make up the "Centrosection"; on the other hand, the farther one goes from the center, the larger become the figures of the members and consumers on the books of the cooperatives. Thus, on an average, there are about 1,677 members to a Moscow cooperative, while a provincial cooperative has about 6,012 members. This is explained by the fact that in localities far removed from the center, a tendency to unite has been observed for some time past, independent of the orders of the

local authorities, and that at the time of the formation of the "Centrosection" the provincial cooperatives already represented a number of powerful combines. For instance, the association of consumers' societies of the Saratov province which belongs, as a whole, to the "Centrosection," unites 15 large workers' cooperative societies, each of which created in its turn the means to combine further. The Tzaritsin Workers' Cooperative which was founded in October, 1918, is the result of the combination of 15 societies, thus uniting 54,000 persons. The Saratov Central Workers' Cooperative was formed in December, 1918, from six smaller societies and now has 30,000 members. In the same manner the Astrakhan Cooperative, with 40,000 members, was created.

The whole mass of workers have not, by any means, as yet been absorbed by the cooperative unions. Placing the general figure of the population at 71 millions (according to the Food Table on the 1st of June) and the number of workers and townspeople at 21 millions, 50 per cent of the population still remains unorganized. Furthermore, one must not overlook the fact that in calculating the number of cooperative associations, according to their governments, the members of railway and water transport societies have not been taken into consideration, as these societies cannot be calculated according to governments.

Thus, the "Centrosection" is confronted with important organization work before it will become the real center of the whole workers' cooperative movement. This work of organization is being energetically conducted at present.

The "Centrosection" has taken over, and continues to take over, from all the associations which it unites, an enormous economic apparatus, (partly set in order), a whole system of organs of distribution and supply (and some even of production)—all that which goes to make up the work of the workers' cooperatives. In what does the work of the "Centrosection" consist?

III.

According to the decree of the 20th of March, 1919, the "Centrosection" is invested with the obligation of being, parallel with the Center-union (the union of the general civil cooperatives) of which it forms an autonomic part, the state organ for the distribution of articles of food of primary necessity. The "Centrosection" has at its disposal an organized apparatus,—a large number of shops, distributive points, stores, and means of transport.*

The products, placed under the control of the "Centrosection" and ready for distribution, are delivered to the "Centrosection" partly by the food organs of the state, and partly stored locally by the "Centrosection" itself and its organs, which

* For instance, the United Moscow Consumers' Society has under its control 44 shops, 600 distributing points, 46 bread shops, 62 milk shops, 181 universal shops, 131 stores, 63 bakeries and 50 agencies in different towns.

latter are known as the purchasing offices and agencies. These purchasing offices and agencies buy food products and articles of primary necessity according to the plan of state supply, and so as not to collide with the purchasing organs of other districts. In a comparatively short space of time, and under extremely difficult conditions of work, the "Centrosection" succeeded in storing about 1,700 wagon loads of various goods for a sum of over 100 millions of rubles, for the large part, articles of food; for instance, over 1,200 wagon loads in the Volga district, 30 in Olonets government, 50 in the central governments, 400 in Ukraina.** At the present time the purchasing offices are occupied with the realization of the fruit harvest, as the "Centrosection" has, in many places, taken away the fruit gardens and concluded contracts with the state food organs for the boiling of jam, purchase of vegetables, storage of bread, forage, etc. . . . Several such contracts in which the "Centrosection" comes forward as state purveyor have already been concluded: as for instance, for the storage of 750,000 poods of seed potatoes, 400 wagon loads of eggs, for the supply of sleighs and accessories, for work in the repair of 135,000 pairs of shoes, and so on. In this manner, the sphere of activity placed by the state food organs within the control of the cooperative apparatus, namely the Center-union and eventually its autonomous part, the "Centrosection," for supplying the population with everything it requires, becomes wider and wider.

Nevertheless, this trading, purchasing function does not exhaust the activities of the "Centrosection" in the sphere of supply. One of its most important tasks is the development of industrial activities. The manufacture of food products occupies one of the principal places. Although this work is hindered owing to a lack of raw material in the center, the "Centrosection" is in possession of a chemical factory in Moscow for the production of extracts, ink, etc., and a factory for the production of sweetmeats; in the provinces, the "Centrosection" has two butter factories in the government of Saratov, with a yearly output of 100,000 poods of butter, a coffee factory (also in the same government) with a yearly production of 6,000 poods of coffee substitute; a salt factory with an output of 50,000 poods of salt; eight large jam factories; tinned food factories; a number of vegetable and seed driers; a factory for the production of one to three million poods of horseshoes and hatchets, etc.; a handicraft artel for the repair of shoes (about 1,000 pairs a day). Much is being done by the subsection of the "Centrosection" for the wood industry, especially in getting together wood supplies. For instance, in the governments of Tambov and Khazan 60,000 cubic sazshins of wood have been stored. In Homel about 50,000

hoops, five wagons of wheels, etc., have been stored.

These figures do not, by any means, exhaust the work of the Centrosection" as they are not complete. Complete returns have not yet arrived and many results are still to be calculated.

Some idea of the turnover of the "Centrosection" can be obtained from the sum sent by the "Centrosection" to all its offices during two weeks of July, 1919, namely 29,100,000 rubles. A sum of 161,655,000 rubles was transferred during recent months from the center to the local divisions and offices. At the last conference of the Workers' Cooperative Societies it was resolved that a sum of about one milliard rubles is required by the "Centrosection" for the realization of its contracts.

IV.

In order to form a still more complete picture of what should be taken up, and which to a large extent is already being taken up by the "Centrosection," it is necessary to acquaint oneself with its branches. The "Centrosection" is made up of the following divisions: Trading, industrial, food-industrial, milk, meat, fish industry, vegetables, confectionery, paper, rationed products, underwear and trinkets, utilization of waste material, dried fish, cloth, kitchen utensils, libraries, luggage trains, transport, distribution, accountancy, economic inquiry, and foreign agencies. In addition to these there are departments for management, judicial, control, finance, bookkeeping, and administration, making up a total, together with the offices, of 652 collaborators. During one and a half months of its existence, the economic inquiry department compiled tables of the population of the governments which come within the sphere of the distributive activities of the "Centrosection", collected considerable information in regard to the handicraft trades parallel with its current consultations on economic questions in general, undertook an examination of the conditions of foreign trade of the "Centrosection," and so on. The Foreign Department made an inquiry in regard to articles of export and import, gathered all necessary information for foreign agencies, worked out a project for the organization of foreign agencies, instructions and so on. We have already spoken in general terms as to the work of the trade and industrial departments. There remains the work of the finance department of the "Centrosection" to which we have to devote our attention.

But here we pass over to the means placed at the disposal of the "Centrosection," and this question it is necessary to explain more in detail.

The Moscow Provincial Association of Workers' Consumers' Societies, which was used as a foundation for the "Centrosection," organized its financial operations on a fairly wide basis, including the organization of its own banking department. This was brought about by a natural state of affairs. The share capital was a very small one,—in the balance sheet made up to the 1st of January, 1918,

** In the space of a few months the "Centrosection" dispatched 88 wagon loads of glass and china ware to 18 workers' cooperatives.

it was 242,335 rubles 39 kopecs, whereas the turnover equalled a sum of 21-29 millions of rubles. The financial aid which had been afforded by the Moscow Food Committee, namely a sum of one and a half millions, and a credit of 100,000 rubles by the Moscow National Bank and advances paid by the societies against goods of about 130,000 rubles, was of course not sufficient for such a large turnover. For this reason, the association opened a banking department which started its business by accepting deposits and issuing letters of credit. It is interesting to note that the provincial cooperatives, especially the agricultural societies, made great use of the acceptance of these deposits, since the war. In organizing the banking department, not only the material independence of the association was aimed at, but also the creation of a Workers' Bank.

Since the reorganization of the association into the "Centrosection," and the completely new relations which exist between the cooperative societies and the State authority, the financial position of the cooperative combine has undergone a change. The "Centrosection" is at present the State organ for distribution, and as such, is financed by the state which allows it a wide credit. Besides this it is proposed to introduce the payment of obligatory advances by the members of cooperative societies against goods stored for distribution. In its turn, "the Centrosection" facilitates the financing of all its cooperative societies by applying for credit for them to the Cooperative Department of the Central Administration of the National Bank, after careful verifications of all necessary figures.

V.

All the central cultural-educational work car-

ried on by the workers' cooperatives, such as instructions on questions of cooperative structure, in general, constructive administration, agitation, and propaganda of cooperatives, organization of cooperatives, publication, arrangement of lectures, courses, organization of clubs, kindergartens, libraries, etc., has been completely transferred to the All-Russian Council of Workers' Cooperatives which, as already stated, was founded in 1917 with a view to uniting the workers' cooperatives. It is of course possible that, under the new conditions, it will be made one with the economic center, namely the "Centrosection."

As stated already, the Soviet authorities have transferred the whole work of distribution into the hands of the people themselves in the person of their cooperative apparatus. Only the general supervision and administration remains to be done by the state organs. In this manner the task of the cooperatives has become still more complicated. If, previously, the cooperative societies were responsible only for the requirements of its members, today the Center-union, and together with it the "Centrosection," is responsible, as the state apparatus for distribution, for the satisfaction of all the daily requirements of the whole population. In order to solve this task in the spirit of communist principles, not only is serious and capable work required, but also complete permeation of the basis of socialist construction.

It is in virtue of this that the place given to workers' cooperatives, in spite of the amalgamation of the whole cooperative apparatus in the Center-union, is somewhat particularized: the amalgamation of the workers' cooperatives will facilitate the work of bringing the remaining cooperatives into the channels of Socialism.

Leonid B. Krassin, Commissar for Means of Communication

Krassin is a native of Siberia and was born in 1870. He entered the Petrograd Technological Institute from which he was expelled three years later for participation in student mutinies.

In 1892 Krassin served in the army, where he was arrested in connection with the case of the social-democrat M. I. Brussenev, who was accused of party propaganda among the workers in the shops of the Moscow-Brest Railway. The hearing of this case lasted until December, 1894, and in the meantime Krassin succeeded in leaving the Tagansk jail, where he was imprisoned. However, shortly after this he was imprisoned in Voronezh for a while. Later on, by the order of Czar Nicholas II, he was expelled from the army and sent to Siberia.

During his stay in Irkutsk Krassin worked as a master mechanic, and later on as mechanical engineer in the construction of the Siberian railroad. In the latter capacity he obtained permission to complete his education; not in Petrograd, however,

but in Kharkov. But again, due to his participation in student uprisings, he was expelled from the Kharkov Technical Institute (in 1898). After that he directed the construction of the railroad "Petersburg-Viatka." In 1899 he participated in the construction of the Trans-Baikal Railway.

In the same year he returned to the Kharkov Technological Institute, from which he was again expelled. He then went to Baku, working there at the construction of the central electric station, and performing the duty of supervisor of the entire enterprise from 1900 to 1904. During this entire period he actively participated in the organization of illegal printing-shops for the publishing of "Iskra," which printing-shops later became the shops of the Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party. These printing shops were in existence during the Revolution of 1905, at which time they were transferred to Petersburg, where they later became part of the printing shop where the Bolshevist newspaper

Novaya Zhizn was published.

While in Baku, Krassin received his diploma from the Kharkov Institute (1901) and entered the Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party.

In 1904 he left Baku for Orekhon-Zuev, where he took up the position of superintendent of the Central Electric Station of the Nikolak Works. But in 1905 the Central Committee of the party were arrested at the home of the writer Andriyev. Krassin and two other members of the committee fled to Geneva, Switzerland, where Krassin participated in the party convention, and worked under the names of Nikitich, Winter, and Zimin. Later on he returned to Russia, where, when circumstances permitted, he returned to his engineering profession and became the superintendent of the cable system in Petrograd. At that time he devoted his leisure to the organization (financially and technically) of the Bolshevik party.

Revolutionary activity compelled him again to leave Russia. He settled down in Berlin, having at first obtained a position as engineer in the works of Siemens, Schukert & Co., and later on he was engaged as director of the Moscow department of the same firm and received special permission

to enter Russia from the Czarist authorities.

In January, 1914, Krassin was transferred to the same position in Petrograd. When the war broke out and the German staff of this firm left Petrograd, Krassin was appointed chief manager of all establishments of Siemens, Schukert & Co. in Russia. He occupied this position until August, 1918, at which time he was elected to an official post with the Soviet Government.

His connections with the Soviet Government began in 1917, at which time he participated in the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations with Germany, having received a request to do so from the Soviet Government.

He also participated in the drawing of the commercial treaty in the capacity of financial and economic expert.

Upon his return to Moscow he was elected President of the Supreme Council of National Economy and of the Extraordinary Commission for supplying the Red Army with necessities. He became People's Commissar of Commerce and Industry in November, 1918. On March 20 he became, in accordance with the resolution of the Central Executive Committee of Soviets, People's Commissar for Means of Communication.

Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK.

“GERMANY’S fall began in her Russian conquest,” said General Ludendorff, and Pilsudski can now repeat the same words in regard to Poland. The crisis has come for the Polish army. Nothing can save it from the approaching debacle. General opinion, following the statements from the Warsaw press bureau, would believe that the Poles are victorious. The Poles, we are informed, have restored their frontier of 1772, being in possession of the ground along the left bank of the Dvina, left bank of the Beresina; they are masters of the whole middle Dnieper from Gorval to Tcherkassy in Ukraine, and are also moving their army from Yampol down the Dniester towards Odessa.*

Kiev, the press bureau tells us, was captured by the Poles, counter-revolution has broken out in Moscow, Lenin is again overthrown, this time not, as before the ‘fall’ of Petrograd, by Trotsky, but by General Brussilov, who has become the military dictator of Russia . . . And much more nonsense of the same kind.

Arno Dosch-Fleurot, the correspondent of the *New York World* tries to discredit the Soviet Army (*World*, May 17). This correspondent, with the aid of an anonymous “American military observer,” has discovered that the Red Army scarcely ever was an army, but only “an immense aggregation of men.” “As for the reputed genius of

War Minister Trotsky,” he says, “they saw no evidences of it. The command and direction of the Red Army showed small signs of understanding the science of modern war, and was even unable to take such a simple military precaution as to protect the fighting from cavalry attacks in the rear. The Poles found individual units which held their positions well so long as they were attacked from the front, but the Poles needed only to find a hole through which their cavalry could pour to have the Red front on the run.”

It will be remembered that during the equally “victorious” advance of Denikin on Moscow, Generals Mamontov and Shkuro likewise succeeded in finding a hole in the Russian front through which their cavalry poured, about 14,000 strong; but whether or not the raiders returned safely to their headquarters from that same hole we were never informed. We only know that by much “pouring through” such holes Denikin at last arrived safely—in London.

The American military observer, continues Mr. Dosch-Fleurot, “says also that there is not the slightest chance of Trotsky ever organizing a fighting force which could trouble the tranquility of Europe.” With that opinion of the distinguished military observer we entirely agree. It is far from Trotsky’s purpose to organize an aggressive military force. The Red Army was formed and exists for purely defensive purposes. In this character it is and will remain very troublesome and

* The present line lies about 150 miles from Odessa between Dnieper and Dniester.

dangerous to those who attempt to destroy the Revolution which the Red Army defends.

In spite of all its alleged lack of organization and its low spirits, as noted by Mr. Dosch-Fleurot and his military friend, the Red Army has already successfully outfought the reactionary Allied coalition, has utterly defeated the armies of the Russian counter-revolutionists, and has now dealt a mortal blow to the "most modern and highly spirited" Polish Army.

Protecting the concentration of their forces, the Russians, engaging the advancing enemy by orderly rearguard actions, have gradually fallen back, farther and farther into Russian territory. This movement continued until May 14, when the Russians suddenly struck back at the Poles, first on their northern front and then along the whole battle line.

Before this counter-offensive the Russian battle front extended approximately southward from Pytalov, northeast of station Drissa on the Riga-Vitebsk railway and on the left bank of the river Dvina; thence it ran in a southeasterly direction to Polotsk on the right bank of the same river and on the same railway line. From Polotsk the Russians held the line southward which passed east of Lepel and joined the left bank of the Berezina, north of Borisov, and, crossing over, extended along the left bank of that river to its junction with the Dnieper, continuing down the river to a point opposite Tcherkassy. From this point the line turned to the southwest towards the Dniester, passing southeast of Svenigorod, south of Gaisin and the station Vapniarka and ending at Jampol on the left bank of the Dniester, in Podolia, on the boundary of Bessarabia.

The length of this front is roughly about 700 English miles. This does not mean, however, that this line was protected by the troops along its entire length. The forces were concentrated only along certain parts of this long front, mostly in the regions of strategical railway lines and rivers and at those places where concentration of the enemy had been discovered.

The towns enumerated above, except Polotsk, were occupied by the Poles, who, after the evacuation of Kiev by the Russians, had advanced more than 30 miles east from the Dnieper.

The Russian general offensive, judging by the way in which the Poles met it, was a surprise to the invaders. The attack which was begun by the Russians at daybreak on May 14, was supported by strong reserves and, we assume, without previous artillery preparation. It was sudden, surprising, and decisive.

In my article in SOVIET RUSSIA of May 15, I pointed out that the situation of the Polish army concentrated on the front north of the Pripet marshes was far from "brilliant." Already three weeks previously in that region a certain progress of the Soviet troops was noticeable in the direction of Pytalov and Igumen, and at the same time the Russians attempted to cross the Berezina at several points and the activity of their rearguard action considerably increased. But the general attention

was turned upon the "victorious" Polish advance which was crowned by the "capture" of Kiev. In the great Polish drive into Russia these small tactical successes of the Reds passed practically unnoticed. In the same article, however, I foreshadowed "very surprising developments in the northern Polish theatre of war" and now we have them before us.

At the extreme north of the battle front, namely in the Pytalov region, the Poles attacked the Russian right flank just before the Reds started their offensive, but they could not stand the numerically superior enemy and were beaten. "In the Polotsk-Lepel region," says the official report of May 20, "the Russians began their general advance on a fifty mile front and broke through the Polish lines in the vicinity of the Polotsk-Molodetchno railway and to the north of Lepel. The attack of the Red Army was so impetuous that the enemy could not hold it and finally fled in panic."

"During the advance on Ziabky," says the Moscow wireless, "we took a large number of prisoners, together with enormous booty."

On May 18 the victorious Red troops reached the river Disna, tributary of the Duna or Dvina, capturing the town of that name from the Poles. The village of Plissa, twenty-five miles south of Disna, was also taken and the terminal station, Glubokoi, of the Svientsiany railway line, with part of the line to the east fell in the hands of the Reds.

Further south, 40 miles from Polotsk, the town of Lepel was captured after a very stubborn resistance by the enemy, who had begun his retreat across the Berezina and perished in its water, being heavily pressed by the Reds. The Soviet troops crossed the river and continued the pursuit of the remaining forces of defeated Poles.

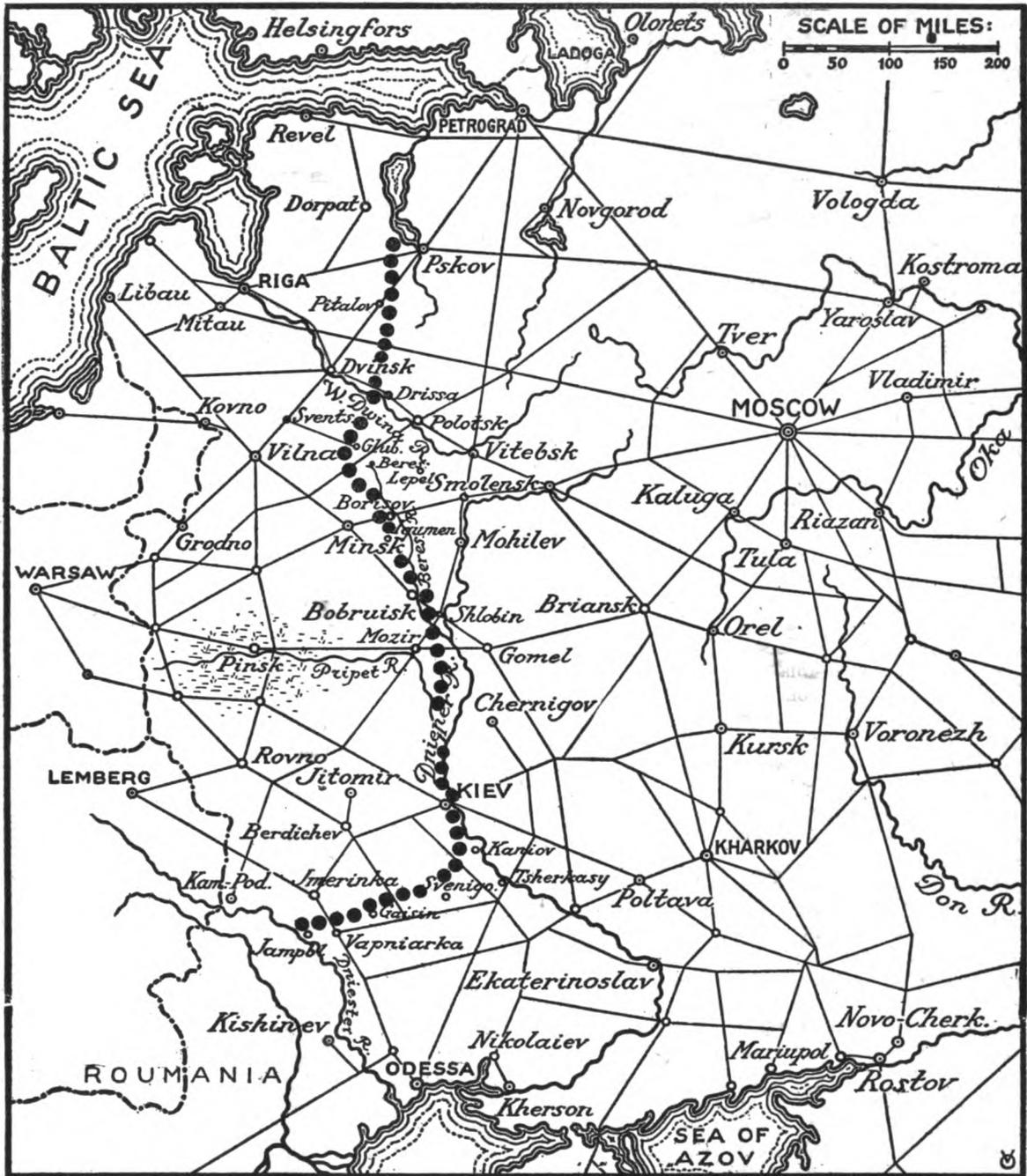
Simultaneously the Berezina was successfully crossed by the Russians at several points. In the Borisov region the crossing was followed by a speedy advance along the railway line towards Minsk, situated about 40 miles southwest from Borisov. According to a dispatch from London (*Evening Mail*, May 20) the Reds here have advanced more than 20 miles and may have approached the outskirts of Minsk, moving also to the west along the Svientsiany railway with station Svientsiany as their objective in order to cut off Vilno from Dvinsk (Svientsiany is about 33 miles northeast from Vilno).

This all indicates that in the northern theatre of war the Russians have undertaken an enveloping movement with Vilno and Minsk as their objectives. Studying the further dispatches, it can be seen that after a fierce battle in the vicinity of Shlobin, on the right bank of the Dnieper and north of Gorval, situated near the junction of the Berezina and the Dnieper, the enemy was driven into the Berezina and fled in the direction of Mozir,* where heavy fighting is in progress.

There can be no doubt that the Dnieper was

* Mozir is situated at the eastern extremity of the Pripet Marshes and presents the center of the battle front.

The Military Situation in Russia on May 25, 1920



The heavy dotted line indicates the present Western or Polish Front.

crossed by the Reds all along its course, and it is quite possible that Kiev has already been retaken by the Russians, as was indeed reported from London by the Universal News Service: "The official communique of the Polish War Office, received from Warsaw, admits that the Polish troops on the Ukrainian front have fallen back to new position. The report indicates that Kiev, capital of Ukraine, had been lost by the Poles to the Russian Soviet forces" (N. Y. *American*, May 20).

Taking into consideration that Kaniov, situated on the right bank of Dnieper and about 60 miles south of Kiev, has been captured by the Reds and that the Red Army has advanced from Southern Russia between the Dnieper and the Diester north of Svenigorod, northwest of Gaisin, northwest of Vapniarka, and from Jampol in the Mohilev direction in Podolia, it is to be doubted that the Poles could still remain in Kiev in presence of such an enveloping movement.

It must be remembered that the impenetrable Pripet marshes divide the Polish army in two parts, thus preventing any regrouping of forces in case of necessity, and consequently aiding the northern and southern Russian armies to accomplish their encircling manoeuvre and finally the annihilation of both of the Polish armies.

I predicted in a previous article that Germany would not miss an opportunity to use the Polish offensive for her own advantage. According to the N. Y. *Globe*, May 21, in Upper Silesia the German armed forces have been assembling on the borders of the plebiscite area. "For weeks," it is declared, "the Germans have been bringing ammunition into Silesia, hiding it beneath beets in railroad cars. Military authorities say the Germans are advertising their troop movements in this region for the purpose of compelling the Poles to transfer forces from the east, and thus weaken the Bolshevik front."

The purpose of the Germans in doing this is important. If it is true, it is indeed, from a purely strategical standpoint, very favorable for the Russian operations.

Meanwhile, according to a dispatch to the N. Y. *Evening Sun*, May 21, the Moscow wireless reports that "disorders have broken out throughout all Poland." "Workmen were striking at Lodz," the communique said. "An attempted uprising in Warsaw had been suppressed." We shall hear more of this news.

I shall take up the military situation on the Persian and Japanese fronts in my next article.

The Russian-Polish Negotiations

SOVIET RUSSIA publishes this week, under "Documents," the diplomatic correspondence that passed between Russia and Poland prior to the outbreak of the last Polish offensive, following the breaking up of the negotiations. The perusal of the correspondence can leave no doubt as to the sincerity of the peace offers of Soviet Russia, whose proposals to conclude peace with Poland go as far back as the spring of 1919, when they were first made to the then Polish representative at Moscow, Wienckowski. At that time, however, the Polish Government was engaged in cooperating with all the other reactionaries that aimed to secure the overthrow of the Soviet regime. This cooperation was never very serious, as the Polish governing circles were not agreed on their program with regard to Russia. The conservative agrarians and the reactionary National-Democrats considered it entirely admissible, and even desirable, that the new Poland should work together with czarist plotters for the overthrow of the Soviet Government in Russia, and were effecting agreements with Kolchak, Denikin, etc., hoping that Poland might be able to offset the imperialist designs of a reactionary Russia that would come out of the overthrow of the Soviets, and expecting to conclude with it an economic alliance. The so-called "radicals"—the name is little representative of its meaning in this case—who form the entourage of the chief of state, Pilsudski, rejected such alliance, fearing for the fate of Poland in case of a revival of the old reactionary Russia, and basing their hopes on a federation

of the new born border-states, under the domination of Poland. The last scheme is an old one, dating from the times of Czarist Russia, and its most loquacious representative is the former Polish minister for foreign affairs, Leon Wasilewski, who was proposed as one of the Polish representatives at the prospective negotiations at Borisov.

The Soviet peace overtures, made through Wienckowski, have been thus ignored, and the question of peace with Soviet Russia did not come up as an urgent matter until the arrival of Chicherin's peace offer of December 22, 1919. The time was ripe for negotiations, inasmuch as the civil war conducted by the czarist generals Kolchak, Yudenich and Denikin was at its end, and Soviet Russia was approaching the border states, one by one, with peace proposals. And so, in January, 1920, the Polish Foreign Minister, Stanislas Patek, made his famous voyage to the centers of the Allied diplomacy, Paris and London, to get "instructions." While on his way home, the second Russian note, presumably of January 27, and signed by Lenin, Chicherin and Trotzky, arrived at the Polish capital.

It has nowadays become almost bromidic to point out that "the war to end wars" and to bring into being "open diplomacy," has brought about more armed conflicts and surely no less diplomatic intrigues than were the lot of the "civilized peoples" during the 19th century. As we are rather victims than actors in this diplomatic game, we must confess that we are ignorant as to what actually transpired between the envoy of Poland and

the Allied diplomats; nor do we know the character of the "instructions" received by M. Patek during his stay in Paris and London. There is little doubt that, in view of the "peace offensive" inaugurated about that time by the Entente powers with regard to Soviet Russia, Poland was persuaded not to reject the Russian peace offer. Whether the scheme of uniting all border states into one, so far as peace (or war?) with Russia was concerned, was of Allied making, or whether Poland was playing her own game in this undertaking—the future will show. We are ready to believe, however, that behind the Allied "peace offensive" there were hidden plans of new attacks on Soviet Russia, in which Poland was to play the leading role, for we recall a statement reported to have been made by the former premier of Rumania, Vayda, as late as in February, 1920, to the effect that England was making attempts to compel the Rumanian military command to unite with Poland for an attack on Soviet Russia, to which Rumania was supposed to reply that in no case would the Rumanians cross the Dniester, meaning of course that, unless attacked in Bessarabia, the Rumanians would not join in an offensive against Russia. Our belief is partly confirmed by the recent statement of Lord Robert Cecil, reported in the New York press of May 17. Be this as it may, upon Patek's return to Warsaw, the Polish Government decided that a desire for peace, or at least a pretense, must be shown to the outside world, and a short reply was dispatched to Moscow on February 4, the sense of which was simply that the Polish Government needed time. Besides, some kind of a reply had to be sent out, as the Polish people themselves were clamoring for peace, or at least for a solution of the tangle on the eastern front, which kept the people in constant tension and fear of disaster. The press had not dared to publish the text of the Soviet peace offers, but now gave publicity to both Bolshevik peace offers of December 22 and January 27. There began a veritable orgy, in the press, of plans and schemes that often changed in the same paper overnight. On the whole, however, the line of division ran as before, only the Socialist press, which stands in Poland in constant danger of losing its influence with the masses of workmen and landless peasants, to the Communists, who are working effectively underground, coming out at this time in a more outspoken way for peace.

Thus the *Trybuna*, an unofficial organ of the Polish Socialist Party, in an article of February 17, pointed out that a war between Poland and Russia could happen only as a result of a misunderstanding, because no war would take place if both countries were to pursue but their own tasks: Poland to stabilize its independent existence, Russia build up its economic resources. Any other "mission" for Poland could be only in the interests of the great powers. In Volhynia, the field of operations of the Polish armies, there were lying 19,000 unburied corpses of people who died of spotted typhus. If Poland and Russia should not conclude peace, there was danger that both neighbors would be destroyed, not on the battlefields, nor from hunger, but from the epidemics that were being brought over from the battlefields.

Of the other political parties or groups, the most pacifistically inclined were the spokesmen of the influential National-Democratic party (the second part of the name being, by the way, misleading, as the party is reactionary to the core).

Thus, the *Gazeta Warszawska*, the official organ of the party, quoted its Paris correspondent to the effect that a further war with Russia was only in the interests of the English, the Jews, and the Bolsheviks. Leaving aside the silly remarks of the paper on the first two "enemies" of Poland, as having no political significance, and being dictated merely by its sincere hatred of Bolshevism and its ever-ardent anti-semitic feeling, it is worth while mentioning the belief of the *Gazeta Warszawska*, that it was in the interests of English imperialism to draw away the Red Army from the borders of the Caucasian states, Persia, and India, and to transfer it to the Dvina, the Berezina and the Dniester fronts. The paper concludes that Poland ought to care for her own interests and conclude peace.

The most lucid interpretation and solution of Poland's problem in the east was given by the Polish dramatist and journalist, Adolph Nowaczynski, in his magazine *Liberum Veto*, in which this (perhaps the ablest) spokesman of Polish reaction, remembering surely the fate that befell Poland in the past because it had neglected its Baltic possessions for the sake of eastern expansion, expressed himself as follows:

The most important event in the history of Poland is the hundred kilometers of Baltic coast in our possession. It is not in the east, in Lithuania, White Russia, etc., where it can only bring about the hatred of a hundred and fifty million people, that the mission of Poland lies. Not we are to civilize White Russia, Ukraine, and Lithuania, but we must become civilized ourselves. A people that has 70 per cent of illiterates has no right to speak of civilizing the Lithuanians, who are endowed with higher intelligence than we.

Whereas the National-Democratic party, possessed of a greater foresight, and therefore even opposed to the scheme of autonomous buffer-states which sooner or later would turn against Poland, tried to find a peaceable solution for the Russo-Polish conflict, showing itself satisfied with the acquisition of some non-Polish lands conquered by the Polish armies in their drives of last year, and with so-called "strategical" frontiers,—the young "radicals," who had acquired their political and military experience through service in the famous Polish legions which had been fighting for the cause of an Austrian protectorate over Poland, called the "Bevedere Guard" because of their intimate friendship with the Chief of State, Pilsudski, were growing ever more boldly imperialistic, using in their enunciations a language quite worthy of the Pan-German writers in the early stages of the great war, which, in men who but a short while ago were contented with lower grade positions in the Austrian military or civil command, could not but produce a repulsive impression.

The organ of the "Bevedere Guard" *Rzad i Wojsko* (Government and Army), in a fit of megalomania, went so far as to say that Poland might act without regard for the Entente powers, as the point of gravity in world politics had moved from Paris to Warsaw, whither were coming for conference the Ukrainian Petlura and the Russian Savinkov, as well as the envoys of Latvia, Rumania, and others.

According to these newly hatched "eaglets" . . . "the Polish program cannot confine itself to the affairs of its own backyard, but it must go far beyond, starting with the Poland at the Baltic and reaching as far as the mountain ridges of the Caucasus."

We should be guilty of omission if we did not mention the fact that the first, and surely the strongest, to come out against peace with Soviet Russia were the Polish land-owners having possessions on the Polish peripheries. The Polish National Council in the White Russian and Baltic provinces, composed predominantly of Polish junkers, sent an official communication regarding the Soviet peace offer containing the following:

The peace offer which is made to Poland by Soviet Russia calls forth uneasiness here. The Polish National Council of the White-Russian provinces considers therefore that peace with Russia would mean putting an end to the historic mission of Poland: the defense of western civilization against the barbarism of the East.

Besides, the peace is not at all favorable for Poland: it threatens with economic entanglements; the boundaries proposed by the Bolsheviks do not correspond with the interests of the Polish community in White Russia; the peace will result in flooding White Russia with Bolshevik agitators.

Similarly, the "Union of Poles in Volhynia, Podolia, and the province of Kiev" has published a special manifesto in which it expressed itself against peace with Soviet Russia.

And the masses of the toiling people? The fact that the Communist Party of Poland, although severely persecuted by the Government, was gaining an ever greater influence with the city and agricultural workers, as reflected in the various strikes and meetings, as well as the fact that the nationalistic Polish Socialist Party was compelled to veer, against the sentiment of the leaders, to a policy of an active opposition to the government, may serve as an indication of the fact that the masses of the Polish working people were opposed to the militaristic policy of the government. The following is the text of a resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Federation of radical labor unions in February of this year:

Whereas, the war that has been waged for over a year, by capitalist Poland, against the Russian Soviet Republic, serves only the interests of international capital, the land-owners in the border provinces, profiteers, military and civil officialdom, and brings only death, famine, epidemics, and high prices to the Polish toiling masses, at the same time hampering the workers in their fight for the overthrow of the rule of their own bourgeoisie; and,

Whereas, the Polish working class has not interests that are contrary to the interests of the Russian working class, which in its own country has already abolished the rule of capital, but, on the contrary, together with it and with the workers of the whole world, is striving to bring to a realization the common ideal of Socialism and the international solidarity of the proletariat; and

Whereas the Government of the Soviet Republic, acting in behalf of the toiling people of Russia, has for the third time in one year addressed the Polish Government with a proposal immediately to conclude peace;

Be it resolved:

That the Polish working class can attain this end not by means of delegations or memorandums addressed to the government institutions, but by means of direct pressure, meetings, demonstrations, strikes, and mass action; and

That, while it is demanding peace, the Polish proletariat must not forget the fact that the peace between capitalist Poland and proletarian Russia cannot mean a peace that will secure for Poland a development of its economic resources and guarantee to the people true liberty and well-being, but that, in demanding peace at any price, the Polish proletariat must prepare simultaneously for a struggle with its own bourgeoisie for the conquest of power and the capturing from it of the means of production; and,

That, in stating all this, the Executive Committee of the Trade Unions appeals to the Polish proletariat to develop a peace action of wide range, in order that the Polish workers may prepare themselves, by meetings and street demonstrations, for the use of final means, with the aim of putting an end to the war which is ruining the Polish economic life, and casting the Polish working class into an abyss of misery.

Nor were the soldiers at the front over-enthusiastic about the war with Soviet Russia. According to information coming from Soviet sources, as early as December of last year there were frequent cases of desertion, and even mutiny, in the ranks of the Polish army. One daily report contained for instance this information:

Staff of the Twelfth Army: the 104th regiment is in state of dissolution; Bolshevik sentiment; soldiers are waiting for an opportunity to desert to the Bolshevik side. Staff of the Fifteenth Army: in the district of the NN regiment, Polish legionaries came over to us; Bolshevik literature was spread in the regiment. The 33d Lomzha regiment refused to obey a command to advance, was transferred to the rear and disarmed.

Such was the sentiment of the Polish people and the press at the time when the government began preparing the stage for the diplomatic and military game that it was to play in its negotiations with Soviet Russia. First of all, alarm was sounded the world over of an expected Bolshevik offensive at the Polish front. While Chief of State Pilsudski and other generals, in interviews written by correspondents of *Echo de Paris*, *Petit Parisien*, etc., were simulating fear of a Bolshevik concentration and offensive, the Polish military command was carrying out a concentration of troops at the southern front, and engaging in preliminary attacks in this sector. That all these alarms of a Bolshevik offensive were hypocritical may be seen from the contempt in which the army circles held the Red Army. The Pilsudski group, *Rzad i Wojsko*, which is strongly represented in army circles, reproaching the National-Democrats for their groundless fear, spoke of the Red Army in the following manner:

The right parties are afraid of the military victories of the Bolsheviks. But this is out of the question. Their army is completely demoralized, and, except the Communist regiments, who fight with exemplary courage, it is not worth anything. But the Polish soldier is full of war-lust and is ready to fight to the bitter end.

Secondly, the Polish Government was playing for delay, preparing meanwhile a conference of the border states in Warsaw. These tactics of the Polish Government, both as regards the military operations, as well as the delaying of a reply to the Russian peace offer of January 27, brought forth from the Soviet Government protests that were expressed in the notes of March 8 and March 13. Still, the Poles did not hurry with a reply, having optimistic views of the outcome of the ne-

negotiations with Latvia and Rumania (Finland being agreeable to the Polish terms) as well as good hopes in the fortunes of war. For home consumption, conferences were daily held with the members of the Diet Committee on Foreign Relations, and public opinion was being prepared for the peace conditions, which Poland, in her role as a victor, should impose upon the humbled Soviet Government. At last an official communication regarding the peace terms was given, not without some political trickery, to the press, the same that was said to have been previously sent to the Entente powers and which in the main coincided with the terms discussed in the Columns of SOVIET RUSSIA of May 1.

It would lead us too far to present here the flood of press and other comments brought forth by the publication of the peace terms. In general, there was felt in many quarters resentment at the harshness of the Polish demands.

A vulgar, reactionary and anti-semitic sheet *Dwa Grosze* (supposed to have been financed by the former premier, Paderewski) asked, for instance, how could the Polish Government expect the Russians to withdraw from sections occupied by the Red armies and permit the Poles to occupy them instead. The already mentioned *Gazeta Warszawska* expressed fears that the Polish demands would produce abroad an impression of Polish imperialism and asserted that the whole business of frontiers of 1772 and the formation of buffer-states on the Polish border was a bluff, the peace delegates being ready to accede to a "strategical frontier," to which the semi-official *Kuryer Codzienny* responded that the Chairman of the Diet Committee, Stanislas Grabski, who is a member of the conciliatory National-Democratic party, and who had been designated as a delegate to the peace conference, possessed no "secret documents" permitting him to change the terms elaborated by the government. The most bellicose, as ever, was the Pilsudski group *Rzad i Wojsko*. According to the enunciations of this group, the present war between the two parties was not a war between a Bolshevik Russia and the bourgeoisie of Poland, but the old bitter struggle between Poland and Russia in which the whole existence of Poland was at stake. If the Poles say that they are not able further to carry on the struggle, they might as well tell themselves that they are lost.

Knowing of the opposition to the war on the part of the Socialists by whom they are befriended, these "radicals" of peculiar make present the following highly characteristic and convincing arguments for keeping up the war, which, by the way, show in the true light the background of the present Polish offensive:

Those on the left forget that peace involves great dangers, that with the coming of peace, unemployment will increase and prices will rise tenfold; the army will be demobilized, and who shall provide work for them? Hungry Russia will begin to buy off our products and who of us will be able to pay their prices?

Under such circumstances, it must be admitted, peace could not present too great allurements to the Government of Poland. A continuation of the war seems to have been an imperative necessity, the only alternative being a victorious peace, the spoils of which might for a time appease the discontent of the masses. For the attainment of such a peace, it was indispensable to exercise a greater pressure than could be offered, at that time, by Poland alone. Such pressure was possible by

reaching an agreement with the border states, and were it not for the wolfish appetite of Poland for the land of other peoples, the agreement might have been brought to a conclusion. A different thing has happened, however, and the conference ended in complete failure. It was even said that during the conference there was a complete break in the Polish-Latvian and the Polish-Rumanian friendship, the result of which was that these two states decided to negotiate peace directly with the Soviet Government. The following account in the Polish paper *Przeglad Wieczorny* throws some light on the situation:

The former plan of conducting peace negotiations, together with other powers that had sprung up on the territory of the former Russian empire, under the leadership of Poland, has not met with success. The participation of Esthonia, which had already concluded peace with Russia, could be of no importance. Latvia has shown aversion to this project. Ukraine is divided into various camps and therefore had no representative at the Warsaw conference. The negotiations with Rumania, whose representatives came to the conference, stood under the sign of hard luck. Before the first difficulties were eliminated, which arose through differences on the matter of Ukraine, the mandates of the Rumanian delegates, which they received from the former ministry, had expired. Simultaneously Chicherin was very active. Without delay he proposed to Rumania, which is much pleased with Russia's disinterestedness in Bessarabia, separate peace negotiations, putting as a categorical condition the parting with Poland so far as the present negotiations were concerned. He also proposed a separate peace with Latvia. In a word, he did everything to isolate Poland.*

We must note at this place, not without satisfaction, the interesting fact that as late as March of this year the Polish Government was still concealing the "sole representative" of Ukraine, "Bat'ko" Simon Petlura, who at that time was living in Warsaw, together with a part of his "cabinet," and that it did not consider it advisable to have a representative of Ukraine at the conference, having surely in mind a division of Ukrainian lands between Poland and Rumania. Now, that the conference had ended with no result, delay was of no purpose, particularly since Soviet Russia might meanwhile conclude peace with all the other border states, and thus free a part of her army. A few days after the delegates had left Warsaw, a reply was sent (March 27) to Moscow which could be accepted by the latter only in one case, namely, if Soviet Russia should indeed consider itself a vanquished country. Chicherin's reply of March 28 shows that the snare was rea-

* The following telegram from Bucharest was published on April 5:

Avarescu has signed an agreement with the Soviet Government regarding an armistice, as a result of which all hostilities were stopped. Peace negotiations continue. The main conditions have been already stated.

On March 27 the Lettish Government received the following radio:

Meyerovitch, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Riga.

The Russian Soviet Government accepts your proposal to begin peace negotiations at the beginning of April and to conduct them in Moscow. The Soviet Government proposes to start the negotiations on April 5. It guarantees the freedom of movement of your representatives and the possibility of travel for your staff according to agreement. It accepts also your other terms stated in the radio and gives the guarantee.

CHICHERIN.
On April 3 the Latvian delegation left for Moscow numbering 25 men with the Foreign Minister Eberg at the head.

lized by Moscow. Still, the Soviet Government was so solicitous for peace that it was willing to yield on the point of a general armistice, as a preliminary to peace negotiations, if the latter should be transferred to a neutral country, preferably to Esthonia. The note is couched in language such as could not be misunderstood by the Polish people and by the world at large. It emphasizes once more its readiness immediately to conclude peace with Poland on terms honorable to both countries and puts the burden of responsibility for the prosecution of the war on the shoulders of the Polish Government. No wonder then, that the latter found itself obliged to take recourse to a falsification of this note, to the staking in its own land of a miniature "Ems affair" of the 1870 pattern. For the official Polish Telegraph Agency gave out the following "abridged" version of Chicherin's note of March 28:

WARSAW, March 30, (PAT).—Today, Tuesday, there was received a radio dispatch from M. Chicherin, Russian Commissar for Foreign Affairs, addressed to M. Patek, Minister for Foreign Affairs. M. Chicherin communicates in the radio that the Government of the Russian Soviet Republic acknowledges with pleasure the communication of the Polish Government, expressing its readiness to begin peace negotiations on April 10, seeing in this a guarantee of the establishment of friendly and neighborly relations between both countries. At the same time the Soviet Government proposes an armistice on the whole Polish-Russian front, and *besides* (italics ours.—Ed. S. R.), it expresses its wish that the meeting of the Polish and Russian delegations take place in a neutral country, adding that one of the Esthonian cities would answer the purpose best. At the end, the Soviet Government expresses its conviction that the above conditions will have a more favorable influence upon the result of the peace negotiations.

The falsification is obvious. What the Soviet Government proposed as an alternative, namely the conducting of peace negotiations in Esthonia, in case the Polish Government should refuse to conclude a general armistice, is presented as a demand simultaneously with the proposing of such an armistice. The truth has come out, however, and has resulted in a "tempest in a teapot" in the press. For lack of space, we are obliged to omit the flood of press comments that followed the publication of the true contents of the note. The Polish Government was, however, bent on asserting a bellicose attitude, and the reply of April 1 refuses flatly to consider the Bolshevik proposal. The Soviet Government again addressed the Polish Government on April 2, yielding this time still more to the point of offering Poland, in default of other places, Warsaw as the place of negotiations. The Polish Government replied in a note of April 4, cutting short any discussion on the subject of a meeting place for negotiations, and leaving entirely out of consideration the conclusion of an armistice. Besides, the Polish note contained a series of contentions as silly as they are false. Thus, it argues that an armistice might require more time than the actual peace negotiations. A simple reference to precedence might refute this contention. Next comes a false assertion that the command of the Polish troops has

no intentions of aggressive operations—immediately contradicted, in the same note, by a "generous" offer of "complete liberty of action" in retaliation. This is followed by a "kick" at the Soviet Government concerning violations of international law, in detaining representatives of foreign countries, couriers, etc., with an innocent mien, assumed at a time when the date was already set for a trial in court of the assassins of the Russian Red Cross representatives, two men and two women sent to Warsaw at the invitation of the former Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Wasilewski, at the end of 1918, and foully murdered on their way home by officers and soldiers of the convoy. To crown the ingenuity and impertinence of the Polish reply, the Polish Government which was all the time delaying its answer to the Soviet Government's proposals, accuses the latter of delaying the negotiations. Much has come to pass during the last few years, but we surmise that the Polish "peace" radio of April 4 will remain unique in the history of the "last war."

What the Polish Government, through a vestige of ceremoniousness, was trying to conceal with a thin veil, namely, the motives for its insistence on Borisov as a place for negotiations, is revealed by the press friendly to the government. The paper *Narod*, of April 7, gives the following reason for demanding Borisov, in an article entitled "Face to Face":

There are left two powers between which a struggle for life has begun: Poland and Russia. The eternal war, continuing for centuries, we want now to bring to a conclusion. We have been left face to face, and we want to solve the question face to face. Let Russia not seek in neutral Reval the knot of international intrigues. Let it not try to use on us pressure from below in Warsaw, and let it not try to use round-about ways for its aims. We want to find ourselves in peaceful Borisov, face to face with the Russian representatives, in the heart of our front, in the iron ring of arms. Let witnesses look from afar on our negotiations, let nobody interfere with us from nearby.

There might arise some question whether the Polish imperialists have not put too much reliance on the "iron ring of arms," but no one can question the fact that as a general rule highwaymen do not look sympathetically upon witnesses to their acts.

After the receipt of the Polish note of April 4 the Soviet Government sent another informal note to Poland, April 8, communicating to it the text of a note sent to the Entente powers concerning the peace negotiations with Poland. We cannot refrain from mentioning briefly the comment of one paper, the semi-official *Kuryer Codzienny*, which gave vent to the bad feelings aroused by the Soviet note to the Entente, in a diatribe of which we quote the following:

In making his denunciation before the tribunal of Europe, Chicherin took for granted that his faithful co-workers in the west, the Nomirs(?) the Dawsons, the Keyneses, the Brandeises, the Schiffs, the Houses, and the Bullits, would do their utmost to put the case of the Communistic Republic in as favorable a light as possible. As a matter of fact, Chicherin does not expect that the powers will invite the flower of Bol-

shevism to the Windsor Palace or Versailles. But he, Chicherin, hopes that the powers will use their influence with Poland to have the negotiations take place in some spot other than that "thousand-times accursed" little Jewish town across the Berezina, memorable in Polish history, but peculiarly unsuited to be a gathering place for Communism.

The Polish Government was already preparing

the "great offensive" that Poland was to launch in Ukraine. Prior to this, it concluded a "treaty" with the bogus government of Petlura, who was perhaps the only Ukrainian to consent to such a perfidious selling-out of his own country. But with this phase of the Polish diplomacy we shall deal separately in an article on Ukraine.

Soviet Life at Murmansk

(Moscow Wireless of April 28, 1920.)

A set of the *Izvestia* of the Executive Committee at Murmansk has just arrived at Moscow. This paper has been appearing regularly at Murmansk since February 23, two days after the Soviet Revolution in that city. The first news met within its pages are orders intended to guarantee safety to all counter-revolutionists who have laid down their arms and to spread throughout the region the good news, hitherto no doubt concealed by the Whites, that the death penalty in Soviet Russia has been abolished. Beginning with the fourth number, it is apparent that the new power is not losing a moment's time in carrying out its functions. The Executive Committee at Murmansk have organized a workers' club, in which at all times political and literary conferences, as well as lectures on hygiene and on general subjects of instruction, are being held. Some of the earlier numbers likewise contain ardent appeals addressed to the intellectuals, calling upon them to cooperate with the people in the encouragement of the new regime. A railroad worker sends to the newspaper a letter dealing with the political section of the railroad, containing a fiery appeal to that effect.

Simultaneously, one beholds the development in this country, previously neglected, and then crushed under the boot of the Czarist generals, of all the living forces, which are encouraged by the Soviet Government. With an astounding rapidity these lands, almost in the polar regions and so long detached from Soviet Russia, are uniting with the latter. For example, there is the political and educational organization for young people. Its meetings are increasing in number.

Meanwhile, the general administration is being adjusted according to the principles of the whole republic. The Council of Commissars, created spontaneously in the first days of the Revolution, has been replaced by a Revolutionary Committee, which in turn, is to last only until such time as the convocation of the Soviet Congress. This Congress is to take place March 20. It includes sixty members elected by the workers' organizations, one delegate for each . . . and for the rest of the population, one delegate for each thousand. This Congress is to examine all questions of administration, territorial production, local economic life, and, most important, transportation by railroad and by water. This province, so recently liberated, has already had the time to join in the great campaign undertaken by Soviet Russia for the improvement of transportation. The transactions of

the Congress reveal the desperate situation in which the carelessness and the financial incapacity of the Whites have left the Murmansk railroad. Thus, the wood reserves at the head of the line, at the time when Miller left the field of action, amounted to only 80 steres. Thanks to their extraordinary efforts, the workers were able to keep up the supplies of wood from day to day.

The occupation of this country by the Allies has had the most disastrous consequences for the rolling stock. When the English began their work, there were at hand 195 locomotives in perfect condition. When Miller left, there were only 45. All the others were out of commission. The passenger and freight cars are now lacking to a point of almost complete absence. And yet, thanks to the measures taken by the new regime, already traffic is usual on two passenger trains weekly as far as Petrozavodsk.

All this new activity is inspired and maintained by the Communists, who are supported, in their turn, by the whole population, as may be seen in the resolution passed at numerous meetings.

There is no doubt that the people already understand the improvements made in the region; these are all the more striking, when we recall that the population is still enraged against the Whites, who ruined the country and deceived the people on the subject of Bolshevism.

Communist Saturdays are flourishing. Communist instructors are traveling throughout the country districts to acquaint the peasants with everything that has been going on for the last two years. Everywhere, the population receives them with enthusiasm and showers them with questions. In spite of the difficulties involved in the climatic conditions, everything is being done to increase the production of the country; so that the peninsula of Kola may become a self-supporting center, such as it never was before.

Courses are being opened for the illiterate. An extraordinary commission has been created for sanitary control in all inhabited places, and a general housecleaning week has been declared at Murmansk.

Two very interesting notes, recently exchanged between Chicherin and Lord Curzon, will appear in the next issue of *SOVIET RUSSIA*; also, a note of the Norwegian Government in regard to the Russo-Finnish peace parleys.

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FRANCE has lost her race for naphtha in the Caucasus. How this happened we do not know, but the fact is that she was left behind in the race for the new necessity of life. We surmise that there is something lacking in the French foreign policy, from the standpoint of capitalist efficiency. Perhaps the cause of this deficiency may be not far to seek. Perhaps the fact is that, due to their long alliance with Czarist Russia, France's diplomatic agents have become too much accustomed to find their friends among the high placed and gilded members of the old feudal or new bourgeois aristocracy, and cannot very easily adapt themselves to the fact that in the new republics that have sprung up on the ruins of the old absolutist Russian Empire it is mostly the nationalistic socialist parties that perform the work of running the affairs of the state in the interests of the propertied classes, and that it is among the latter that the diplomats have to look for friends. Or, may be, the French bankers—again through their habitual dealings with Czarist Russia—have grown too much used to safe investments and to easy unmolested profits in the form of interest on government loans, and are lacking therefore in the dexterity and craftiness acquired by real "captains of industry."

Be that as it may, it is the English who got a whiff of the Caucasus oil, though as things are developing there now, they may have to depart with a whiff only. However—in spite of her emblem—France does not behave as a beaten rooster, and though beaten once in the race, she enters the field again from another side. This time it is Ukrainian grain which she covets. According to

the correspondence of Mr. Walter Duranty, in the *New York Times* of May 3, the secret of the Polish offensive in Ukraine lies in the French desire to occupy Odessa as a key to the Ukrainian grain. And it is Poland and her army which are to be used as a wedge to open the gate.

We do not doubt the "cleverness" of the arrangement, nor do we wish to invade the field of our military contributor, Lt.-Col. Roustam Bek, to reveal the questionable nature of the "certain victory" of the Polish arms that is to be the outcome of the present military move. It is something else that makes us skeptical. How will the invaders manage to get the grain from the Ukrainian peasant? And the doubts this question arouses in us are so great that we pass unnoticed the customary twaddle of "forgetting internal grievances," and "uniting" in one great "patriotic effort" (for corroboration read the account of the May 1 demonstration in Warsaw or the exprobrations of Gen. Szeptycki, the Polish commander, against the Polish workmen who are "stabbing the army in the back" by constant strikes), as well as the outrageously ridiculous assertions that the Poles are acting as "protectors of Ukrainian independence." Time will expose these "protectors" of Ukraine, if any proof be needed after Poland's treatment of Eastern Galicia and the Ukrainian provinces previously occupied by the Polish armies.

Suppose "France's friends," the Poles, do occupy a part of Ukraine, even as far as Odessa; does it really follow that France will then get hold of the vast wheat stores of Ukraine? We have our doubts. First of all, according to the latest news of the military operations, the Red troops are not going to cede the country without serious and prolonged battles, during which it will be the armies of both sides that will be the first consumers of the grain; furthermore, Poland's food conditions are such that the Polish authorities will soon be compelled—in case of military successes—to send inland a part of the foodstuffs that they may seize, for fear of an uprising on the part of the famished population. No one can suppose that the Bolshevik authorities will not do the same with the Ukrainian wheat that will come into their possession. We somehow recall that the French have been in possession of Odessa, and, though France needed bread as badly then as now, she got no wheat from Ukraine on that occasion. It should also not be forgotten that Germany also attempted an occupation of Ukraine, and with the no less frank and open intention of robbing the country of its wheat, and that, although much of Ukraine's territory was actually held by German troops, the country furnished no wheat to Germany.

The calculation on the seizure or purchase of Ukrainian wheat is therefore one that has already more than once proved illusory. It is doubtful whether any country can now occupy Ukraine in a military way, and in the absence of a perfect military occupation, the Ukrainian population and their Russian brothers will probably be the consumers of the grain.

HISTORY will always fare badly in the newspaper press. In fact, her prospects are poor even in more respectable environments. It is unlikely that her truths will ever be presented without bias, for men, unfortunately for History, always have other more pressing needs than the disinterested pursuit of historical truth. But these attenuating circumstances can hardly excuse the *New York World* for calling Odessa a Polish port. In an editorial of May 14, that newspaper says:

Odessa is a Ukrainian port. Well or ill, it is also a Russian port, indispensable to Russian trade. And it is not forgotten that it was a Polish port before the first partition.

Now, it is sometimes possible to agree with the *World*; for instance the remarks later on in the same editorial, warning the Polish imperialists and militarists against pushing their claims to a portion of the Black Sea coast, appear timely and sympathetic. But it is undesirable ever to falsify history in a blatant and obvious manner. And Odessa, unfortunately for the *World*, was not a Polish port before the First Partition, for the date of the First Partition is 1772, and the date of the founding of Odessa is 1794. In the latter year Odessa was established as a seaport, by order of Catherine II, to replace the Turkish fortress of Khadzhibey. The city is much younger, therefore, than many a city in America. Other interesting dates in its history are: its position as a "free port" (1817-1859); its bombardment by the Anglo-French fleet (1854; not to mention later bombardments in 1920, within the past few months, for instance, by those fleets as well as others); and its blockade by the Turkish fleet (1877).

Historically, therefore, Odessa was never a Polish port.

* * *

BUT the historical argument is always a poor one. It is hardly necessary, in these days when the sad work of the Versailles Treaty is all too evident, to call attention to the fact that the "righting of historical wrongs" usually produces new wrongs, as bad or worse than the old. Perhaps the Polish desire for Odessa is an ethnic longing, a feeling on the part of the Polish people that they must be reunited with a city in which their language is spoken, that they must extend the blessings of Polish-French imperialism to all places in which the Polish tongue would condemn the population to such exploitation? We know the Polish people too well to believe that they are eager to oppress other peoples—in fact, things look just now as if they were about to throw off the Polish-French oppression at home.

Assuming, however, that the present Polish Government feels it has a claim on Odessa, would that claim be based on a predominance of Polish individuals in the population of that city? We turn to the Official Returns of the Russian Census of 1897 (the last complete census undertaken in Czarist Russia), and we find—Vol. II, Table XIIIa, pp. 20-36,—the following statement of the national composition of the population of Odessa:

Population of Odessa in 1897.

Mother Tongue	Population	Percentage of Total.
Russian	198,233	49.1
Ukrainian	37,925	9.4
Polish	17,395	4.3
German	10,248	2.6
Yiddish	124,511	30.8
All others	15,503	3.8
Total	403,815	100.0

A little over four per cent of the population is the size of the Polish contingent. It would be more than twice as reasonable to call Odessa a Ukrainian city, and fully seven times as reasonable to call it a Yiddish city. Let us say no more of the claims of Poland to Odessa on grounds of history, ethnology, or language.

* * *

MR. H. P. DAVISON, head of the world-wide league of Red Cross Societies, on May 17, addressed the Methodist General Conference at Des Moines, Iowa. His speech, which has been given wide publicity, and been followed by additional and corroborative statements by Mr. Davison, calls attention to the frightful conditions in which many populations in Central Europe are now living, and to the necessity of feeding, nursing, and healing the millions of sick, underfed and dying men, women and children in Austria, Galicia, Poland, and many other countries, once military opponents or associates of the United States in the war that has terminated in most theatres.

Mr. Davison's proposal for humane and helpful treatment of these dying millions will not fall upon indifferent ears. The prosperous days of America gave ample evidence that there was much readiness to give money and other assistance when an appeal was made to such feelings as those addressed by Mr. Davison. And Mr. Davison points out that help must be given, not only in the interest of humanity, but also from motives of mere self-preservation, since the epidemics which are now taking their heavy toll in Europe will ultimately spread to America if their progress is not arrested in their present field. Give, therefore, says Mr. Davison, both because it is your duty to give—and because you will suffer disease and death if you do not.

There is every reason why charity should be extended to the peoples who arouse Mr. Davison's concern—and there is every reason to feel also that such giving is a good investment from the merely selfish standpoint. We are sorry to note, however, that Mr. Davison does not call attention to the plight of Soviet Russia, which is not essentially different to that of its eastern neighbors. Soviet Russia also is fighting plagues, starvation, and despair (perhaps with more success than other countries, as the wireless message on health activities in that country, printed elsewhere in this issue, may indicate); Soviet Russia also is susceptible to epidemics which, if not arrested in time, may infect the world. Humanity and self-interest alike, therefore, would dictate that the helpful hand of charity be extended to Soviet Rus-

sia—if it were not for the fact that Soviet Russia wants not gifts, but purchases, not charity, but trade. Soviet Russia needs medicaments, supplies, machines, and these things will stave off ruin and disease for all the world, and Soviet Russia offers money and raw materials in exchange. And yet, in spite of this third element in addition to the two he advances in his plea for Central Europe, Mr. Davison says nothing about the desirability of selling supplies to Soviet Russia.

AND while Mr. Davison asks us to practice humanity and intelligent foresight, malignant forces are attempting to continue the slaughter between Poland and Soviet Russia. We read of Polish offensives which have gone so far as to take Kiev. And, by the way, the Polish authorities in Kiev are reported to have observed that

while some disease had gained a foothold there, the conditions as to epidemics were by no means as bad as they have become in Poland. But, whatever may be the relative disease conditions of Poland and Soviet Russia, Mr. Davison has apparently omitted to mention the fact that Poland, suffering as he says she is from hunger and disease, is nevertheless being driven by false powers in Europe—notably by France—into a continuation of the criminal war against Soviet Russia.

News reaches us that the Soviet Government is erecting at Moscow a monument to Poland's greatest poet, Mickiewicz, Pushkin's contemporary. Soviet Russia values all the achievements of other peoples in every field, and recognizes such achievements even while evil powers are trying to force those peoples into aggression against Soviet Russia.

Documents

Official Correspondence Between Soviet Russia and Poland

[The notes printed below should be read in connection with the article beginning on page 534, of this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA. The dates are as nearly correct as we have been able to make them; at any rate, we are certain of the chronological order of the following documents. Additional diplomatic correspondence between Soviet Russia and Poland will be found in the first volume of SOVIET RUSSIA, which our readers will find listed in the Index to that volume (January-June, 1919).]

1. Note to the Allied Peoples, December 22, 1919.

This note also mentions an earlier communication, addressed to the Polish Government by the Soviet Government. We are unfortunately not in possession of the text of the note to the Polish Government.

The laboring masses of Russia have, during the past year and a half, withstood, in heroic struggle, the imperialists of the entire world, with but one object—to defend the liberties and the achievements of the Russian revolution. They have not the slightest intention to spread their domination over any other land or to impose the Soviet system upon other countries against the will of their peoples.

The Seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets has once more made peace proposals to the Allies, but the latter have rejected the offer without submitting it to the people. Now that the counter-revolution of Yudenich, Kolchak and Denikin is smashed by a superhuman effort of the Russian workers and peasants, now that the hope of the approaching end of civil war is beginning to dawn, now that it might finally become possible to begin the work of further development and upbuilding of the Socialist system in Russia, the dark powers of Europe—Clemenceau, Churchill and Northcliffe—are zealously preparing for a new attack upon Soviet Russia. We have reliable information on the efforts of the French Government and the Polish Committee in Paris to pit Poland against Soviet Russia and to force the restoration of Denikin.

The Polish labor organizations are, however, also demanding peace, holding that the Polish nation, which was created through the war and the economic ruin, must urge peace. And at such a moment the allies are compelling Poland to shed blood in the interests of the Czarist reaction, which had oppressed Poland for generations.

Soviet Russia, to say the least, does not threaten Poland, and is ready at any moment to cease hostilities, to arrive at any agreement or to make peace in accordance with the proposals made last spring through the medium of the Polish delegate Wienczkowski, and finally, through a radio telegram which was addressed to the Polish Government directly.

The working people of Russia do not threaten any country, for they recognize the right of self-determination for all nations.

The only obstacle on the way to peace and a termination of the untold sufferings and misery of the laboring masses of Russia and of her neighbor countries, and even throughout Europe—is the reactionary and imperialistic policy of the governments of the Entente countries.

Workers of the allied countries, it is your task to put an end to this policy!

CHICHERIN.

2. Reply of Poland, of February 4, 1920, to note printed in SOVIET RUSSIA, March 27, 1920.

The Government of the Polish Republic acknowledges the receipt of the telegraphic declaration of the Moscow Soviet Republic of January 29, 1920. The declaration will be considered, and a reply sent to the Moscow Government of the Soviets.

STANISLAS PATEK,
Minister for Foreign Affairs.

3. Soviet Ukrainian note to the Entente Powers, February 19, 1920.

Since the time of the capture of Odessa, which was accomplished with the aid of the workers' and peasants' army of Soviet Russia, the Red Army of Ukraine, which was put under the same command, as well as the mass uprisings of the Ukrainian peasants and workers have brought about by their heroic struggles one result, namely that vast areas of the territory of the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Ukraine have been freed

from the White Guards and from the hiring of international imperialists, Petlura.

The All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee created by the will of the workers and peasants of Ukraine for the purpose of aiding and directing the operations of the Red armies has now completed its task and resigns its functions. The exercise of the supreme power of the Independent Socialist Republic of Soviet Ukraine has been vested again with the Central Executive Committee of the Councils of Workers' and Peasants' delegates and those of the Ukraine Red Army as well as with the Council of People's Commissars elected at the Third All-Ukrainian Congress in March, 1919.

The new Ukrainian Government is composed of representatives of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Communist Party (Borotbists) and the Ukrainian Social-Revolutionists of the Left. It considers as its first duty the convocation on April 15 of the Fourth Soviet Congress of Ukraine which will have as its task to establish the final status of Ukraine as well as to take measures necessary for the re-establishment of communication, mining, industry, agriculture, etc., also to rebuild the cities and villages ravaged by war, fire, pillage and other felonious acts of the bands of Denikin and Petlura. While informing the peoples and governments of all countries of its reconstruction, the government of Soviet Ukraine simultaneously proclaims its unshaken will to guard the independence and sovereignty of the Socialist Soviet Republic of Ukraine and its heartfelt desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments inviting them to enter into economic and diplomatic relations with Ukraine.

In view of the fact that the enemies of the Ukrainian workers and peasants are trying at the present moment to find support for their counter-revolution in some reactionary and chauvinistic circles of the Polish Republic, and are making attempts to drive the people of Poland against their will into a war with the people of Ukraine, the Workers' and Peasants' Government emphasizes the absolute necessity of concluding a peace treaty with Poland as was declared by the Socialist Soviet Russian Government in its note to the Polish Government of February 2. In expressing its deep sympathy with the struggles for the emancipation of the workers and peasants of all countries the Soviet Government of Ukraine declares that it cherishes no thought of an aggressive policy toward its neighbors and has no desire to influence in any manner—by force or intervention—the affairs of other countries, the struggles of the toiling masses in other lands.

President of the Council of People's Commissars,
RAKOVSKI.

Kharkov, February 19, 1920.

4. *The above was followed by a note addressed by the Ukrainian Soviet Government to the Polish Government on February 23, 1920, which is not inserted here, as it has been already printed in SOVIET RUSSIA (March 27, 1920).*

5. *On March 8, 1920, Chicherin sent out a new wireless note to Poland in which, according to the semi-official Kuryer Codzienny, the Soviet Government expressed its indignation on account of the attacks of the Polish troops on the Ukrainian front, threatening to concentrate the Bolshevik forces against Poland and requesting an answer to the peace proposal.*

6. *Note, text not in our possession, from the Ukrainian Government to the Polish Government.*

On March 9 there was received by the Polish Foreign Minister a new wireless note from the Ukrainian Soviet Government, signed by Rakovski. The text of the note was not made public.

According to the statement of the Foreign Minister, Patek, Rakovski had declared in the note that he only was entitled to negotiate in the name of Ukraine.

7. *Chicherin's note to Poland, March 3, 1920. (Text not in our possession.)*

On March 13, Chicherin sent out a new wireless note to Poland. The note states that the Russian working people wish to live at peace with all nations, particularly with the Polish people, and therefore Soviet Russia is once more renewing its peace proposals.

It further states that the Polish strategic operations in Ukraine are directed against the Ukrainian Soviet Republic which is allied with Soviet Russia. Chicherin asks that the military operations be suspended and that the reply to the peace offer of the Soviet Government be made as soon as possible.

8. *First statement by Polish Government, March 27, 1920.*

In the reply which was sent to Chicherin, the Commissar for Foreign Affairs at Moscow, the Polish Government admits its readiness to commence the peace negotiations offered through the Soviet of People's Commissars by the Russian Soviet Republic and to begin negotiations with the Russian plenipotentiaries on April 10.

As a place of negotiations the Polish Government wishes to choose Borisov.

As soon as the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Soviet Republic expresses to the Polish Government its readiness to send plenipotentiaries on the above mentioned or on some later day, the Polish Government will issue an order to suspend hostilities in the sector of the bridgehead at Borisov for the period of 24 hours before the date and hour set for the arrival of the Russian plenipotentiaries. The Polish officers will meet the Russian delegates at the crossing of the railroad line Minsk-Smolensk. Due to the necessity of making arrangements on the spot, the Polish Government is awaiting the information from the Council of People's Commissars relative to the number of Russian delegates and their staff.

9. *Russian Soviet Government note of March 28. (Reply to No. 8.)*

Minister for Foreign Affairs, Patek, Warsaw.

The Russian Soviet Government accedes, with the greatest pleasure, to the proposal of your radio of yesterday's date, namely to begin peace negotiations between both governments on April 10. It sees therein a prospect for a speedy establishment at last of friendly peace relations between the two countries and accepts the date of April 10 for the opening of the peace conference. The Russian Soviet Government cannot conceal its astonishment at the Polish Government mention, in its note, of only a temporary and local armistice in the sector through which it invites the delegates to pass. On our part, we cannot see any reason that could justify the prolonging even for a day of the shedding of blood and new sacrifices in human life since both of the governments are ready to negotiate peace within such a short period. The Russian Soviet Government considers an immediate armistice on the whole front where the Polish and the Russian armies confront each other, as absolutely necessary, and is unable to understand what military reasons Poland could proffer in order to explain the continuation of military operations after deciding to convoke a peace conference. An uncondi-

tional consequence of this would have to be the conducting of the negotiations in a neutral country. It considers one of the Esthonian cities as being the most suitable and it asks, simultaneously, the government of Esthonia for its consent in this matter. The Russian Government is convinced that these conditions could produce no serious obstacle for the success of the peace negotiations between the two powers.

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
CHICHERIN.

10. *Polish reply to No. 9 (April 1, 1920).*

Chicherin,
People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Moscow.

The Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Soviet Government has addressed the Polish Government with the following request:

The Russian Soviet Government asks the Polish Government to designate the time and place for the negotiations that had been proposed by it to Poland, with a view to concluding peace.

The Polish Government, in its wireless note of March 27, designated the place in question and stands by its decision.

Besides, after thorough consideration of the entire situation, the Polish Government cannot assent to the proposal of the Soviet Government to conclude an armistice on the whole front.

As regards the bridgehead at Borisov, in accordance with the wireless note of March 27, military operations will be stopped there not temporarily, but for the whole time of the peace negotiations.

The delay in reply as to the number of persons that are to take part in the conference, and the size of the assisting staff, will make it impossible to end till April 10 all the necessary technical preparations at Borisov.

Minister for Foreign Affairs,
PATEK.

11. *Russian Soviet Government note of April 2, 1920, replying to No. 10.*

Patek, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Warsaw.

April 2, 1920.

The Russian laboring people, through the Soviet Government, which serves as an expression of their will, are proffering a fraternal hand to the Polish people proposing the conclusion of a complete and lasting peace between the two powers. Inspired by an earnest desire to bring about an end to all hostilities between the two countries, the Soviet Government has proposed to the Polish authorities temporarily to suspend military operations along the entire front line occupied by the Polish and Russian armies, convinced that only under such circumstances can the work of the peace conference be carried on normally, without being obscured by external events and military operations. The Polish Government, in rejecting our offer of an armistice between Poland and Russia, thus remains the only agent causing the many disasters which will befall the working class of both countries as a result of the further prosecution of the war.

Consequently, upon the Government of the Polish Republic alone falls the entire responsibility for every drop of blood that will be shed in future action on both sides, as well as for all the privations and disasters that may yet befall the working classes of Russia and Poland.

The Soviet Government cannot understand what the Polish Government intends to accomplish by prolonging military operations if its designs are really peaceful. In this connection doubts must necessarily arise in regard to the opposition which the Polish Government is showing to the creation of conditions suitable for peace negotiations, by keeping up the bloodshed. The Soviet

Government is also at a loss to understand how the Polish Government could insist on its demand that the peace negotiations be conducted in Borisov, which lies within the zone of military operations and where even in case of a local armistice there would still be a complete lack of fundamental conditions necessary to insure the undisturbed and free conduct of peace negotiations. The proposition seems so strange that a local armistice should be concluded only around the bridgehead of Borisov for the time of negotiations, while the war would continue spreading along the whole line of front, that the Russian Soviet authorities could not help suspecting the Polish Government of concealing some designs of a strategic nature.

The Russian Soviet Government, while regretting the delay caused by its inability to give a favorable reply to these proposals of the Polish Government, is vainly seeking to find in those offers any arguments against the choice of some city in Esthonia as a place for the peace conference. Taking into consideration the fact that a neutral country has all the necessary conditions for the successful work of the proposed conference, and taking into consideration that in an Esthonian city the delegates would have sufficient facilities for unhindered communication with their governments and would be in a position to be in constant contact with them, the Soviet Government urges the adoption of its first offer that peace negotiations be conducted in one of the cities of the Esthonian Republic, the government of which has already given its consent to the same. If notwithstanding this, for reasons unknown to the Russian Soviet authorities, the Polish Government were to take the stand of decided opposition to the choice of Esthonia as a place for the peace conference, the Russian Soviet Government would, disregarding all obstacles, suggest for this purpose Petrograd or Moscow, where the Polish delegation would be able to make use of the radio-telegraph station, and the Russian Soviet Government would even consider it possible—if the Polish Government should wish it—to agree, as a last concession, to conduct negotiations in Warsaw where the radio-telegraph station would be placed at the disposal of the Russian delegation and where the roar of cannon would not disturb the quiet course of the deliberations; on condition only that the Polish Government were to guarantee to the Russian delegation its personal immunity and absolute safety and assure that it will be enabled to keep up constant communication with its government without any interference by force,—using freely the wireless, the telegraph, couriers, code telegrams and diplomatic pouches, the secrecy of which is not to be violated.

We would appreciate an immediate and prompt answer from the Polish Government, which, we trust, will be favorable, so that peace negotiations might be commenced at once without further delay.

Signed: *Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin.*

12. *Polish reply to No. 11 (April 4, 1920).*

Chicherin,
People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Moscow.

The Polish Government has suggested Borisov as a place for the peace conference because Borisov has splendid railroad connections and because it can easily be reached by wireless and by telegraph, on both sides. It has rejected the offer for suspending hostilities because the proper carrying out of the armistice on a 1,000 kilometer front would have taken no less time than an agreement on the fundamental principles of peace.

The command of the Polish troops did not have, nor has it now, any intentions of impeding the peace negotiations by aggressive operations, yet it does not bind the opposition by any terms that would deprive it of complete liberty of action.

As regards further guaranties, as regards the person-

al immunity, and secrecy of official correspondence, the Government of People's Commissars need not worry. The Polish Government has never given cause for any accusation of disregard for international law, never having detained representatives of foreign countries and never having violated the rights of couriers carrying secret correspondence. If the Polish Government did not mention at all the question of guaranties, it is merely because it considered them as a matter of course, in regard to which there could be no doubt and which were automatically understood.

Were it not for the delay caused by the failure of the Government of People's Commissars to give an immediate reply, the peace negotiations could have been started on April 17, 1920. The responsibility for the delay falls on the Council of Commissars.

The Polish Government is awaiting a final reply, considering a further exchange of notes relative to the armistice and place of meeting as futile.

Some expressions used in the last radio-telegram compel me to state that the usage of language characterized by lack of regard is liable to render the negotiations more difficult if not altogether impossible.

Signed: S. PATEK.

13. *Russian Soviet Government note to Poland, April 8, 1920, replying to No. 12.*

Patek, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Warsaw.

In consideration of the fact that the last note sent to us by the Polish Government bears the character of an ultimatum declining any discussion as to changing the place of negotiations from Borisov,—which as you know is unacceptable for us,—we are faced by the sad eventuality of not effecting the negotiations with Poland on account of the question of place, a fact that has no parallel in the history of international relations.

While it is ready to accept any city in a neutral country or even in an Entente country—even London or Paris—and rejects only the choice of a city situated at the battle front or near it because of Poland's refusal to conclude a general armistice—the Russian Government considers itself as having but one choice in the present situation, namely to address itself to the Entente powers, regarding it as its duty to acquaint the Polish Government with the note which it sends out to the Governments of France, England, Italy, and the United States of America.

14. *Russian Soviet Government note, April 8, 1920, (simultaneous with No. 13), addressed to the Entente Powers.*

Carnarvon, for the Minister of Foreign Affairs, England.

Carnarvon, for the American Ambassador.

Paris, Quai d'Orsay.

Paris, for the English Ambassador.

Paris, for the American Ambassador.

Rome, for the Council: Minister for Foreign Affairs, Lord Curzon; Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Millerand; Minister for Foreign Affairs, Scialoja; Secretary of State Colby.

After the Soviet Government came out victorious from the struggle carried on against its innumerable foes, it has concentrated all its efforts upon the task of directing all the energies of the Russian toiling masses toward a peaceful development of the vital forces of the country for the purpose of its economic reconstruction. We are convinced that by acting thus we have been serving the common interests of all countries, as it is Russian products which will have to be used for satisfying the want of necessities of life. There can also be no doubt in our mind as to the fact that the trade relations which are being started between Russia and other countries are urgently necessary for Russia, but at the same time they are a matter of most serious consideration for the others. But the peace

activity to which Russia is desirous of devoting its energies requires the cessation of attacks directed against Russia by enemies some of whom have not yet laid down their arms.

Poland is still waging a war against the Soviet republics of Russia and Ukraine, obstructing in this manner their peace activities, hampering them in the work of exploiting their natural resources and delivering to other countries the products of which they are in need.

After it had received from the Russian and the Ukrainian Soviet republics assurances with regard to their peace desires, and expressions of their friendly feeling toward the people of Poland, and after it had received solemn proposals to conclude peace, the Polish Government has at last, on March 27, replied to the Russian Soviet Government expressing its readiness to take up peace negotiations.

It is to be regretted that the mutual peace action of both governments has met with an obstacle that seemed to be of a minor nature but which has brought a situation that offers no way of solution. While rejecting the proposal of the Soviet Government to conclude an armistice before taking up the peace negotiations, the Polish Government insists by all means on the choice of Borisov as a place for negotiations, although Borisov is situated in the very midst of the war zone and very near the battle lines of the Russo-Polish front.

The proposal of the Polish Government to conclude a merely local armistice around Borisov while the war operations are proceeding on the rest of the front is on the face of it extremely strange and does not at all make the choice of the place more acceptable—a choice which the Russian Government in view of the circumstances is compelled absolutely to reject.

The Russian Government has proposed one of the Esthonian cities, or Petrograd, or Moscow, or Warsaw, as a place for negotiations: but all of these proposals were rejected by Poland without permitting any discussion with regard to the choice of Borisov and putting an insurmountable obstacle in the way of the peace action that had been inaugurated by both countries.

We cannot but note that the Polish Government is merely following slavishly the action of the German Imperial Government at the time of Brest-Litovsk. There is no parallel in the history of diplomacy that peace negotiations should break up on account of a failure to come to an agreement regarding the place for negotiations.

Russia has no interest in carrying on the war. On the contrary it is strongly desirous of peace, in order not to be impeded in its work of internal reconstruction, as well as to put an end to all hostile actions between the peoples of Russia and Poland and also in order to establish between them peace, mutual friendship, and good neighborly relations.

15. *Russian Soviet Government note, April 23, 1920, for publication abroad, concerning the peace negotiations with Poland.*

In view of the stage reached in the conversations between the Soviet Government and the Polish Government regarding the subject of the place for peace parleys, and considering the campaign conducted by the official Polish press against the Soviet Government, as well as the publication by the Polish Government of the communication sent by radio on the subject of parleys with the Soviet Government, the latter considers it necessary to make the following statement:

First. The Polish Government and press express their astonishment that the Soviet Government declines to accept the place proposed by the Polish Government after having asked the Poles to indicate the place and the day of meeting. The truth is—aside from the fact that the Polish Government has taken three months to reply to the peace proposal of the Soviet Government—the latter has never bound itself without further dis-

cussion to accept whatever place the Polish Government might indicate. Soviet Russia is not a vanquished country to whom the conquerors may dictate their wishes. The suggestion of a place for the parleys by the Polish Government cannot be regarded as a final decision without the consent of the Soviet Government.

Second. Moreover the Polish Government has not replied to our armistice proposal and to our suggestion to meet in Esthonia, except by a refusal to continue conversations with regard to the place of the parleys. Thus the Polish Government in the course of a purely formal and incidental exchange of questions has sought from the outset to obtain a capitulation of the Soviet Government. Furthermore, while the text of the note of the Soviet Government was not published by the Polish Government, the official Polish press takes the liberty, in connection with this note, which contains only a proposal for a different place of meeting and the conclusion of an armistice, to engage in a series of extraordinarily violent attacks, in a tone without precedent in any country; attacking the persons of those directing the Soviet Government, the Polish press announces the refusal of the Polish Government to conclude a general armistice. These are facts which cannot be ignored.

Third. While all sorts of perfidious plans have been attributed to the Soviet Government because of the proposition, it is in truth so natural that it should speak of peace that even a part of the Polish press, for example, the *Robotnik* itself, expressed the necessity of peace in a manner similar to that of the Soviet Government, and that at an earlier time.

Fourth. In the official communication sent by radio by the Polish Government, we find mentioned that the Polish Government has categorically decided to refrain from every aggressive action during the parleys. "The Polish Government declares that the command of the army would not complicate the negotiations by aggressive actions," while in a preceding note, to which reference is made, there is a vague remark on the past and future intentions of the Polish Command, as follows: "It has not had and has not now any intention to embarrass the peace negotiations by aggressive military actions." In the same communication the Polish Government declared itself ready to continue the parleys for the convocation of a Russian-Polish peace conference.

Fifth. The Soviet Government on its side is disposed to continue the conversations, interrupted by the preceding ultimatum of the Polish Government, and its peaceable intentions have not changed. All alleged complications created by the so-called aggressive intentions of Soviet Russia are nothing but deliberate inventions. Many times the Polish press itself has admitted that the offensives of the Polish troops were not caused by Russian offensives, but represented only concentrations of troops. In truth, there have lately been on the Polish front only combats of secondary importance, strictly local, and the movements undertaken by the Red troops were nothing but a reply to aggressive actions of the Polish troops and never had any other character than that of defensive operations.

Sixth. The Polish Government, in its last communication, declares itself ready to continue the parleys without mentioning the ultimatum on the question of the place. The Soviet Government takes notice of the informal, yet categorical promise contained in the last communique, to refrain from any aggressive action during the negotiations. The Soviet Government, on its side, is animated with the desire of finding, in regard to the question of the place for the parleys, a settlement equally acceptable to both parties. Not being able to accept Borisov or any other locality on the front line, or in proximity to this line, the Soviet Government would consent to engage in negotiations, for example, at Grodno or at Bielowostok, provided that the

delegations would be assured there the customary and indispensable technical facilities.

Seventh. The Soviet Government considers it probable that a belligerent would not refuse to undertake negotiations on its own territory, and in places that would offer no cause for concern from the standpoint of any considerations of a so-called internal-political nature.

PETLURA IN WARSAW.

In the newspaper *Commune*, C. Markatun, a member of the Ukrainian National Committee in Paris, characterizes Petlura's stay in Warsaw as follows:

At the end of November, 1919, Mr. Petlura and his friends came to Warsaw. Petlura bought a beautiful villa for 300,000 Polish marks in the Alley of Roses, House No. 6. His friends stopped at Saxon Hotel, which was considered the best in Warsaw.

The whole crowd lived in luxury, and spent their stolen money very lavishly. That's how the Government of Ukraine lived in Warsaw!

Petlura and his aides were engaged in various intrigues, entertained Polish diplomats, and Petlura himself had the honor of having the President of the Polish Republic, Pilsudski, to dinner at his home.

Petlura, by his policy at Warsaw, appears to wish to be considered as the only man, in whose power it is to determine Ukraine's attitude towards Poland for the future.

He had no choice but to offer to Poland an Ukrainian mandatory and the organization of a Polish administration in Ukraine for the period of 25 years. The newspapers of Warsaw clearly state, that Gen. Pilsudski consented to this plan and that the Polish Commissar, Gen. Minkevich, was assigned to Volhynia and Podolia. At the same time, upon Petlura's authorization, a special Ukrainian regiment is being organized in Poland under the command of Udovichenko, who was supposed to drive the "Muscovite hordes" from Ukraine.

That's how Petlura is disposing of Ukraine. The people and the Ukrainian army think differently. The Ukrainian army, numbering 5,000 to 10,000 at the end of November, 1919, has joined the Bolsheviks. Even Pavlenko, who, only a short time ago, was a disciple of Petlura's, is fighting in behalf of the Bolsheviks at Kiev.

It is not clear what power Petlura and Count Tishkevich represent at Paris. However, they are preaching holy crusades against Moscow by the 40,000,000 "Ukrainian people."

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The Red Army of Labor

DECREE OF THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' COUNCIL OF DEFENCE ON THE FIRST REVOLUTIONARY LABOR ARMY.

1. The Third Workers' and Peasants' Red Army is to be utilized for labor purposes. This army is to be considered as a complete organization; its apparatus is neither to be disorganized nor split up, and it is to be known under the name of the First Revolutionary Labor Army.

2. The utilization of the Third Red Army for labor purposes is a temporary measure. The period is to be determined by a special regulation of the Council of Defence in accordance with the military situation as well as with the character of the work which the army will be able to carry out, and will especially depend on the practical productivity of the labor army.

3. The following are the principal tasks to which the forces and means of the third army are to be applied:

First:

a) the preparation of food and forage in accordance with the regulation of the People's Commissariat for Food, and the concentration of these in certain depots;

b) the preparation of wood and its delivery to factories and railway stations;

c) the organization for this purpose of land transport as well as water transport;

d) the mobilization of necessary labor power for work on a national scale;

e) constructive work within the above limits as well as on a wider scale for the purpose of introducing, gradually, further works.

Second:

f) for repair of agricultural implements;

g) agricultural work, etc.

4. The first duty of the Labor Army is to secure provisions, not below the Red Army ration, for the local workers in those regions where the army is stationed; this is to be brought about by means of the army organs of supply in all those cases where the President of the Food Commissariat of the Labor Army Council (No. 7) will find that no other means of securing the necessary provisions for the above mentioned workers are to be had.

5. The utilization of the labor of the third army in a certain locality must take place in the locality in which the principal part of the army is stationed; this is to be determined exactly by the leading organs of the army (No. 6) with a subsequent confirmation by the Council of Defence.

6. The Revolutionary Council of the Labor Army is the organ in charge of work appointed, with the provision that the locality where the services of the Labor Army are to be applied is to be the same locality where the services of the Revolutionary Council of the Labor Army enjoys economic authority.

7. The Revolutionary Council of the Labor

Army is to be composed of members of the Revolutionary War Council and of authorized representatives of the People's Commissariat for Food, the Supreme Council for Public Economy, the People's Commissariat for Agriculture, the People's Commissariat for Communication, and the People's Commissariat for Labor.

An especially authorized Council of Defence which is to enjoy the rights of presidency of the Council of the Labor Army is to be put at the head of the above Council.

8. All the questions concerning internal military organizations and defined by regulations of internal military service and other military regulations are to be finally settled upon by the Revolutionary War Council which introduces in the internal life of the army all the necessary changes arising in consequence of the demands of the economic application of the army.

9. In every sphere of work (food, fuel, railway, etc.,) the final decision in the matter of organizing this work is to be left with the representative of the corresponding sphere of the Labor Army Council.

10. In the event of radical disagreement the case is to be transferred to the Council of Defence.

11. All the local institutions, Councils of Public Economy, Food Committees, land departments, etc., are to carry out the special orders and instructions of the Labor Army Council through the latter's corresponding members either in its entirety or in that sphere of the work which is demanded by the application of the mass labor power.

12. All local institutions (councils of public economy, food committees, etc.) are to remain in their particular localities and carry out, through their ordinary apparatus, the work which falls to their share in the execution of the economic plans of the Labor Army Council; local institutions can be changed, either in structure or in their functions, on no other condition except with the consent of the corresponding departmental representatives who are members of the Labor Army Council, or in the case of radical changes with the consent of the corresponding central department.

13. In the case of work for which individual parts of the army can be utilized in a casual manner, as well as in the case of those parts of the army which are stationed outside the chief army, or which can be transferred beyond the limits of this locality, the Army Council must in each instance enter into an agreement with the permanent local institutions carrying out the corresponding work, and as far as that is practical and meets with no obstacles, the separate military detachments are to be transferred to their temporary economic disposal.

14. Skilled workers, in so far as they are not indispensable for the support of the life of the army itself, must be transferred by the army to the local factories and to the economic institutions generally under direction of the corresponding representatives of the Labor Army Council.

Note: Skilled labor can be sent to factories under no other condition except with the consent of those economic organs to which the factory in question is subject. Members of trade unions are liable to be withdrawn from local enterprises for the economic needs in connection with the problems of the army only with the consent of the local organs.

15. The Labor Army Council must, through its corresponding members, take all the necessary measures towards inducing the local institutions of a given department to control, in the localities, the army detachments and their institutions in

the carrying out of the latter's share of work without infringing upon the respective by-laws, regulations, and instructions of the Soviet Republic.

Note: It is particularly necessary to take care that the general State rate of pay is to be observed in the remuneration of peasants for the delivery of food or the preparation of wood or other fuel.

16. The Central Statistical Department in agreement with the Supreme Council for Public Economy and the War Department is instructed to draw up an estimate defining the forms and period of registration.

17. The present regulation comes into force with the moment of its publication by telegraph.

President of the Council of Defence,

V. ULIANOV (LENIN).

S. BRICHKINA, *Secretary.*

Moscow, January 15, 1920.

Possibilities of a World War in the Polish Offensive

The following is an interview of the special correspondent of the N. Y. *Forward* with the Soviet Commissar for Means of Communication, Leonid Krassin, whose biography appears in this issue.

"Our commercial delegation is in possession of proofs, which confirm the hypocritical part played by the British Government. We find that the British Government entered into an agreement with the Japanese Government. According to this agreement, Japan will receive preference in the richest sections of Siberia. The purpose of this clause is to prevent the development of American industry in Russia. Moreover, the British capitalists receive, by virtue of this agreement, many concessions in China and Siberia.

"While entering into agreements with the Japanese Government, the British Government is also supporting the Polish offensive in the Ukraine, and demands that Latvia and Finland cease their peace negotiations with Soviet Russia and await the results of the Polish offensive.

"France and Rumania are also supporting the Polish army with the aim of creating a Russian counter-revolutionary army in order to begin intervention in Soviet Russia on a large scale.

"The British Government announced in Parliament that it had not stopped negotiations with our commercial delegation, but these negotiations were merely suspended for the time being. But this is not true. The British Government was not sincere when it made such a statement in Parliament. The truth is that the British Government broke off negotiations with our delegation almost a month ago.

"Despite the fact that we inquired as to its intention to enter into new negotiations, the British Government did not find it necessary to give us a definite reply.

"Our delegation aimed to establish commercial

relations with England, as we cannot expect to receive the necessary products from France; France can only supply articles of luxury.

"Soviet Russia possesses at present numerous supplies of commodities, including 250,000,000 poods (1 pood—36 lbs.) of Baku petroleum; but we need locomotives and railway equipment.

"Our delegation is leaving for Russia without the hope of receiving aid from the Allied powers. It is our opinion that the new policy adopted by the Allied governments will bring about a world catastrophe. The Polish offensive will soon throw the entire world into a conflagration of war, in which all European countries will be involved.

"The Italian Government is trying its utmost to put out this fire, but the French Government interferes, in the hope of receiving a loan from the United States for the purpose of subsidizing the Polish campaign against Russia.

"The situation within Russia is very hopeful. The Soviet Army is victorious in the Caucasus, notwithstanding the presence of the British army and navy there. The south of the Caucasus is looking forward to the entrance of the Red Guards, whom they regard as their saviors. Moreover, we attach great importance to the fact that serious revolts are taking place in the rear-line of the Polish army, among the White-Russians, Ukrainians and Lithuanians.

"The economic condition within Russia is improving and becoming more stable from day to day; and our delegation is returning to Russia full of hope."

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Two Months on a Death Train

(Continued from a Previous Issue of SOVIET RUSSIA)

October 19. Night. We slept today. Read a newspaper. Not a word of truth. The calumnies they say about the Reds! According to this paper's reports the Whites have recaptured Samara, but I do not believe it.

The railway workers in Siberia are on strike. They are making economic and political demands. Will it bring any results? A ray of hope that will probably not vanish!

The train is moving. Now they are saying that we will be left in Irkutsk; that we will be taken no farther.

This evening they again called the nun and two other women for a "hearing" . . . They went accompanied by the overseer of the car. Seeing this the officers were obliged to let them go . . . Evidently they had not enough audacity to force them to remain with them now.

October 20. Novo-Nikolaievsk. We have halted at the station. Negotiations are proceeding to have us remain here. It is said we will be fed here . . .

We had our dinner brought to us in the cars. This was fetched to us by prisoners who were allowed to leave their cars for the first time. They presented a terrible aspect—thin, bearded, filthy, almost blackfaced and shabby . . . One is shocked to look at them . . .

We are going away from here. The local authorities will not have us and request our speedy departure. No one wants us, no one needs us, we are useless people in this world . . .

Taigo Station, October 22. Have not written for two days, simply because there was no technical or physical possibility. I have lived through a great deal during this time . . . I shall attempt to describe the incidents in the order of their occurrence.

On the 20th the entire convoy became drunk. They were shooting into the cars all day long. The result was several killed, among them a woman, and a score wounded. We passed the day in terror. We had no desire to die from the bullet of a drunken officer or soldier . . . The criminal women, who usually quarrel and throw the most vulgar and disgraceful epithets at each other, now lay in their corners quiet and speechless, shivering with fear.

Yesterday the train halted on the road. Much snow had fallen and the wind was very strong. We lay close to each other so as to keep warm. I now feel no hunger on account of the bitter cold. Suddenly we heard the bars of our car being removed. We became frightened. The door opened and officer Kalaturin, excited and frightened, entered. He asked aid for a wounded officer. I jumped up joyfully and went along with him at once.

In the officers' car I saw the following scene: About six officers, all young and drunk. Several drunken valets were also there. In the center was a red-hot stove. Some officers were sleeping, others were sitting with a bottle of alcohol in their hands . . . The wounded officer lay pale and frightened. I approached him and examined his wound. It was a serious wound in the stomach. I dressed it and told them that he would have to be taken to the nearest station for an operation. He would have to be sent to Tomsk.

I was with the patient all day as the officers would not let me leave them alone with the wounded man.

The train reached a station about eighty versts from Taigo Station. It was there that I went, accompanied by an officer, to procure an ambulance train and bandages. I was obliged to wait at the apothecary's. The officer had left and I remained unguarded. The night was dark. The place was totally unfamiliar to me. I was penniless, without a passport, without even a cloak, just wrapped in a shawl . . . and yet I wanted to escape. But now I was confronted by the thought that the rest of the prisoners might suffer on account of me, and this conquered my desire to flee. I returned to the train. The wounded officer was sent away in an ambulance car and I had to escort him until we reached Taigo.

I wish to emphasize that our physical condition has a greater influence upon our psychology than I had imagined.

In the ambulance train I had felt so good that I had completely forgotten that I would have to return to train in a few hours . . .

I had indulged in a good wash, sat on a bench instead of on the floor, and attended to a lot of other personal needs.

It is interesting to relate how Lieutenant Kunak (a cut-throat) was wounded. One of the Czechs had, by mistake, shot into the officers' car instead of into the prisoners' car, (he must have been very drunk), and wounded Kunak in the stomach . . . How glad I am that it happened . . . What a useful mistake! . . .

I shall now attempt to influence the officers in the prisoners' behalf. I already asked them to refrain from mistreating the women . . . They promised to help abolish it. I shall ask them to allow me to enter the cars of the wounded comrades, perhaps, I can ameliorate their sufferings.

There were significant events at Taigo Station. The railway workers were preparing to rescue us. The guards were ready for the attack with machine guns, and armed themselves besides. But the attack had not materialized. The one good thing gained by the railway workers by their threats was the promise of furnishing the cars

with stoves. We are now living in hope of having stoves put in.

October 23, Taiga Station. They are going to have stoves put in our cars.

Evening. There are stoves in about one-third of the train. Also cots. The command promises to have them installed at the next station, as they have no more here.

We are moving ahead. Nearing Krasnoyarsk. The people are exhibiting great sympathy towards us. They are doing everything possible to make our condition less miserable. They are bringing us plenty of food, even if they have to submit to a blow from the convoy's rifle butt quite often . . . The women are shedding tears at the sight of us. We hear them calling us tender names. We begin to have pity on ourselves . . .

At a Junction beyond Taiga. When the crowd began to approach us with food the officer gave orders to shoot. I do not know the results, but they say that one workman was wounded.

October 24, Krasnoyarsk Station. Today was one of the best and worst days for me. I received the privilege from the officer on duty, Kolotuchin, of visiting the wounded and sick comrades. What I saw there is beyond description. There were sixty men in one car, filth all around, foul air—and amidst such an atmosphere lay the sick (I think with typhus) and the wounded on their cots. Their faces dirty and smoked. All of them pleading for my aid. But what can I do for them except rebandage their wounds? They are asking

for water. I was permitted to take two women from our car to fetch water for them. We were busy around them all day, but we could not give them a reserve supply of water as they had no containers. All that some had were tin cans. Rarely did we find a tea-pot. We were carrying water to them the whole day and yet none had enough, but it was better than nothing . . .

The local regime is somewhat more lenient: they permit the people to give us food and alms through the windows. All the prisoners crowd around the windows though only one or two people can stand there. There are four windows, or rather, holes in the car, two on each side, their size being about 20 by 12 centimeters. They all stretch their hands out and beg for bread . . . "give me, give us bread" . . . The stronger ones seize the windows and receive all the offerings of the people. Whether they share with the rest of the prisoners is a question.

October 26, Irkutsk Station. We are in Irkutsk. They say that we can be moved no farther. Our command is in the town negotiating with the local authorities. Near us there are a couple of evacuated trains from Samara. They comprise soldiers of the "People's Army." The soldiers are offering us bread, soup, and sugar—in a word, everything they possess. We recognized a few through the windows (Jewish workers). They brought us money, food and cigarettes. I distributed these to the entire car.

(To be continued)

THE NEXT ISSUE

of

SOVIET RUSSIA

will contain, among other interesting features, the following:

1. A letter by Jules Rocque, entitled *IN RED MUSCOVY (or African Elephants and Moscow Elephants—I obtain a Pair of Boots—Workingmen as Ministers)*.
2. *THE GREAT ENEMY—A Fairy Tale*, by *Maxim Gorky*.
3. An interesting article on *MOTHERHOOD AND INFANCY*.
4. *THE WORKMENS' AND PEASANTS' "SVERDLOV" UNIVERSITY*.
5. An official article on *PROTECTION OF LABOR IN SOVIET RUSSIA*.

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Two Cultures

By MAXIM GORKY.

Always and everywhere history has developed the man of the village and that of the city as two psychologically distinct types. The difference is becoming greater and greater, as the city rushes ahead with the speed of Achilles, and the village trots along with that of a turtle.

The rural dweller is a being, who from the very first days of spring and until late in autumn makes grain to sell the greater part of it, and to consume the smaller part of it during the accursed, mercilessly cold winter.

No doubt the "living gold of the rich fields" is very beautiful in summer, but in the fall, instead of gold, the shabby naked ground remains, which again calls for hard labor and again unproductively sucks out valuable human energy.

This man—the whole of him—inwardly as well as outwardly—is a slave to the powers of nature; he does not struggle against them—he merely adapts himself to them. The ephemeral results of his labor do not and cannot inspire in him self-respect and confidence in his creative abilities. Of all his labors there remain on earth only straw and a dark, crowded, straw-covered hut.

The work of the peasant is extremely hard, and this burden combined with the poor results obtained from his labor, naturally implant in his heart a dark sense of ownership, making him almost immovable. This instinct is almost immune to all teachings which consider that the first man's sin lies in this very instinct of private property, and not in the joke played on foolish Adam by the Devil and by Eve.

When one speaks of bourgeois culture, I think of village culture—if it is possible to combine

these two words, culture and village; in the spiritual sense these two words cannot be combined. Culture is the process of creation of thought, the embodiment of these in the form of books, machines, scientific instruments, paintings, structures, monuments, in various objects which present the crystallization of ideas, act as an inspiration for other ideas, and, increasing in quantity, encircle the entire world endeavoring to discover the most mysterious causes of all its phases.

The village does not create such culture and in general it does not erect monuments other than songs and proverbs. Yes, indeed sad is the melancholy song of the village. Its sorrowful lyric, it seems, can soften rocks. But rocks are not softened by songs, neither are people. Indisputably the village has much sad poetry and it lures us on to the path of erroneous sensitiveness, but immeasurably more significant in substance as well as in volume is the prose of the village, its animal epic prose which is still in existence. The village idylls are hardly noticeable in the continuous drama of the peasant's everyday life.

In comparison with the passive, half-dead *psychique* of the old village the urban bourgeoisie is, at a certain stage the most valuable creative incentive; it is that strong acid which is fully capable of dissolving the peasant's iron soul, which is soft in appearance only. The inertness of the village can only be conquered by knowledge and by the introduction of a large socialistic economy. It is necessary to have an enormous amount of agricultural machines; they and they only will convince the peasant that private ownership is a chain by which he is bound; that it is spiritually

disadvantageous for him; that unintelligent labor is unproductive and that a mind disciplined by knowledge and ennobled by art will be an honest guide on the path of liberty and happiness.

The labor of the city dweller is fabulously variable, monotonous and eternal. Out of bits of earth, turned into bricks, the city dweller builds palaces and temples; out of shapeless chunks of iron ore he creates machines of surprising complexity. He has already subordinated natural energies to his lofty aims and they serve him as the Djins in oriental tales served the sage who enslaved them by the power of his wisdom. The city dweller surrounds himself with an atmosphere of wisdom. He always sees his will embodied in a variety of wonderful things, in thousands of books, pictures in which by word and brush have been impressed during the centuries the majestic tortures of his inquisitive spirit, his dreams and hopes, his love and hatred—his entire immense soul, which is always thirsty for new ideas, deeds, forms.

Although he is enslaved by state politics, yet the city dweller is innately free, and by force of this spiritual freedom he destroys and creates forms of social life.

Being a man of deeds—he has created for himself a painfully tense, sinful, but beautiful life. He is the instigator of all social ills, perversions; he is the creator of tyranny, falsehood and hypocrisy; but it is also he who has created that microscope which permits him to see with such a painful clearness the most minute movements of his ever-dissatisfied spirit. He has brought up in his spheres magicians of science, art and technique—magicians and sages, who indefatigably work for strengthening and developing these foundations of culture.

He is a great sinner before his kind, but probably a still greater sinner towards himself! he is

a martyr to his aspirations, which, destroying him, give birth to new joys and new pains of being.

His spirit—the accursed Ahasuerus—marches and marches into the fathomless future, somewhere towards the heart of Cosmos, or into the emptiness of the universe, which he is perhaps called upon to fill by exerting his energy in the creation of something which is beyond the imagination of the present day mind.

For the intellect the development of culture is important for its own sake, irrespective of the results; the intellect in itself is first of all a phenomenon of culture; the most complex mysterious product of nature, its organ of self-knowledge.

Of greatest importance to the instincts are the utilitarian results of culture, even those which help the outward welfare of being, though this may be a miserable falsehood.

Therefore, at present, when the excited instincts of the village must inevitably enter into a struggle with the power of the city, when the city culture—this fruit of centuries of activity of the intellect, which includes the factory worker,—is in danger of destruction and of being delayed in the process of development, the intellectuals must revise their attitude towards the village.

There is no people—there are only classes. The working class has been so far the creator of material values alone, but now he wants to take active part in spiritual and intellectual work. The majority of the rural masses aspire to strengthen by all means their position of land-owners—they do not state any other desires.

The intellectuals of the world, of all lands are faced by one and the same problem—to devote their energy to that class, whose psychic peculiarities assure further development of the process of culture and are fully capable of increasing the speed of progress.

Motherhood and Infancy

In revolutionary times, when all forces are directed to the protection of the gains achieved by the revolution, when all around there are enemies and danger, social construction is a difficult matter. There are certain spheres of life, however, which do not brook delay. And the revolutionary government is obliged to make every possible effort to settle such immediate and pressing questions.

One of the problems that cannot under any circumstances be postponed is the one concerning infants, and the conditions of their physical and moral development. It is quite natural that in a state which is fighting for Socialism the question of infants, the question of the future generation, for the welfare of which incalculable sacrifices have been made, is a question of first importance, the cornerstone of special instruction. Soviet

Russia has, indeed, made a great revolution in this sphere; it has approached the solution of the long standing questions in such a novel and courageous manner, that notwithstanding all the practical difficulties of the realization of the plans, the perspectives are nevertheless most favorable.

To begin with, by a number of decrees and regulations, the infant is, from the moment of its earliest days of babyhood right up to its youth, a state pensioner, so to speak. It is entitled to free feeding, tuition and recreation. A whole network of institutions has been created for it: homes, kindergartens, schools, children's colonies; theatres, excursions, and concerts have been organized on a vast scale. But the state takes care of the children even prior to their birth,—the period of the mother's pregnancy is taken into consideration by special regulations; these are for the purpose of free-

ing the mother from her work during the last months of pregnancy, granting her the privilege of better feeding (increase of bread ration) and offering her free medical aid. During the period of confinement the mother has at her disposal the use of a clinic (lying-in hospital) where there is organized the best possible feeding and care, (under the present conditions), which are uniform to all patients. This equality represents the innovation which the Soviet Government was first actually to realize. There are no privileged children; all are equal and all are taken equal care of by the state.

In the Soviet state all children, no matter who their parents are, are equal. And every prospective mother is well aware that she will find shelter for her babe. She is not only able to find a home for her child in the "Home for Mothers and Babies," but she can live there herself one month prior to and three months after confinement. Should she elect to keep her babe in her own home and feed it herself, during six to eight weeks after confinement, she is not only free from work or service (if she is so engaged) with the maintenance of full salary, but during the whole period of lactation, she has a right to claim financial assistance as well as improved feeding, which includes special rations of milk, cereals, and butter. This, under the present critical state of the food question, is extremely important.

During the whole period of lactation the mother is bound to submit the child to periodical examinations by special doctors, in special dispensaries where children are weighed and inspected, and the mothers are given necessary advice and information in connection with the care of children.

Of course, similar children's homes, dispensaries and "Drop-of-Milk" societies were also in existence formerly, but they bore a charitable character, were not compulsory but casual, and were in the nature of alms to the most needy. The Soviet Government abolishes this charity of "poor children's aid." It undertook to solve the question and substitutes the principle of "assistance to unfortunate children" with the principle "there should be no unfortunate children!"

There are a number of institutions which have charge of the children. Children of the youngest age are under the care of the Department of the Protection of Motherhood and Infancy of the People's Commissariat for Social Maintenance. This department is in charge of a complicated net-work of medical centers, courses of study, homes for education, shelter, etc. Much has been done; still more is in the process of being created, and extensive plans for future construction have been formed. The assistance of the best scientific forces of the country has been enlisted. Plans are formed in accordance with the latest scientific ideas. The aim of the state is by all manner of means to instil into the masses the necessary elementary information, to popularize scientific medical knowledge of hygiene and physiology, to trans-

form the mother into a reasonable help in the improvement of the care of children.

In connection with this the Moscow Department of Protection of Motherhood and Infancy has opened a permanent exhibition. This exhibition deserves the most careful attention. On its very threshold the visitor begins to feel that he has entered into a special world, an atmosphere of profound love and interest in the child. The first thing that draws his attention is the period of pregnancy. The walls are covered with anatomical pictures and drawings; these artistic placards contain principal rules of conduct which are to guide a pregnant woman. There are also, well constructed statistical diagrams on heredity, alcoholism, etc. Embryo casts under glass cases in various stages of development, including pathological cases, are exhibited, as well as various objects of hygiene, both useful and harmful, with the corresponding inscriptions and explanations. A complete dress for a pregnant woman, including the paper pattern. In the same detailed, artistic, popular, and clear style everything in connection with confinement is represented, right down to the little table with the indispensable drugs and other objects. There are also exhibits in connection with the period of infancy. Every aspect of the life of a child, healthy as well as diseased, is illustrated clearly and fully. Every form of child ailment is represented showing the most evident symptoms, demonstrating the corresponding organs injured by disease, as well as full size parts of the body. Here are also shown statistical tables illustrating causes of diseases, highly artistic representations throwing light on the "history of contagion" through flies, etc., etc. There are exhibits of utensils, toys, various foods, useful as well as harmful clothes: all the stages of the care of a child in the question of food and medical attendance are illustrated. All the most important moments of the life of a child, all that demands the most careful attention of the mother is illustrated here in the shape of appeals, placards, striking reminders, and appealing artistic pictures.

Additions are to be made to this exhibition; improvements are to be added making the exhibition serve as a permanent illustration and example for mothers.

There is a cinematograph in connection with the exhibition; its aim is to illustrate by means of a simple story the idea of the Institution of the Protection of Motherhood and Infancy, its problems, measures, and results.

This exhibition as far as idea and execution are concerned, is no doubt destined along with other similar undertakings of this Department of Protection of Motherhood and Infancy to lay a real foundation for the great edifice of the future, the facade of which will be decorated in a brilliant manner by one of the newest and most dazzling mottoes of the proletarian banner: "Children Are the Blossoms of Life."

In Red Muscovy

By JULES ROCQUE.

First Letter.

African Elephants and Moscow Elephants—I Obtain a Pair of Boots—Workingmen as Ministers.

My friends warned me—"You risk becoming a scapegoat for all the sins of the Entente Powers. If you are such a lover of strong emotions, why not go to Africa to hunt elephants? Surely this would be less dangerous than to venture into that den of lions—Lenin's Extraordinary Commission."

I did not follow the advice of my kind friends. Not that I am so brave, but I happen to know something about Russia. Our former ally, backward and uncivilized though she is, does not resemble the Chinese in her treatment of foreigners. A foreigner,—especially if he is a guest from France—will in no way be molested by either the government or the people. You may object and point out the unpleasant experiences of foreign attaches at Petrograd; but then I am not going there with any political object, but merely as a peaceful and quiet observer. After all, I can look all the extraordinary commissions in the world straight in the eyes. And what can they do to me for merely belonging to a nation, which has produced Poincare and Foch, men so hated by the Bolsheviks? In the last resort I have an irrefutable argument in my favor. M. Henri Guilbeau and M. Rene Marchand, both my compatriots and brother journalists, have been raised to the rank of heroes by Red Muscovy. Many years ago a great sinful city was spared for the sake of seven righteous men. Let us hope that owing to the presence of French representatives in the Committee of the Red International our poor nation will not be irretrievably condemned. If the worst comes to the worst, I shall clutch at that straw. Why not?

It is obvious that I have not been mistaken in my calculations.

I have spent over a month in Moscow, and have not been shot. I have not come into collision with the Extraordinary Commission. In all the government departments where I have been, I met kindness and politeness such as exceeded all my expectations.

Don't imagine that I cover myself with the cloak of Communism and bask in the reflected glory of my celebrated compatriots Guilbeau and Marchand. My conscience is clear. I never lied or pretended. I call myself by my real name and give correct information about myself. None the less I am given a good room in a "Soviet House" (i.e., in a nationalized hotel). I am kindly received and admitted everywhere.

I shall say more,—last week I was given an order for the right to buy in a "Soviet" shop, a suit, a pair of boots, and an overcoat. To receive such orders in Moscow means that the recipient is an

extraordinarily lucky fellow or a great favorite with the authorities. I must confess that I obtained these orders without trouble. First of all, I lost my trunk on my way to Moscow, so that I was in fact left without my clothes; then I had to produce various proofs of this, and it cost me several days. Finally I was successful, and now I can proudly assert that Soviet Russia has recognized me as a citizen worthy of a pair of boots. Is it not flattering?

At the very last moment, the young man who was writing out the order for me asked:

"Comrade, are you a member of the French group of the Third International?"

I must confess I was afraid this time: he might suddenly take me for a "bourgeois," and "imperialist," a "henchman of the Entente," and would then furiously tear the order to pieces.

But I was not to be tempted and told the truth.

"No," I answered, "I have nothing to do with the Third International, but I am badly in need of a suit and a pair of boots."

The young man smiled and handed me the precious documents,—"Take them, Comrade," he said.

(Note.—"Comrade." In spite of my confession that I am not in the International, "Comrade," not "Monsieur," or "Citizen." Consequently he could not be even angry.)

I must mention by the way that I got so used to the title "Comrade" that on my return to Paris I risk appearing in a music hall revue or else getting into hot water; "Comrade Minister," "Comrade Editor" . . . I must ask your indulgence beforehand for one who will return from the land of the Red comrades. Here in Russia I should be offended if anyone were to address me in the old fashioned way. There is more intimacy, trust and friendliness in the word "Comrade" than in "Monsieur," which sounds distant, and in "Citizen," which is non-committal.

A grey-haired Russian general, now in the service of the Red Army confessed to me that he, the ex-excellency, likes the word "Comrade."

"This form of address somehow makes you feel younger—'Comrade.' It reminds me of my youth, of my school days, escapades, friendly, mutual aid. I feel happier and thirty years younger."

I beg your pardon for the digression. Let us return to business. From the word "Comrade" to "comrades" in the flesh, and the wonderful things they managed in the two years of the Red Russian tragi-comedy.

Partly owing to the various processes that one has to go through to obtain permission to buy at one's own cost a suit and a pair of boots, partly

owing to other different causes, I first of all became familiar with the organization and work of the Moscow Soviet.

The reader is probably more interested in state than in municipal institutions. But I wish to be consecutive in my narrative and will tell of my impressions and observations in the order in which I received them.

Moreover, in the "overturned cauldron of life" such as modern Muscovy is at present, many things are unlike our own. According to the Soviet Constitution (there is such a thing; the text is exhibited in all the offices and is printed in letters of gold on the new monument facing the premises of the Moscow Soviet) the mutual relationship between the state and the municipalities is not such as exists in bourgeois governments. Russia is the land of Soviets. Every Soviet is self-contained and is not subject to any one. Therefore in order to know modern Russia you must observe it not from above, but from below, from the local government to the central institutions.

At the same time I imagine that my readers are more interested to see Bolshevism in practice all at once. The policy of the northern communists has been the object of many articles. The leaders of Red Russia, Lenin and Trotsky, have been painted and described many a time. But the lesser heroes of my tale, the rulers of Moscow and its city districts, will appear for the first time before your eyes.

We have to start, however, with a great hero, namely, Comrade Kamenev.

He is the Lord Mayor of Moscow. The chief dignitary of Moscow. The president and the inspirer of the "Moscow Council of Workers', Peasants' and Red Soldiers' Deputies."

Needless to say, Comrade Kamenev is in no way a workingman or a peasant or a soldier. He is one of the most intimate friends of Lenin, Trotsky, and like them he is a former political refugee, a socialist, having published pamphlets and delivered revolutionary speeches at student gatherings in Switzerland. His past includes a prison and banishment to Siberia,—in fact everything that is demanded of a regular Russian politician.

The real name of the Moscow Mayor is not Kamenev, but Rosenfeld. Such little misfortunes often occur to many leaders of the Russian Communists. However, there is no semitic touch in the outward appearance of Comrade Kamenev. He is fair, with grey eyes, and at a distance resembles (such is the irony of fate) Nikolas Romanov. My Russian friends assure me that in the speeches of Kamenev there is no trace of semitic accent so that his origin is wholly forgotten here, and Moscow workers acknowledge Comrade Kamenev as their leader without any doubt or hesitation.

If the president of the Moscow Soviet is only a "workingman by conviction," the same cannot be said of other city fathers.

This is a circumstance which has astonished

me and is worthy of note: Moscow is ruled by genuine workingmen and proletarians. The admixture of "intellectuals"—ex-lawyers and journalists, who have become 'workingmen and peasants"—is quite insignificant.

The administration of a city of two million inhabitants is quite a difficult and complicated task at all times. The management of a 'commune' with two million souls, the management of a huge socialist city, is simply staggering. In addition to the municipal enterprises of former days, the city now manages the businesses of private persons and former limited companies. The municipality has become the sole houseowners, the sole hotelkeepers, the sole restaurant keepers, the wood merchants, manufacturers of cloth, booksellers, transport agency, furnishers, etc., etc. Consider all this and behold such a colossal undertaking—the largest in the world. It could swallow up all the enterprises of Rockefeller, Morgan, and Rothschild.

Such a titanic business is governed by workingmen,—smiths or weavers, men who were considered capable of doing only the primitive, purely mechanical work, organized by other people.

"Life is still capable of producing miracles." Such would be the outcry of the most pessimistic of skeptics, were he to find himself in that miraculous city.

Of course, workers rule by means of engineers, financiers, lawyers and various other specialists who are some contemptuously dubbed as "spetsi."

But these former rulers and administrators are now in a position of subordination and are under a cloud of suspicion. They are forced to work. The ruler, the leader, the administrator of the city and its departments are the workingmen, the only, all-powerful master and ruler, the aristocrat of our time.

The sudden transition from the workshop to the office of state has turned the heads of many poor beggars. It has made them arrogant 'leather commissaries' (leather jackets are the favored dress of the commissaries).

It is difficult to enumerate all the mistakes and follies committed by the illiterate but overconfident people accustomed to handle the axe, but who instead have secured the seal of office with a right to affix their name to documents. But we must be just. Among stupid and self-confident reformer there are others,—honest, upright and intelligent. There is quite a number of them. They, too, have muddled through a long path of errors, but have at last learned something useful. Specialists confess that those who manage huge departments of the city now perform their duties to perfection.

I myself had occasion to observe the ex-textile worker, Maximov, at work. He is now at the head of the Food Supply Department; also the ex-smelter, Ignatov, who is now manager of the Fuel Department. I have seen how these workingmen deal

with very intricate matters involving milliards of rubles. I can testify that they already possess the stamp of real statesmen, not in the sense that they can keep up appearances, but in the very best sense of that word; they can take a broad view of a question, they can select their assistants, they can estimate various circumstances which affect the case, and in a word, possess a broad political outlook.

"The Workingmen's Government" is not only a phrase, it is not a signboard to conceal demagogues bred by Genevise cafes or by students' meeting places in the Latin quarters. No doubt the latter type are also to be found, and a good number of them. But my intimate love of truth and equity make me affirm categorically: The Workingmen's Government exists in stern reality. I saw it and

I studied it. I felt it. I do not say whether it is good or bad. But it is new, original and worthy of attention not only of sociologists and politicians, but also of our fellow-journalists,—searchers after novelty devoid of all principles.

In my next letters I shall give you further details about the Socialist city and the endless oddities and surprises which amuse and captivate me. I shall not leave Red Muscovy before I have exhausted that source of novelty. I don't know what those African elephants, to whom my friends advised me to betake myself, would have done with me. But so far as the Moscow elephants are concerned,—I must confess that they have simply charmed me.

Military Review

by LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

"One must know how to accept a loss when advisable, how to sacrifice a province, and meanwhile to march with all one's forces against the other forces of the enemy, compel them to battle, spare no effort for their destruction, and then turn them against the remainder."

FREDERICK THE GREAT.

BY means of a skilful manoeuvre which deceived the whole world, by showing a sudden weakness before the advancing Poles, the main Headquarters Staff of the Soviet Army learned the real strength and weakness of the Polish army.

It is now known that in their dash on Kiev the Poles employed all their forces, sacrificing for this purpose even their strategical reserves of semi-armed and roughly trained militia. It became clear also that, in spite of all efforts on the part of the Allies, Poland cannot longer expect any real support from the reactionary coalition. Neither England nor France could send their troops to Poland; while troops, and only troops, could have saved the Polish army before the Russian counter-attack attained its full progress.

Although supported by her protectors with money, arms and ammunitions in abundance, Poland is short of men and has no hope of increasing her forces. Thus, having accomplished the concentration of its forces on the Polish front, absolutely assuring the final victory, the main Russian Headquarters Staff considered it possible to deal another blow against the reactionary coalition, a blow which may be more serious than all the previous blows which the Russian proletariat has inflicted upon the international reaction. This new blow is struck at British aggression in Middle Asia and the Caucasus.

The surrender of Georgia to the Soviets, after the establishment of the Soviet Republic in Azerbaijan, was only a prelude to developments of great significance in the Middle East.

"He who tries to defend everything saves nothing," is a saying of Frederick the Great, often repeated by English and French military writers.

In the present case, however, the English did not follow this good advice of one of the greatest imperialistic Captains. After having lost the Caucasus and Armenia, it now seems that they have lost Persia as well.

The appearance of the Red troops at Astrakhan, a Caspian Sea port situated 70 miles south of Baku, which was followed by a speedy combine and attack by the Soviet land and naval forces on Enzeli, in the middle of May, resulting in the capitulation of the British command and the whole garrison of the port (Russian reactionaries as well as the British*) was a real triumph of the Soviet arms in Asia.

"Seven cruisers and six transports, namely, all Denikin's Caspian naval forces, fell into the hands of the Reds," according to the Moscow wireless of May 25. "Fifty guns, 20,000 shells, more than twenty marine wireless installations, three field wireless stations, six hydroplanes, four aeroplanes of the bombing type, 160,000 poods of cotton, 23,000 poods of rails, 40 railway wagons, and about 7000 poods of honey" were also captured. "The entire White Guard Caspian Sea fleet is now in the hands of the Soviet Government" the message adds "and some of these vessels will be immediately employed for the transport of oil from Baku to Astrakhan." (*The Cristian Science Monitor*, May 25)

Enzeli is situated on the southern bank of the Caspian Sea, about 250 miles north-west of the Persian capital, Teheran, and is connected with the latter by a very good road. The port and

*) 500 British troops and all British civilians were allowed to leave Enzeli unmolested.

the road were built by the Russians and up to the outbreak of the Revolution in 1917 were under Russian control. Little has been known about the port of Enzeli, which is seldom found on ordinary geographical maps, but it had a great importance to the Russians because of its commercial situation.

After the Russians withdrew from Persia according to the orders of the Soviet Government in 1917, the British at once occupied Enzeli as well as the Azerbaijan Republic, with the Baku oil field. The British took Batum and finally became masters of the whole Caucasus, which became a base for intervention.

We know how the British scheme here failed. In spite of all misfortunes, however, England still obstinately tried to establish herself in the neighborhood of the richest oil fields in the world, in order to retake them at the first favorable opportunity.

Being forced to leave the Caucasus, the English remained in Northern Persia, while deserted and ruined Armenia was generously offered to the protection of the United States. This proximity of the imperialistic-capitalist coalition alarmed the Soviet Government, which understood that England was trying to annex Persia and transform it into a militaristic state, an undesirable and dangerous neighbor for the Proletarian Republic of Russia. It was well known in Moscow that the British War Office had prepared a plan for the transportation of Indian troops to Batum and that considerable forces were fully prepared to start for North-Western Persia from Mesopotamia, as well as from Southern Persia which is practically under British rule.

The Russian attack on Enzeli was accomplished just on the eve of realization of this new English plot and was a most important preventive movement of Russian strategy.

According to the *New York Globe* of May 26, the "Bolshevik forces continue to pour into Persia and have occupied Resht, from which the British troops have retired toward Teheran." The capture of Resht by the Reds is of great significance. It is a large silk and cotton center which was for a long time in the closest connection with the Russian market.

That the Russian advance into Persia is far from any aggressive intentions toward the Persian people can be seen from the dispatch from Moscow (*Associated Press*, May 22), which reported a communication sent by Persia to Moscow a few weeks ago embodying an offer to send a mission to Russia and to resume diplomatic relations. This offer, it is stated, was welcomed by the Soviet Government and answered by a note from the Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, based on a previous note to Persia despatched on June 26, 1919, and intercepted by Denikin. This note announced the annulment of the secret treaties with Persia negotiated under the Czar's regime, asserted the principle of noninterference, and proclaimed the freedom of the Caspian Sea and the

settlement of boundaries by self-determination of the populations.

Such an arrangement between Persia and Soviet Russia naturally conflicts with the policy of Great Britain in Middle Asia, in general, and in regard to Persia in particular.

Great Britain has been accustomed to regard Persia as within her "sphere of influence" and to consider it her future colony for the simple reason that Persia lies on one of the routes to India. England had always watched apprehensively every movement of imperialistic Russia in Central Asia, interpreting it as a menace to India. Persia thus became the scene of a duel between two powerful imperialistic states, Russia and Great Britain. Trying to prevent Russia from becoming a naval power, English policy endeavored to keep the Russians from attaining further outlets to the seas. In 1854, during the Crimean war, and in 1877-78, during the Turkish war, England prevented Russia from reaching the Mediterranean through Turkey. Blocked at the Dardanelles, the ambitious Russian imperialists turned their attention to the Pacific and to the Persian Gulf. But England still watched closely every movement of the Russian Czar. The Russo-Japanese war, skilfully planned by English diplomacy and backed by British capital, blocked the Russians from an outlet to warm water in the Far East, and during this conflict the Persian Gulf became British. The Russian Government was forced to abandon its projects of connecting the Trans-Caspian railway with Port Bender-Abass. Thence forward the real struggle between the British and Russians began in Persia.

Politically, economically, financially, and morally the Persian people became the slaves of English and Russian ambitions. No constructive work could be undertaken in Persia except upon the initiative of the Russian banks in the north or of the British in the south, with the consequent ruination of Persia's independent economic life. Successes in the Far East after the Boxer campaign of 1900 and the completion of a new branch of the Transcaspien railway from Merv to Kushk on the Afghan frontier encouraged the aggressiveness of the old Russian Government in Persia. The Ministry of the Ways of Communication undertook to realize the railway concessions which Russia had obtained from the Persian Government in 1901, by which a railroad was to be built by the Russians from Tulfa to Hamadan, via Tabriz, crossing southward all Azerbaijan, with a branch line from Tabriz to Teheran also in project. These constructions were to have been accomplished by 1903. Meanwhile a fierce diplomatic struggle was in full progress between Russia and England for the controlling influence in the Persian Gulf. The British claimed the port of Koweit at the north-western extremity of the gulf, while the Russians in turn threatened to take Bender-Abass in the strait of Ormuz between the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman. Serious friction arose between Great Britain and Russia on the one hand, and

between Germany, France and Great Britain on the other. This continued until 1907, when the Anglo-Russian Convention for the partition of Persia was signed with grave results for the contending powers. The Persian liberals obtained a sort of constitution from the Shah, Muhamed Ali Mirza, and the first Mejliss (parliament) was convened in the fall of 1906. Persia was practically in a state of civil war, with the reactionaries supported by the Russian Czar's forces in the north, and by the British in the south. In 1908 the Parliament was bombarded by the Shah's troops, or more properly speaking, by the Russian forces, and the autocracy was reestablished.

The Turkish revolution in the same year, ending in the fall of Abdul Hamid, encouraged the Persian revolutionists, and in the next year Shah Muhamed Ali was dethroned. In November 15, a new Mejliss was opened by Shah Ahmed, then a young boy.

It was in the interests neither of imperial Russia nor of imperial England to leave Persia to her own devices. Any program in the political and social structure of a liberal Asiatic State was looked upon as a dangerous example to the Russian people as well as to the population of India. By means of endless intrigues, with the help of numerous agents and agent-provocateurs the two great "civilized" states, under the pretext of helping the Persians, kept the country in turmoil, meanwhile increasing their own military forces.

The Russians finally occupied Tabriz and established there a military government to control the province of Azerbaijan, and the ex-Shah was allowed to undertake an expedition against Teheran, thus provoking a new civil war in Persia. British Indian troops were landed on the Persian Gulf and penetrated into the country.

The atrocities committed by the troops of Russia and imperial England during this period were beyond description.

When the Great War broke out, Persia officially remained neutral. Nevertheless her population had to suffer all the horrors of war. On several occasions the territory of Persia was invaded by the Turks, Russians and British. Many cities were absolutely destroyed and the peaceful population slain without mercy. In order to protect themselves from these horrors, the Persian Government offered to join the Allied Powers in the war, but nobody paid any attention to their demand. Practically the whole population of Persia was plunged in misery.

From this recital it can be easily understood what the feelings of the Persians have been toward both powers, Russia and Great Britain; and what enthusiasm the triumph of the Russian proletariat over world imperialism must have aroused in the Persian population. It is not surprising, therefore, that with the landing of the Russian Red Army at Enzeli, a revolution broke out in Persia, and that, as was reported from Constantinople, May 26 (*N. Y. American*), "The Persian Government is fleeing to the mountains, the ca-

pital Teheran being on the verge of turning to the Soviet regime." Even if this dispatch must be taken with reserve, there can be no doubt that revolution in Persia is imminent. The Persian population fully understands what is meant by the appearance of the Soviet Army on Persian soil. They know that these Red Russian troops enter this country not as the enemies of former days, not with the purpose of annexing their land, but as real friends and comrades who, better than anybody else, understand the sorrows of the Persian people, and who came to free them from the slavery of capitalistic imperialism. Having before their eyes the prosperity of Soviet Turkestan and witnessing what has happened in India, Turkey, Egypt, and other countries enslaved by imperialism, the Persian people will be neither deceived nor frightened by the capitalistic coalition, and will be eager to accept the hand of friendship extended to them from the Kremlin.

The attitude of Persia and the alliance of Soviet Russia with Afghanistan, with the establishment of Russian Consulates in Kabul, in Bukhara, and in Western China, and the establishment of a Government favorable to Soviet Russia at Khiva, are among the many indications which point to a new political alignment in Central Asia looking towards Russia rather than to Western Europe for support.

Imperialistic Russia was defeated by Great Britain when Russian imperialism hammered at the gates of Constantinople and tried to take by force outlets on the warm seas. Proletarian Russia will get these outlets because its strategy is absolutely opposite to the old strategy of the Czars.

The old regime of Russia desired to control the necessary ports, and therefore was compelled to annex them by force. Soviet Russia does not plan annexation. Soviet Russia knows that she can gain access to these outlets through the establishment of sincerely friendly economic and political relations with the neighboring peoples. Such relations, it already appears, are on the eve of realization.

According to the latest information from Austrian newspapers, a new battle has taken place between Great Britain and Arghanistan. The Afghan troops have attacked the British forces along the Indian frontier which was crossed by the Afghans at several points.

The Austrian press express the opinion that the British are extremely weak in that part of India, thanks to the concentration of their Indian forces towards Western Persia, and at the present time are outnumbered by the Afghans.

The friendly relations between Afghanistan and Soviet Russia greatly complicate the general western strategical situation in Central Asia and the latter may be altered, very unfavorably for the British. The Austrian military critics forshadow a possible war between Afghanistan and Great Britain. This situation cannot be considered as unfavorable for Russian strategy.

The Great Enemy — A Fairy Tale

By MAXIM GORKY.

The Red Man and the Black Man are struggling with each other on earth. The unquenchable ambition for power over man—that is the essence of the Black Man's strength. Cruel, avaricious, and evil that he is, he has spread his vast pinions over the world and envelops the earth with the black shades of fear of him. His desire is that he alone is to be served by man, and, subjecting all the world to himself by iron, gold, and the Lie, he calls upon God only that He may confirm his black dominion over man.

His words are: "All is mine! I am power—hence I am the soul and the sense of life; I am the ruler of all men. He who is against me is against life itself—he is a criminal." The Black Man is the dragon of whom the legends tell that dwells in the mountain caves.

The power of the Red Man is his ardent desire to behold a life that is free, intelligent, and splendid. His restless spirit is constantly aflame and illuminates the darkness of life with the many colored fitful flashes of beauty, with the formidable and challenging sunlight of truth, and with the calm rays of love. Everywhere his thought kindles a mighty flame of Freedom, and her powerful glow eagerly and ardently encircles our dark, blind earth and cradles it in the fair dream of happiness for all men.

His words are: "The world is for all of us! All are equal. Deep down in the heart of each man there dwells a whole world of beauty; no man may be given up to despair by making of him a dull tool of senseless power. No one shall subject himself to another. No one has the right to subject others to him,—power for power's sake is a crime."

The Red Man is Saint George, the slayer of the dragon, who has from time immemorial fought for beauty and freedom against the serpent of treachery.

This battle, waged by the champion of truth against the monster of deception, includes all of life, all its joy and pain, its poetry and tragedy,—the loveliest and most pregnant legends of the earth.

Between the Black and the Red there flits about a modest and restless little Gray Man. His predilection is for a warm, well-fed, and comfortable life, and for the sake of this inclination he abuses his soul as a hungry prostitute abuses her withered body. He is ready to serve any master as a slave, if only his satiety and peace of mind are made secure. It is immaterial to him who it is that feeds him—a beast or a man, an idiot or a genius. All of life for him is nothing more than a mirror in which he beholds only himself. His hold on life is tenacious, for he possesses all the talents of the parasite. His soul is the throne of the slumbering lizzard, known as "triviality," and his heart is the dwelling place of a pale fear; his desire is to enjoy much, but he fears all disturbances, and

this produces a cleft in his composure and makes him lose all uprightness. He is always a provocateur and instigator.

Whenever the Black Man gains the upper hand in battle, the Gray Man prudently eggs on the Red one.

"Look, how reaction is spreading!"

Whenever the champion of truth and liberty seems to be coming out on top, the Gray Man says to the Black Man:

"Be on your guard, anarchy is spreading!"

His fetish is always the same: *Order for me!* Even at the price of the spiritual death of the whole country—order!

And order for him means death for all who are living.

Whenever he observes that the Black Man is exhausted with the struggle, he intervenes in the combat between the two and deceives both equally.

Humbly and cautiously he approaches the Black Man.

"To be sure the people are like cattle, and need a severe shepherd. But I believe it is now time to give them a little more tether. If you give them a little in addition to the nothing they now have, they will have, if not as much as they ask, at least more than they have now. This will calm the masses and lessen the danger that threatens from the Red Man; for all his strength lies in their discontent; therefore let me take it in hand—I shall see to it."

And the matter is handed over to him and he carves out a warm, well-fed, and comfortable life for himself.

The Black Man, after he has allied himself with the Gray, becomes a little less cruel, but a little more stupid and insipid in his lifeless rigidity. The Red Man becomes more and more bold, and then the Gray Man speaks instructively to the Red Man:

"Of course it is now time to make a real attempt to approximate life to our ideal. But you cannot satisfy all people at once. Let's do a little today and a little more tomorrow, and finally all men will have all they need. The strength of the wise man is in his prudent calculation! The Black Man will yield, if you will only undertake the thing carefully. Permit me . . . I shall arrange the matter with him amicably." And whether he is asked to or not he makes use of the opportunity, and again establishes a warm, well-fed, and comfortable life himself!

The Red Man again becomes more faint and pale, and the Black Man again unfurls the rustling pinions of his power. Life again becomes silent and dark, and breathes more heavily. The Gray Man now enjoys the amenities of quiet.

He is capable, sometimes, of granting his favors for nothing; on other occasions he will take pay. There is nothing for which he is not ready. But he will never really act, and, no matter what

he may appear to be doing, he is never either noble or beautiful.

This petty, double-tongued wretch always takes a middle stand between the extremes, and selfishly prevents them from attaining the final development of the ideal which they are striving for . . .

Squatting down arrogantly between them, in his

impotence he confuses the colors of life into a colorless, dirty, dull, and tedious gray.

The Gray Man merely retards the inevitable passing away of that which has long been dead, and lies as an obstruction in the path of the living; he is the eternal enemy of all that is open, clear, and courageous . . .

The Accomplices of Paul Dukes

The outcome of the inquiry now in progress concerning the great plot prepared by Allied imperialists and Russian counter-revolutionists at the moment Yudenich was threatening Petrograd, includes interesting disclosures on the espionage agents directed by the so-called English Socialist, Paul Dukes. It is known that this chief adventurer of the English espionage in Russia was in Russia from December, 1918, to August, 1919. He was busy gathering military information, putting himself in contact with all sorts of organizations harmful to the Soviet power, supporting them in every way, and also gathering data on the functioning of the Soviet Government services, and the opinion of the various classes of the population concerning the economic situation of the country. One of his chief aids was Kurtz, a former Czarist police officer, well known to Rachkovsky, a friend of Purishkevich, accused of espionage during the war, and condemned to nine months' imprisonment and banishment from Petrograd; in other words, a man without any faith or responsibility, and ready for any misdeed. Kurtz had at his disposal several dozen informers, who provided him with the data required by Dukes. Among them were military and naval officers occupying high positions in the Red Army and Navy, as well as employes of Soviet institutions, and private individuals. A number of them were convinced opponents of the Soviet power, who in their blindness and hatred were ready to support all the enemies of the Soviet power, even including foreign spies. Others were in the service merely for money. A few, after having begun by furnishing Kurtz with occasional information in casual conversations, later found themselves caught in his meshes and found no means of escaping, owing either to their cowardice or to their lack of principle. Finally, a few, did not even suspect the role that Kurtz was playing. Another important person under Dukes was a woman of about forty years of age, named Maria Ivanovna, who was intelligent, very energetic, and able, who even succeeded in having herself admitted into the Communist Party, whose meetings she attended, and concerning the internal affairs of which she was in constant communication with Dukes. 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 a number of other political organs. Thanks to her, Dukes was enabled to enter

into relations at Moscow, with the organizations of the partisans of Kolchak and Denikin—the so-called "National Center"—and had an interview with the head of this body Shchepkin, by whom he was commissioned to go to London and to whom he promised money.

In addition, Dukes had a number of agents whose names will be published later. Their function was chiefly to furnish him with all sorts of data, to support in every way all evidence of disaffection toward the Soviet power, and to create for the latter all possible difficulties. Thus, they circulated alarming reports predicting a food crisis in Petrograd. One of them, the officer Kukshv, organized a band of deserters, which, however, was easily dissolved when they appeared in various forestry centers of Russia. Dukes received the representative of one of these bands, Skorzhinsky, and gave him a sum of money; with another head of such a horde, Popov, he was also in relations. In the month of March alone, Dukes gave 8,500 rubles to these deserters.

As occasion demanded, Dukes represented himself to be a socialist or a monarchist. He was in contact with Keeling, as may be seen from letters arriving from Finland. He regularly sent the results of his investigations by means of couriers, and in the form of cipher notes to the official English representatives in the Yudenich army, to be forwarded to London. All data of military character were communicated regularly to Yudenich, whom Dukes would either meet personally or whose chief co-workers were accessible to him on his travels in Finland. He was likewise in regular relations with Yudenich's general staff. Dukes received money either by couriers or through the representatives of the English industrial world living in Petrograd. The latter, Gidson, for example, knew perfectly well what was the nature of Dukes' activities, and regularly supplied him, as well as his aides, with large sums of money. At the end of August, 1919, when Dukes was officially recalled to London, he left Maria Ivanovna to take his place in Petrograd until his return.

At the approach of Yudenich to Petrograd, the organization created by Dukes concentrated its attention almost exclusively on military matters. In frequent reports to the Yudenich general staff, this organization communicated detailed data on the extent, the morale, the armament, and the distribution of the Red troops. When General Yu-

denich was at the gates of Petrograd, it created a group of military men, among whom were the former admirals Bakchirev and Razvozov, the former chief of the general staff of the Siberian Army Lundequist, etc., who were supposed to raise a rebellion in Petrograd in the rear of the Red Army. The group met at the house of Kurtz, the latter undertaking also to give weapons to several hundred apaches, in order to create trouble. The plan was only frustrated by reason of the fact that as the Yudenich menace increased, the sympathies of the population and the activities of the working

class, in the defence of the city, became so evident that the conspirators preferred not to run any further risk. When they were informed by the Yudenich general staff that the North-Western Government was not satisfactory to the majority of the counter-revolutionists, Dukes and Maria Ivanovna prepared a constitution for a government of which the engineer, Albrecht and the professor, Bykov were to be a part. The entire plot was discovered by the Soviet power and the instigators received the punishment merited by their crimes in November and December, 1919.

Workers' and Peasants' "Sverdlov" University

The university recently opened in Moscow, which has been named after the dead leader, Sverdlov, and in which there are at present two thousand students, offers two courses, one theoretical, and the other practical. The purpose of the theoretical course is to equip the workmen and peasants, in the shortest space of time, with an elementary Marxian education, which is a necessary pre-requisite for participation in party, council, cooperative, or professional work. The purpose of the practical course is to prepare students who have been given the theoretical course, the Communist education, for practical work in city or country, at the order of the party or council.

The fundamental theoretical course is obligatory upon all students, although one division of it may be elected while continuing the studies in all other divisions.

Aside from the formal hearing of lectures, the theoretical course is conducted in comradely circles and according to the methods of instruction used in normal schools.

After the work in these sections is completed, the students are assigned to their respective Commissariat, or to their respective party organizations, in order that they may be enabled to perfect the theoretical knowledge already acquired by practical application. Studies are pursued all week, but Sundays are spent in cultural excursions, while the evenings are given over to visits to theatre and concert, arranged for by the University. Studies last six hours daily, each lecture taking one hour to an hour and a half. In this six-hour day, are included all the comradely, normal school, and other sessions of the day.

A course may last six months, or six weeks, and is divided in the following manner: (1) the theoretical course lasts eleven weeks; (2) comradely and normal school exercises last six weeks; (3) the practical course lasts seven weeks; the practical Commissariat activity takes two weeks.

The practical course is divided into twenty-two parts, namely: 1, Agitation and Propaganda; 2, Organization; 3, Economics; 4, Communist Young Peoples' Federations; 5, Political Economy; 6, Rural Economy; 7, Food Problems; 8, Finance Problems; 9, Workmen Insurance and Social Wel-

fare; 10, Cooperative Activity; 11, Trade Unions; 12, Public Ownership; 13, Supervision of Railroad Workmen; 14, Local Government; 15, Study of Law; 16, Study of Civilization; 17, Postal and Telegraph Conditions; 18, Trade Conditions; 19, Study of Hygiene; 20, Conduct of War; 21, War Against the Counter-Revolution; 22, International Relations.

The method of teaching is, as already stated, practical. Immediately upon arrival at the University, the student is given the opportunity to view all phases of governmental activity, as well as of party life, during which the direction of the teacher is gradually relaxed, in order to allow the pupil to develop his initiative and learn through self-activity. Any workman or peasant of either sex, eighteen years of age, who can read and write, may be admitted to the University, if he comes at the recommendation of a trade union, workmen's corporation, shop committee, or any other proletarian organization, or else at the request of a Board of Directors of the Government, or a district committee of the Communist Party.

People with higher education are not admitted. Organizations which send students are pledged to provide them with clothes and shoes for the entire term of study, as well as with food,—and they must see to it that the food is sent regularly.

At the University the student has at his disposal: sleeping quarters in the common dormitories, bed-linen, library books, one pound of bread a day, luncheon and supper, writing materials, as well as 1,600 rubles a month. From the very beginning, the student takes part in the management and administration of the University, as part of his practical training. (To wit, superintending the kitchen and provisions, providing fuel, hygienic inspection, etc.)

The organizations which send students are also pledged to the following: To pay the student's railroad fare, and to pay the family of the student the difference between 1,600 rubles, and his former earnings. For those families that have sent sons or daughters to the University, and have an income less than 1,600 rubles per month, the Community must provide, according to the rule for the families of those serving in the Red Guard.

The Spotted Typhus Epidemic

By P. MASHUKOV.

[The following article appeared in a non-Bolshevik paper of Vladivostok, "The Voice of the Fatherland," on March 14, 1920.]

Everyone knows that typhus is raging in the city. But very few know what monstrous shapes the epidemic has assumed, and how miserable and inadequate are the means for combating it which are at the disposal of the city.

Owing to the fact that I have not the necessary data on hand, I am deprived of the opportunity of definitely pointing out one or another technical defect of our city medico-sanitary apparatus. I shall only bring to the attention of those people, within whom humanitarian feelings are still alive, an illustration of the poverty of the urban population.

In the middle of January of this year, my wife, her brother, and I, who shared one room, became sick with spotted typhus. The physician, who diagnosed our cases, advised us to enter a hospital without delay, but all our endeavors to secure means of transportation were in vain. Finally, when twenty-four hours or more had passed, someone succeeded in directing to our quarters an automobile belonging to the American Red Cross. It proved to be a canvas-covered van (open in the rear), which had only one small foot-stool on the floor.

There was neither a nurse, nor any one else who could help us enter the van, and our temperature was 105 degrees! Some way or other we slipped our clothes on and went to the city hospital, where we were examined and later sent to the typhus barracks.

The barracks, which had previously been occupied by venereal patients, produced a depressing impression with its dirty walls and wooden floors, in contrast to the clean and comparatively spacious rooms of the city hospitals.

The barrack was full of patients and had it not been for the efforts of the assistant-surgeon, we would have had to look for other quarters.

Beds were found for my wife and for me, but her brother had to spend the first night on two wooden benches. Due to the late hour we were not compelled to change our clothes, but the following morning we regretted having to change for the barrack clothes . . . They were torn and covered with ominous stains of all colors and shades. The bed clothes proved to be of the same kind.

The room, in which we were placed, was a small, dirty, stifling, room, filled with all sorts of odors. It contained twelve beds. The number of patients, during our stay in that room, was often increased (only temporarily of course) to fifteen; and the newly arrived patients had to be placed on the floor . . . We ascertained later that it was impossible to ventilate the room.

It is a well-known fact that the rash is always followed by terrific headaches, and it is easy to

picture the suffering of the patient who is placed on a hard hay mattress and a hard pillow. But we were short of even such pillows, and upon the arrival of a new patient, searches were made to find out whether someone had grabbed two pillows.

One of the remedies which offers some relief to the patient is a rubber bag filled with ice, placed on the head. But the whole barrack (100 patients) possessed one bag in good shape, and two torn ones. The rest of the patients were given rags dipped in cold water which were called "towels" by the attendants.

The frequent lack of water and light added to the torture. It appears to me absolutely abnormal that the sick should have to stand for those gems of city administration which the healthy part of the population puts up with. During my stay in the hospital, for a period of two weeks, there was no water for baths which are so necessary for typhus patients.

The situation was somewhat better in regard to lights, as there were some lamps in the hospital. However, at night when the lights blew out, it caused a great deal of annoyance to the attendants, who began to rush through the quarters in search of lamps, of which there were also very few (and at times there was a lack of kerosene); it was also injurious to the patients who were frightened by the darkness and were thus subject to additional excitement.

Finally, the most terrible and tragic circumstance was the lack of attendants, chiefly of minor attendants. This led to such horrible consequences that it is hard to write about it . . .

The typhus patients, when in delirium, were capable of the most unexpected action and therefore required vigilant care.

Very often at night the patients in my room, and often I myself, called for the attendants or nurses for about twenty minutes. Some patients shouted and woke their neighbors. The latter joined in the shouting and thus became greatly excited. After that, the sick brain brought on hallucinations . . .

The Lord is merciful . . . I lost consciousness for about four days and the nightmares I had during that period were not worse than reality . . .

During this period my poor wife threw herself out of the window in delirium . . . There were no attendants in the room. The patients who happened to be awake at that time, began to shout. People rushed into the room, but it was too late. A half hour later the physician pronounced her dead.

I may add that during my short stay in those barracks there were three similar attempts: one

man, who remained alive; and a man and a woman who broke the window panes and attempted to throw themselves out, but were prevented.

THE RUSSIAN GOLD SUPPLY.

The gold supply which is at present in Irkutsk, and which was guarded by the Czechs, must be transferred to the Soviet Power.

The gold supply includes Russian gold coins, foreign ingots, bars and planchets. It likewise includes the gold of the Moscow, Kazan, and other branches of the State Bank. This gold supply was taken out of Omsk and is worth 645,410,096 rubles.

In addition to that, gold articles belonging to the Chamber of Weights and Measures, gold and platinum nuggets, as well as alloys of gold and silver, and others, are in 514 boxes of the mint. Their exact value could not be estimated, but their approximate value was stated as being 6,122,021 rubles and 7 kopeks.

Some of the gold above described was transferred to the Vladivostok branch of the State Bank. During the months of March, August, and September, 1919, 190,899,651 rubles and 50 kopeks in gold were sent there. Besides, the above mentioned 514 boxes were also sent to Vladivostok. Furthermore, in the month of October, 1919, gold ingots worth 10,567,744 rubles and 6 kopeks, as well as Russian coins to the amount of 33,000,000 rubles (totaling 43,567,744 rubles and 6 kopeks) were sent to Vladivostok, but were held up in Chita. When the Omsk branch of the State Bank moved to Chita, gold ingots worth 486,598 rubles, belonging to gold melting laboratories, were sent there.

The regiment, which has just arrived at the station of Irkutsk, must have about 397,460,743 rubles and 78 kopeks in Russian denominations.

Izvestia of the Irkutsk Revolutionary Committee.

HOW LIES ARE MADE.

A Swiss newspaper relates the following interesting episode:

When O'Grady met Litvinov at Copenhagen, he reproached the latter with some atrocities alleged to have been committed in a certain town. Having heard nothing about these atrocities Litvinov asked O'Grady for his source of information, whereupon he was shown a copy of the *Izvestia* (Bolshevik official organ) in which the atrocities were described in black and white. Naturally, Litvinov was astounded, the more so as at the time when the atrocities were supposed to have been committed, he was in that very district, and yet had heard nothing of them. He then made further enquiries on the subject in Moscow, and sought and found amongst his materials the number of the *Izvestia* in question—but no mention of the atrocities could be found in it. The solution was found by comparing his own with O'Grady's copy of the *Izvestia*, and it was found that O'Grady's copy was one published by General Denikin. Leading articles, whole pages, were simply reprinted from the real *Izvestia*, and the name, appearance, and whole form of paper was almost a facsimile of the Bolshevik paper. At the same time various items purporting to be ordinary news damaging to the Bolsheviks were smuggled in—the whole being passed off abroad as the Bolshevik *Izvestia*! Clever! What?—*Volksrecht*, Zurich, Switzerland.

THE ICE-BREAKER IN THE KARA SEA

(*Social-Demokraten*, Norway, April 20).—The *Social-Demokraten* learned from the Foreign Department this morning that the Department had yesterday received instructions from the British Minister at Christiania to the effect that the English Government is ready to place an ice-breaker at the disposal of the expedition to the Kara Sea.

This ice-breaker, however, will not be the *Cosma Minnie*, which had been considered the most likely ship for the purpose; since the *Minnie* is to undergo important repairs, it will take too long to enable the ship to be used for the present purpose.

In pursuance of the telegram from England, we applied to Prof. Frithjof Nansen, who was so kind as to give us the following interview:

"The ice-breaker we can probably have is I suppose the *Svea Tago*. I am not acquainted with the ship, but telegraphic information I have earlier received from Russia leads me to think that it is a very good one, admirably suited for an expedition to the Arctic Sea."

"Will it take long to equip the ship for the purpose?"

"No, it should not take very long. We have asked to have the vessel taken to Tromsøe, in order there to take on a Norwegian crew. Everything depends on the coaling question. The ship must get a new supply when it arrives at Tromsøe, although the coaling may take place at Narvik."

"Captain Otto Sverdrup has declared himself ready to head the expedition, and the taking on of the necessary crew will be up to him. I hope the Navy Department will show itself favorable in this matter."

"Have you had any recent information from Russia concerning the present situation of the ship?"

"No. The last telegram I received was dated March 23. The ship was then about in the middle of the Kara Sea, at 72°36' north latitude. The ice conditions are very unfavorable there and it will be one of the most difficult tasks to work one's way through the ice. We may hope, however, that the summer weather has broken up the ice pretty well, which may enable a passage to be made without too much difficulty."

"But we must not hope too much. It is my hope that the ship may have been caught in one of the circular currents which I believe are frequent in the Kara Sea, in which case it may be still possible to find it there. But examples are known from earlier days—for instance, that of a Russian expedition—where ships were driven out of the Kara Sea and became wrecks."

We tried to obtain a conversation with Captain Otto Sverdrup, but his morning was taken up with conferences, probably connected with the telegram of the English Government. Dr. Breitfus, the Russian scientist who came here to give aid in the preparations for the expedition, which he is to accompany, was also not accessible this morning.

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Have you the new edition of the Labor Laws of Soviet Russia, with an introduction on the "Basic Character of the Soviet Labor Law," price ten cents.

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RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU



This weekly will carry 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.

ENZELI is a seaport on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, whose harbor works were built about 1903 by the Russian engineer, Victor Tagueeff, who later constructed the Black Sea ports of Pochi, Batum and Kerch, a brother of our military expert, Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek. This seaport, although in Persian territory, was built with Russian money, as well as the highway from Enzeli to Teheran, which was also under Victor Tagueeff's charge. Enzeli has grown to be an important seaport, being the only improved harbor on the Persian shore of the Caspian, and consequently the only point through which Persian commerce is connected with the Volga, Central Russia, Transcaucasia, and the Black Sea.

This hitherto little-known place is featured in the papers as the first stage of a Soviet campaign of aggression against Persia. Of course, our readers know perfectly well that the Soviet Government has no aggressive designs on any country, and in the case of Persia there are special and specific declarations of friendship on the part of the Soviet Government, not to mention the express renunciation by the Soviet Government, of all the claims on Persia that had been urged by the Czarist Government and not renounced by the bourgeois government that succeeded it. Then what can be the cause of the taking of Enzeli? The answer is: *oil*; the Soviet Government needs fuel for its railways and river steamers. But, you may answer, Enzeli is not on the Russian side of the Caspian; it is on the southern shore of that sea. England, however, had Denikin's seven cruisers there—former Russian commercial steamers that she had armed and equipped for war—and it was necessary to transform these ships from a menace to the Russian people to an instrument of their own organization, before the Soviet Government could consider safe in its possession any oil that it might obtain at Baku. For the oil, once seized by the Soviet Government, would need to be transported to Russia, and the maritime route over the Caspian Sea was the only available route, since all the railroads in the Caucasus, east to west as well as north to south, had been practically destroyed by Denikin on his retreat from the recent military operations in that region. The east to west pipe-line, from Baku on the Caspian to Batum on the Black Sea, could also not be util-

ized, as Batum was still occupied by French and English forces, and any oil forwarded westward to Batum would flow into their buckets. Only one thing remained for the Soviet Government to do, in order to make the 200,000,000 poods of oil at Baku really available for use in Russia, and that was to secure naval control of the Caspian Sea by taking out the enemy's teeth: holding all ships and naval bases that might molest the transportation of this oil over the Caspian to Astrakhan, and thence up the Volga to all parts of Russia that may be reached through the canal systems connected with that river, including the capitals, Moscow and Petrograd. The steamers of this system, which have been nationalized and put into perfect order, including the reconstruction of their furnaces and boilers for the use of oil fuel, have been ready for months to take their part in the new operation of Soviet Russia's internal transportation, but have been unable to begin this work because of the lack of oil. Now that the oil is available, they will be able to begin their beneficent work of distributing the wealth of the Caucasus to the rest of Russia, including the 400,000,000 poods of grain (much of it wheat) now stored in that region and ready for transportation.

In this connection, it must not be forgotten that everything that can be done to improve waterway transportation in Russia is being done. The canal connecting the Volga and the Don, which has been under construction for some time (it is about thirty miles long), will be completed this month, as we are informed on good authority, and will also aid in improving the distribution of the Caucasus grain. Concerning the recent transportation improvement in Russia, with special reference to this new canal, we shall print an article in an early issue of *SOVIET RUSSIA*, from the pen of a well informed person whose data are from official sources.

As for the cautious manner in which the Soviet authorities engineered the seizure of Baku, in order to make sure that the oil wells would not be crippled by hostile elements, that also deserves treatment in a special place, and we hope to be able to revert to this subject soon.

The situation on the Black Sea is not so favorable for Soviet Russia as on the Caspian. The latter has now become a Soviet Russian lake, as no one may now dispute Soviet Russian naval and commercial control of that body of water. But the Black Sea coast is still partly in the hands of hostile forces, and commerce with littoral states is rendered impossible by the naval flotillas of France and England, not to mention extensive minefields infesting all the waters over which commercial vessels might pass. The Italian Government, which is eager to resume trade with Russia, has begun to clear these waters of the mines, and will send vessels to Black Sea ports with representatives and goods for the Soviet Government. When the English Government finally proceeds to open commercial relations with Soviet Russia, it will also find it necessary to clear the roads for

ships, and sweep up the mines in the Finnish Gulf which are Great Britain's most effective means of maintaining the blockade.

LITTLE heed is paid by the metropolitan press to the golden mean so far as news about Russian affairs are concerned. Hardly any paper regards it as necessary to stick to the Roman maxim, *est modus in rebus*: even the particular news item that is declared "fit to print" is chosen even more for its absurdity than for its malice.

A case in point is the dispatch from Paris to the *New York Times* of May 24 concerning an alleged flight of Krassin to Stockholm, which we reprint herewith:

PARIS, May 23.—Bolshevist circles in Paris declare that the hurried departure of Gregory Krassin, the Russian Bolshevist Minister of Trade and Commerce, from Copenhagen for Stockholm, was caused by a request of the French Government to the Danish Government that Krassin be placed under arrest for plotting and espionage.

The absurdity of the item is on the face of it. If Krassin was carrying on "espionage and plotting" against France, then this is the first instance in the history of international relations (and "plotting"?) that a country should demand of another (which is not its military ally) the arrest of a citizen of a third country, who plots against it, presumably in the interests of his mother country. If the "espionage and plotting" was directed against Denmark, the dubious mind may ask whether Denmark would really wait for France to disclose the plots, and not arrest the delinquent earlier, and moreover, would permit him to escape so easily to Stockholm. A third possibility, that Krassin was "spying and plotting" against "Allied humanity" in general, as represented by the League of Nations, would indicate that France was officially entrusted with the role of an international gendarme, empowered to order the arrest of anybody, in any country, belonging to the so-called League of Nations. A possibility which, as matters stand now, is still out of the question.

There remains only one explanation: that the particular news item is merely another example of the "spying and plotting," against Soviet Russia, which seems to have become a matter of habit with most of the reactionaries. And, to add insult to injury, this information is alleged to emanate from "Bolshevist circles" in Paris.

PERHAPS it was a few weeks ago that a letter appeared in an American weekly pointing out that the newspaper press sometimes unwittingly presents correct versions of the news, owing to typographical errors on the part of lesser employes. Those whose hobby is in the collection of unintended headline semantics also have occasionally noted astonishing and undetected revelations. One of these is when the *New York Tribune* (May 24) heads a box on its front page: "League to Postpone Inquiry in Russia." Of all the organizations! Do they mean the League of Nations? A reading of the item shows they do.

UNANSWERED NOTE.

SOVIET RUSSIA learns from a London newspaper that the memorandum addressed to the San Remo Conference by the Russian Trade Delegation, to which no reply has been received was in the following terms:

In the month of January the Supreme Council decided to establish trading relations with Soviet Russia, through the medium of the Russian Cooperative Societies. According to the existing laws in Russia all external trade is nationalized and is administered by the Committee for Foreign Trade.

Nevertheless, taking into account the economic interests of its country as well as the enormous importance to Western Europe and its working populations of the speeding-up of the exportation of the stocks of raw materials and grain accumulated and in process of accumulation in Russia, the Soviet Government decided to make concessions in the manner of the plans drawn up by the Supreme Council. It therefore temporarily authorized the Union of Russian Cooperative Societies at Moscow to act as the administrative body for foreign commerce.

The recent blockade of Russia and the operations of the Allied military forces by land and sea on Russian territory have, however, created conditions hindering importation and rendering impossible the exportation of raw materials from Russia. The warships of the Allies in territorial waters of the Black Sea still continue to bombard the Russian coasts, and the French naval authorities declare positively that no communication between Russian and foreign ports will be permitted by them.

The port of Petrograd is blocked by minefields placed in the Gulf of Finland by the British fleet, in consequence of which ten steamers already loaded at Petrograd cannot take to sea even after the freeing of the port from ice.

Neutral states have not up to the present been officially notified of the raising of the blockade and of the permission to reopen trade even with the Cooperative Societies. Trade is also hindered by the hostile attitude of neighboring states, preventing the resumption of postal, telegraphic and passenger relations.

All the circumstances show with absolute clearness the necessity and inevitability of establishing by means of pourparlers a formal understanding with the Allies, having as its object the clearing away of the obstacles to trade with Russia and the Ukraine. . . . The complexity and variety of the questions to be decided renders it absolutely necessary that the pourparlers should be conducted by the delegation as a whole.

The prohibition of the landing of one of its members in England, where obviously the pourparlers should commence, led the delegation to propose that they should be transferred to another country.

Regretting that it has received no reply to the inquiries on this subject which it addressed to the Supreme Economic Council, the delegation begs the Supreme Council to inform it whether the decision of January remains in force or whether, in view of changed conditions, some new way of reopening commercial relations with Russia will be considered.

In the first case, the delegation hopes to receive some indication of the place at which it would be able to meet representatives of the Supreme Council. The delegation will willingly furnish the Supreme Council sitting at San Remo with all the information on Russia which it desires to obtain, particularly in regard to the methods projected for the exchange of goods.

(Signed) M. LITVINOV.
President of the Delegation.

* There is an omission here in the text in our possession.

Documents

AN OLD NOTE IN A NEW FORM

The patient and repeated efforts of the Soviet Government to arrive at a peaceful understanding with the Government of the United States are again confirmed by information recently received from Vladivostok. The special representative of the Soviet Government, M. Vilensky, upon his arrival at Vladivostok last March, delivered to General Graves, the commander of the American Expeditionary Forces in Siberia, a note addressed by the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs in Moscow to the Department of State at Washington, pointing out the mutual advantages of friendly economic cooperation between Soviet Russia and the United States and requesting the American Government to set a time and place for peace negotiations between the two countries.

The communication delivered by Mr. Vilensky to General Graves was a certified copy of the note of February 24, 1920, from the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs to the State Department, which was published in the *New York American*, March 6, and reprinted in *SOVIET RUSSIA*, March 13. This note was never published by the State Department, and, in spite of the pains taken by the Soviet Government to insure its reaching Washington, there is reason to believe that it has never been even acknowledged by the Government of the United States.

According to a dispatch of the official Russian Telegraph Agency, published in the *Dalnevostochnoye Obozrenye* (Far-Eastern Review) of Vladivostok, March 20, Mr. Vilensky delivered this note to General Graves with the following letter of transmittal:

"By order of the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, I transmit to you the enclosed note of the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, expressing the sincere desire of the Soviet Government to begin peace negotiations with the Government of the United States of America. I hope that you will transmit our proposal without delay to Washington and will not deny us the courtesy of advising us thereof."

The text of the note as published in the *Dalnevostochnoye Obozrenye*, which differs slightly from that published in our issue of March 13, reads in full as follows:

"Moscow, February 24th.

"State Department, Washington, D. C.

"The victorious advance of the valiant Soviet Army in Siberia and the universal, popular movement against the counter-revolution and against foreign invasion which has spread with irresistible force throughout Eastern Siberia, have brought into immediate proximity the question of re-establishing relations between Soviet Russia and the United States of America.

"The more the trials of civil war that Russia has gone through are retreating into the past, the more will all the forces of the Russian people concentrate upon the fundamental aim of reconstructing the country. Reports that have reached us from our representative, Mr. Martens, show with full clearness that American production, wealth and enterprise can be among the greatest assets in helping us to attain our purpose.

"It can be positively affirmed that the relations be-

tween Soviet Russia and America will be of the greatest use to both parties and that both will reap from it the largest benefits.

"The reports of Mr. Martens clearly show that American commerce and industry are able to help in a very large measure in the great work of the reconstruction of Russia's economics; that the United States can play a gigantic role in the realization of this aim and that numerous prominent representatives of the American business world are quite willing to take an active part in this work.

"Having no intention whatever of interfering with the internal affairs of America, and having for its sole aim peace and trade, the Russian Soviet Government is desirous of beginning without delay peace negotiations with the American Government.

"On December 5 and 7 the All-Russian Congress of Soviets solemnly proposed to all governments of the allied and associated powers, and to each of them separately, to commence negotiations with the view to concluding peace.

"Once more this proposal is made, and we ask the Government of the United States of America to inform us of its wishes with respect of a place and time for peace negotiations between the two countries.

"Signed: *People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs*,

"GEORGE CHICHERIN.

"True copy:

"People's Commissar Plenipotentiary for Foreign Affairs in Siberia and in the Far East, Yanson.

"Moscow, February 25, 1920."

AN ANSWER TO AN ENGLISH NOTE

The following is a radiogram sent by Lord Curzon, the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated London, April 14, 1920, to Chicherin, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs at Moscow. (*Published by the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.*)

Having been convinced for some time that the military struggle in Southern Russia cannot last forever, and knowing that its continuance will lead to further loss of life and serve as a serious obstacle to the restoration of the peace and well-being of Russia, I used all my influence on General Denikin in order to induce him to drop this struggle. I promised him that I would exert every effort to bring about peace between his army and yours, and would secure the safety of all his followers, as well as of the population of Crimea. General Denikin decided to follow this advice, and left Russia, after transferring the command to General Vranghel. I, therefore without delay address you with a request to cease hostile operations and to declare a general amnesty on the condition of the liquidation of the volunteer army,—this for the sake of Russia's interests and for the sake of humanitarianism. If the volunteer army is not convinced of your friendly attitude towards it, I presume it will be ready and capable of offering strong resistance in Crimea in the next few months, notwithstanding the fact that it is not capable of a serious advance in the north. Such an alternate is not advantageous for either side. If you should wish, however, to discuss just conditions for an agreement, I should be glad to know what the conditions are, and to ascertain what are the methods by which they can be realized. I should then make every effort to have these conditions accepted. Our country takes a special interest in the fate of Denikin's army, as this army is composed of Russian elements who supported us during the Great War, in which Russia at first participated as our Ally; we therefore consider that we are in honor bound to help them to the end. At present, when they have met with failure, we must

also exert all our efforts in order to save them from a catastrophe and destruction. From the point of view of Russia it is just as essential to regulate this question peacefully and honorably. Within a few days we expect the arrival of your delegates in London for the discussion of ways and means by which trade relations between our countries can be resumed. Such relations are of vital importance for the economic restoration of Russia. However, as long as civil war lasts in Russia, such negotiations can have no hope for success. Moreover, it can be pointed out that if the opening of negotiations will coincide with military slaughter in Southern Russia, or with the adoption of reprisals against war-prisoners or against prominent participants in this struggle,—negotiations could not go on in view of the public sentiment which may be created as a result of such acts. The negotiations, consequently, would be doomed to failure from the very beginning. I should be very glad if you would be kind enough to reply to this proposal in the near future.

(Signed) CURZON.

Chicherin's reply to the above note, a radiogram of April 14th, is printed below:

The Russian Government received with pleasure the note of the British Government pertaining to a question the proper disposal of which will bring us much nearer to a removal of obstacles and to a complete understanding between Russia and Great Britain. As regards the support, which the British Government, according to its own statement, has extended to the opponents of the Russian Government, we shall not at present enter into a discussion of whether or not the reasons for such support, as given by the British Government, are well-founded, remembering that it was given after the downfall of German Imperialism. We here merely state the fact that your communication clearly indicates that after your rescue of the above-mentioned Russian elements from reprisals, you will consider your obligations towards us as terminated, and that then a new leaf in Russo-English relations may be turned. The entire group of questions pertaining to such relations is connected, according to your communication, with the liquidation of the particular affair mentioned by you; we, on our part, also declare that the multitude of questions which must be discussed by both governments cannot be separated, and on the basis of your declaration we must begin to discuss them. The Russian Government shares the view of the British Government when the latter speaks of the usefulness to other countries of the economic reconstruction of Russia, and the fact that such reconstruction would be hampered by the continuation of the hostile actions which are at present being carried on by the Polish Government, on a larger scale than by the remnants of Denikin's force; we agree that the cessation of hostilities is of vital importance to the economic reconstruction of Russia, as indicated by the British Government. Being in full sympathy with the appeal to humanitarianism, we cannot help bringing forth another question of humanitarianism—the fate of the former members of the Hungarian Soviet Government, this our former ally, detained at present in Austria; we feel obliged to ask for their unimpeded passage to Russia and hope that the British Government will use its influence in this connection. The Russian Government considers that the solution of these as well as other problems facing the two governments can be best attained by direct negotiations by our representative in London, Mr. Litvinov, with the British Government, and the Russian Government hopes that such negotiations will bring good results and be of advantage both to Russia and to Great Britain.

(Signed) CHICHERIN,
People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

A NOTE FROM NORWAY.

We print below a radiogram sent by the Norwegian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, on April 13, 1920:

It has become known to the Norwegian Government that Russia and Finland have entered into negotiations for signing an armistice. In case territorial questions are brought up for discussion by the negotiating parties (during the armistice negotiations, or during peace negotiations, which may follow the former), which questions may change the existing situation with regard to boundaries now separating Russia and Finland from Norway,—the Norwegian Government considers it necessary to make the following announcement: If the existing territorial situation in these regions will not be subjected to any changes through the above negotiations, the Norwegian Government will have no objections to offer. If, however, during the above-mentioned negotiations, territorial questions are to be discussed which will change the present situation in the frontier regions of Russia and Finland on one hand, and Norway on the other,—then the Norwegian Government would like to be informed to this effect; if such is the case, the Norwegian Government will reserve for itself the right (if it finds it necessary) to such readjustment of boundaries as may be necessary to safeguard the political and territorial interests of Norway, and also, to secure for Norway the possibility for preserving friendly relations with the neighboring countries.

Minister for Foreign Affairs,

IHLEN.

Pravda, Moscow, April 16, 1920.

WORKERS' COUNCIL OF KIEV

The Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates of Kiev adopted the following manifesto at its session of April 24, 1920:

To the Proletariat of Europe and America!

Comrades:

On April 19th the city of Kiev, which is situated a long distance away from the battle front and which has no fortress, was raided in the most outrageous manner by the air squad bandits of bourgeois Poland. Bombs were dropped on the workers' quarters from aeroplanes.

They killed seven children from eight to thirteen years of age, two women and one old man. Thirteen people were wounded. The raid took place in broad daylight when the streets were full of people.

Comrades, the entire population of Kiev is outraged over the abominable crime of the Polish White Guards.

The working people of Kiev hold responsible for this crime the leaders of the Entente with whose aid the Polish reactionary government exists.

You know that a few days ago our government declared in answer to Lord Curzon's offer of mediation that it had granted amnesty to the soldiers of Denikin who had been taken prisoner.

Had Denikin conquered he would have killed the peasants and soldiers of the Soviet Republic. But we do not want any useless bloodshed, we do not want any unnecessary sacrifices! Yet the Polish bourgeoisie which depends entirely upon the rulers in Paris and London, is murdering women and children in a peaceful city. It is hardly to be expected that Messrs. Curzon, Lloyd George and Millerand should now think of "humanity," "civilization" and "justice"—now that their bloody hordes are throwing bombs on the heads of defenseless children.

We offered peace to Poland on several occasions, we were ready to make sacrifices, but reactionary Poland continues the war against the workers of Ukraine and Russia. It is murdering us in order to impose another Brest-Litovsk treaty upon us; it demands that we de-

liver over the Ukrainian peasants to the Polish landowners for their destruction. Under the pretext of peace negotiations Poland was treacherously laying a trap for us in Borisov.

Poland is conducting the war in the name of the treasures of the Polish landowners which have now passed over into the possession of the Ukrainian peasants. Poland is fighting for the factories which formerly belonged to the Polish capitalists, but are now owned by the Soviet Republic. Poland is fighting for the restoration of the power of the capitalists and landowners in Ukraine. In this fight, the Polish lackeys of the capitalists of the world have found an aide in the person of the well-known adventurer Petlura. His bands are burning and destroying whole villages, pillaging the working people, organizing gruesome massacres of the Jews, and terrorizing the peaceful working population.

We wanted to obtain peace without war. The Polish nobility wants the war, and we are therefore compelled to win peace through a victorious war. The Ukrainian workers, soldiers, and peasants will, for the last time, make a concerted effort together with their Russian brethren, and will repel Pilsudski's army in the same manner as they have already defeated the armies of Kornilov, Kaledin, Kolchak, Yudenich, and Denikin.

We will defend our liberty and independence. We will save our cities and our villages. We will not allow the Polish nobility to enslave once more the Ukrainian workers and peasants. This war is being forced upon us, but we shall come out victorious.

Comrades, you know that capitalist Europe calls us, the victorious workers and peasants, robbers and bandits. You know that the bankers and Stock Exchange kings, the capitalists and landowners of the west have attempted to crucify us through hatred and slander. *They were lying.* The shameful attack of the Polish White Guard bands on the peaceful city of Kiev once more shows clearly that the dastardly murderers are in the camp of the bourgeoisie.

Comrades, in spite of everything we were victorious on the numerous fronts and now that we wish to devote all our energy and strength to the internal reconstruction of our country, we are prevented by the last front—the Polish front. We appeal to you, workers of Europe and America, demand with all your might that the capitalists and bankers restrain their bloodthirsty valets at Warsaw. Demand that the armed Polish bandits cease the murder of children, women, and old men! Put your entire power in the balance in favor of the workers' republic, in favor of the working class which is suffering under the yoke of the Polish bourgeoisie! Voice your protest against the Polish hangmen of the people and the revolution! *The Kiev Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.*

ANDREW IVANOV, Chairman.

ADDRESS TO THE CHINESE PEOPLE

[*The following document, which we believe to be official, appeared in a Vladivostok newspaper, "The Far-Eastern Review," on March 18, 1920.*]

On the day when the Soviet armies, having defeated the army of the counter-revolutionary despot, Kolchak (who received the support of foreign bayonets and foreign gold), triumphantly entered Siberia, the Soviet of People's Commissars addressed all the peoples of China in the following fraternal words:

Soviet Russia and the Soviet army after two years of struggle, after indescribable efforts, go east, across the Urals, not for violence, not for enslaving people and not for conquest. Every Siberian worker is already aware of this fact. We bring to nations liberation from the yoke of foreign bayonets, from the yoke of foreign gold, which strangle the enslaved peoples of the east, and most of all, the Chinese people. We

bring help not only to our working classes, but also to those of China, and we once more remind them of that, which was being told to them at the time of the Great Revolution of October, 1917, but which was perhaps concealed from them by the mercenary press.

As soon the Workers' and Peasants' Government seized the power in October, 1917, immediately, in the name of the Russian people, it addressed all the peoples of the world with a proposal to establish a lasting peace. The basis for such peace was to be the abandoning of all territorial aims, all forcible annexation of foreign nationalities, and the abolishing of all indemnities. Each nation, whether small or large, irrespective of its location, and regardless of whether or not it was independent up to the present time, must be absolutely free in its internal life and no power should keep it forcibly within its boundaries.

The Workers' and Peasants' Government further declared void all secret treaties, with which the Czarist Government, together with the Allies, had enslaved the peoples of the Orient (primarily the Chinese) through violence and bribery for the benefit of the Russian capitalists, Russian landowners, and Russian generals. The Soviet Government offered at that time to the Chinese people to begin negotiations for the annulment of the treaty of 1896, of the Peking protocol of 1901, and of all treaties with Japan entered into in the years of 1907-1916, through which annulment the Chinese people would again come into possession of the territory which the Czarist Government had seized from them. Negotiations to this effect lasted until March, 1918. Suddenly, the Allies seized the Peking Government by the throat, showered the Peking mandarins and the Chinese press with gold, and compelled the Chinese Government to break off all relations with the Russian Workers' and Peasants' Government. Without awaiting the restoration of the Manchurian Railroad to the Chinese people, the Allies seized the railroad themselves, invaded Siberia and even compelled the Chinese troops to help them in these unheard of, criminal acts. Moreover, the Chinese people, the Chinese workers and peasants could not even learn the truth, as to the reason for the invasion of Manchuria and Siberia by the Allied plunderers.

We now once more address the Chinese people with the aim of opening their eyes to the truth.

The Soviet Government waives all conquests of the Czarist Government by which Manchuria and other provinces were taken away from China. Let the peoples who inhabit these provinces decide for themselves to which country they wish to belong and what form of Government they wish to establish in their provinces.

The Soviet Government returns to the Chinese people without indemnification the Chinese-Eastern Railway, and all forests, mines, gold, and other concessions seized by Russian generals, merchants, and capitalists under the regime of the Czar, Kerensky, and the bandits Horvath, Semionov, and Kolchak.

The Soviet Government declines to receive from China compensation for the suppression of the Boxer uprising of 1900. The Soviet Government is compelled to repeat this the third time, as—according to information which has reached us—notwithstanding our refusal to accept such compensation, it is being collected by the Allies for the purpose of paying salaries and satisfying the whims of the former Czarist Ambassador in Peking and the former Czarist consuls in China. All these Czarist slaves were deprived of their power long ago, but still hold their places and deceive the Chinese people. The Chinese people must be told this, and must expel them from their country as deceivers and knaves.

The Soviet Government abolishes all special privileges, all concessions to Russian subjects on Chinese territory. No Russian official, priest, or missionary is permitted to interfere in Chinese affairs, and if any of these commit a crime, they are to be tried in all justice by the local court. China is not to have any other power or court than the Chinese power and the court of the Chinese people.

Besides the above points, the Soviet Government is

prepared to negotiate with the Chinese people on all other questions and is ready once for all to liquidate all acts of violence and injustice committed against China by the former Russian government.

The Soviet Government knows well that its enemies will do their utmost again to prevent the voice of the Russian workers and peasants from reaching the Chinese people; that in order to return to the Chinese people that which was seized from them it is first necessary to do away with the plunderers who entrenched themselves in Manchuria and Siberia. And, therefore, the Soviet Government is now sending its message to the Chinese people through the Red Army.

If the Chinese people wish to liberate themselves, as the Russian people did, and to evade that fate which the Allies prepared for them at Versailles for the purpose of turning their land into another Korea or India—they must understand that their only allies and brothers in the struggle for liberty are the Russian workers and peasants and their Red Army.

The Soviet Government offers to the Chinese people through the medium of their Government to enter immediately into official relations.

KARAKHAN,
Acting Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

PROLETARIAN HOLIDAYS

[The following official decree is reprinted from a Vladivostok newspaper, "Nabat," in which it appeared on March 23, 1920.]

1. In every branch of labor one day a week is to be set aside as the day of rest.
2. This day is decided upon by the People's Commissariat of Labor in agreement with the Supreme Council of National Economy, and the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions.
3. The days of rest, as decided upon by the People's Commissariat of Labor, are made public in the *Izvestia of the Central Executive Committee*, and in the code of decrees and instructions of the Workers' and Peasants' Government.
4. All workers of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic must observe the set days of rest. This excludes establishments mentioned in the 6th article of these regulations. The local Branches of Labor, in agreement with the local Soviets of Trade Unions, may set various days of rest for various regions and establishments or groups thereof, in accordance with local conditions and the composition of the population.
5. When setting the day of rest for the workers of enterprises and establishments, the workers of each branch of commerce are divided into groups and each group is to observe a different day of rest which does not coincide with that of any other group.
6. In establishments, the activity of which is continuous, the work may be carried on during the general days of rest, and instead of the general holidays, special days are set for each group of workers.

Note. The order in which the days of rest are taken by various groups is established by the institutions mentioned in Article 4 of these regulations.

7. No work is to be done on the following holidays, dedicated to certain historic and social events:

- a) January 1st—New Year;

- b) January 22d—the 9th of January (old Russian calendar), 1905;

- c) March 12th—the overthrow of autocracy;

- d) March 18th—the day of the Paris Commune;

- e) May 1st—the day of the Internationale;

- f) November 7th—the day of the Proletarian Revolution.

8. The local Councils of Trade Unions, with the consent of the People's Commissariat of Labor, may set special days of rest (besides the above mentioned); but no more than ten per year and in accordance with the general days of rest, with the local conditions, and with the composition of the population. Such special days must be announced in advance for the information of the public at large, and they are not to be paid for.

Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee:

J. SVERDLOV.

Secretary of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee:

V. AVANESSOV.

EMIGRATION TO RUSSIA

In a former issue of SOVIET RUSSIA we spoke of the movements among the Swedish iron and metal workers to inspect conditions in Russia, in order to judge whether it was desirable for Swedish workers to emigrate to that country. We now learn from *Social-Demokraten*, Christiania, Norway, of April 22, 1920, that a delegation has already been elected by the Swedish workers and has already left Sweden for Trondhjem in Norway, from which port they will embark for Russia. On the day preceding the above date, an invitation reached also the Norwegian iron and metal workers, who chose as their delegate for the same purpose Engineer Haavard Langseth and Mr. Kristen Kristensen, who left Christiania on April 22 on the two o'clock train for Trondhjem, to join the Swedish delegates. The two groups will continue their journey together. The delegation is to investigate the conditions of labor, and the food and housing questions in Russia, and it is assumed that they will be gone about two months.

The same number of *Social-Demokraten* prints group pictures of the two delegations, which are on file in our office.

We have no doubt that these Scandinavian delegations will be as enthusiastically received in Soviet Russia as the British labor delegation is now being received in Petrograd, according to the reports in New York newspapers of May 21.

BOUND VOLUMES

We are no longer able to furnish our readers with bound volumes of SOVIET RUSSIA for 1919, but in our next issue they will find an announcement of the conditions under which bound sets of Volume II will be issued to the public.

Radios

[We are fortunately in a position to present to our readers this week a translation of the numerous items of general interest, contained in the Soviet wireless statement issued at Moscow on April 27, 1920. The Soviet Government would gladly have these wireless notes reprinted in American daily newspapers as soon as they are issued—and of course they are accessible to these newspapers immediately after their issuance—but, unfortunately, there seems to be no desire to print them. We are, therefore, obliged to present them to our readers somewhat later, but in the case of the data contained below, we feel that even delayed publication is of value.]

NEWS FROM YEKATERINBURG.

The city has been cleaned of all the garbage which has accumulated for the last six years. The typhus epidemic has been entirely overcome.

SOLDIERS' UNIVERSITY.

At Kazan the general staff of the reserve army has opened a university for soldiers, including divisions in agriculture, electro-technology, chemistry, and general education. Students are enrolling in great numbers.

RELATIONS WITH ITALY.

Lunacharsky announces in *Izvestia* the approaching resumption of intellectual relations between Russia and Italy.

UNIVERSAL EDUCATION AT PETROGRAD

At the last session of the Petrograd Soviet Gorky read a report on instruction for illiterates.

LENIN'S BIRTHDAY.

On Lenin's (50th) birthday, the Moscow Communist Committee arranged an intimate evening in which Gorky presented his reminiscences of exile, particularly of his meeting with Lenin at London and at Capri. Lunacharsky characterizes Lenin as a great idealist, with a heart full of faith and love.

THE SOVIET POWER AND HEALTH.

We have won a victory over typhus. Semashko writing in *Izvestia*, says:

"Typhus, we may boldly assert, has been definitely overcome. On the 20th of April, 40 per cent of the cases had been discharged from the military hospitals. Among the civil population, the decline of the epidemic began in the month of February. As a general rule, the central provinces, which were earliest relieved from this pest by the Soviet Power, are now in a satisfactory condition. The situation is now good even in Siberia, that terrible Siberia in which the Whites have left us so many tens of thousands of corpses and hundreds of thousands of diseased people. The condition is not so good in the south, for example, in Odessa. It is even worse in the Caucasus where we are still obliged to cope with the heritage of the Whites. What are the means by which we have vanquished typhus? Simply by exerting all the national forces. The first of these was the

Communist Party. As a striking example we may mention the Communists of Samara, who were mobilized as nurses, as bearers of the dead, and as grave diggers; in a word, for all the most difficult tasks. Then come the trade unions. In the east, in many places, the trade unions abandoned all other work to devote all their energies to the struggle against the epidemic. There was not a city in which workers' commissions were not formed for purposes of cleanliness. They were formed even in many villages. Working women furnished tens of thousands of nurses, cooks, and bandage-makers; they took part in the work of the Cleanliness Commissions. Finally, the Leagues of Youth also aided. Only the powerful action of all the workers has permitted us to overcome the epidemic which was advancing in a threatening manner from the south and from the east. In the capitals, there were sections for public hygiene, which succeeded in employing anti-epidemic dietary measures."

ECONOMIC SITUATION IN RUSSIA.

(Data issued April 25, 1920.)

In the agricultural field, the following is communicated: In the province of Tambov, the number of Communistic Agricultural Associations has increased to 238; the increase has been particularly noticeable since the creation of the All-Russian League of the Communistic Agricultural Associations, on December last. In the provinces, this league possesses a whole organization which encourages the development of each individual organization. It likewise encourages the breeding of poultry, domestic animals, pigs, etc. It centralized at Moscow orders for materials and machines. There are whole villages which have decided to undertake the communistic cultivation of their land and have pooled all their agricultural inventory.

In the province of Saratov, energetic labor has been applied to increase the cultivated area. Executive Committees are being assigned by the village Soviets to conduct this work, and all organizations are invited to hand over all the land which they possess. While, since the war began, the cultivated area has decreased by about 100,000 hectares annually, in 1920 for the first time, thanks to the measures taken and to the labor power furnished by the Committee for the Mobilization of Labor and by the military units, the cultivated area will be increased to the figure attained in 1915.

In addition, 400 shops for the repair of agricultural implements have been opened in the province. They are operating chiefly for the associations of communistic agriculture, and after that, for the families of the mobilized men.

TRANSPORTATION.

Kolchak, upon retreating, had blown up most of the bridges on the Trans-Siberian railroad, in all sectors such as Tumen, Omsk, Irkutsk, etc. All these bridges have now been repaired. Operations begun, according to the plans, in February or in March, were completely terminated by the 15th of April and traffic has been resumed in all directions.

TRANSPORTATION BY WATER.

The Volga flotilla, as soon as navigation on that river begins, will assure the transportation of 3,000,000 poods of salt from Perm and 3,500,000 poods of grain from the basis of the Bielaya. Boats have already left Saratov for the upper Volga. A cargo of coal, that arrived at Tzaritzin, has already been forwarded to Astrakhan.

MINING.

During the work of mining coal in the Cheliabinsk region 1,300,000 poods have been won instead of the 900,000 that were expected. In April the amount of coal mined will increase still more, since the daily average is showing a large increase over the figures for March. All the deposits are being worked and new coal fields have been discovered.

FIRST OF MAY CELEBRATION.

The province, as well as the capitals, are preparing for the festival of Communist labor. At Orsha, for example, the preparations will be begun for the construction of a workers' city. In the country districts the day will be devoted to restoring the schools, public institutions, bridges, and roads to good condition. In other places there will be opened refectories, baths and laundries. At Simbirsk a chemical factory is to be opened; bridges are to be repaired; the farms of mobilized men are to be cultivated. Everywhere, after work is over, there will be concerts, performances, and meetings in which the new sense of the festival, and the present needs of Soviet Russia will be discussed.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

(Information issued April 25.)

Persia is having a revolutionary movement that is constantly gaining in strength. One of the heads of the reaction, Supeksda, has been assassinated. He was the chief agent of England in the purchase of grain. The population is impatiently awaiting the establishment of the Soviet Power at Baku, and is ready to rise as one man against the English and the Shah's Government.

HANGMEN OF THE REACTION.

Pravda reproduces from the *Odessa Communist Journal*, which appeared secretly in that city under the White domination, a report of the tortures of nine young Communists who were martyred by the counter-revolutionists, when the prison guards refused to hand them over to a band of Georgians; after badly mutilating them, they threw them into a dish, where they crushed their skulls by blows with gun-stocks. Letters from a number of victims have been published, denouncing the tortures inflicted on them, not only by drunken Georgians, but also by counter-revolutionary authorities, while all the victims were being interrogated. Fortunately, these were the last crimes committed by the Whites at Odessa, for a few days later the Red Army freed the city.

The Poles have again established the sale of alcohol in White Russia, for the benefit of the state.

RUSSIAN WORKERS AND DISCIPLINE

Moscow, April 9.—The Third All-Russian Congress of Industrial Unions on the second day was opened with a speech by Lenin on the tasks of the trade unions under the present circumstances.

"The more the proletariat holds together in the struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie the sooner will the working class learn, and the more speedily will the revolution be developed. If the bourgeoisie is overthrown in one country, this is of particular importance for all the world. Socialism means the abolition of class rule, which in turn involves adjustment of the positions between workers and peasants. The peasants will never forget that they have the workers to thank for their liberation from the yoke of the landed proprietors. It is our duty to convince the peasants that they must either help the proletariat or do without help from the proletariat. There is no middle course in this matter. The solution of this question is made possible by united action and by union in all practical questions. The peasants live under two working conditions; whether they be workers or whether they be administrators, the Soviet System is of equal necessity for them. In the question of communal or individual administration, we must agree that the working class has overthrown injustice, taken the power into its own hands and is fighting the whole world. More discipline is required, more individualism. We have a group of three million people, to reach through a party of not more than 60,000 members. The latter must be the vanguard for the former. Our battle cry must be: On to individual administration, more workers' discipline, labor with military discipline, more personal self-sacrifice, to the elimination of group and special interests!"

The afternoon meeting listened to Tomski's report from the Central Council of Industrial Trade Unions. It was stated in this report that a num-

ber of trade unions had been formed in the course of the last year and that the trade organizations had taken active part in a series of state institutions, and resolutions were passed emphasizing the necessity of introducing stringent workers' discipline within the trade unions in order thus to make the factory committees models of diligence and labor. It was further stated that the Central Committee for Industrial Trade Unions should come into closer contact with the economic organs of the Soviet power. It was decided by the great majority to set up committees for cooperation between the various organizations.

Greetings were brought to the Congress from Italian, Dutch, English, Norwegian, and Swedish trade organizations. The Congress has sent a statement to the workers of the world concerning all the lies that are being spread in Europe against Soviet Russia, and particularly concerning all the lies circulating on the matter of compulsory labor in practice. Among other things, the following was said: "Just as the steadfast Red soldier is ready to give up his life for the workers and for their class, so also must every single working man and woman be ready to offer up all his energy and strength for the economic salvation of the Socialist Republic.

"Strong workers' discipline will create the unity which is necessary for carrying out our economic plans, and that is what we call the "militarization of labor." We are not ruled by a group of deputies or ministers of the bourgeois, landed proprietors or capitalists, generals or judges. 'Militarization of labor' is not dictated to us from above by exploiters or by a ruling class. We have imposed this strict workers' discipline upon ourselves, being impelled to do so by our feeling of affection toward the revolution and toward the generations that are to come."

TROTSKY'S MAY DAY CALL.

The Moscow wireless gives the following May Day appeal by Trotsky:

"Disorganized, robbed, weakened, exhausted Russia! The world's plunderers think—they want to think—that Russia is lying on her death-bier. But no! We workers shall raise, strengthen, and cure her by our firm, concentrated, harmonized labor—the basis of human life.

"Let us remember 'Labor is the foundation of life!' A careless, unconscientious worker is now the most evil foe of the Socialist State: the same slave of the Gospels who buried his talents in the ground.

"Workmen and workwomen! Let us, in united and tireless labor, forge with millions of hands a more happy fate for the coming generation. Long live Labor—the liberator and foundation of life!"

The following special circular has been addressed to the Soviet organizations in Petrograd and all other large Russian towns:

"Comrades!—The position on the Polish front and in the Ukraine demands the speedy mobilization of the Communist forces. The Central Committee of the Communist Party has decided to enforce a new mobilization for the Western Front and the Ukraine. Every Government Committee must, in the shortest possible period, send the appointed number of Communists to Moscow.

"Send out an appeal for volunteers, and utilize the First of May holiday for propaganda purposes.

"By instruction of the Central Committee of the Communist party.

"(Signed)

"TROTSKY, SEREBRIAKOV, PREOBRAZHENSKY."

SUMMARY OF THE POLISH WAR.

By KARL RADEK.

[The following article by Radek on the military situation is transmitted by the Moscow wireless.]

Owing to the stories of Polish victories, the Entente governments, which had started to negotiate on trade relations with us, and which now are convinced of the White Guards defeating us, have again begun to wobble. The Red Army men, workers and peasants of Russia, know that the tales of the Polish landowners are entirely imaginary. All the "Polish victories" arise from the fact that Soviet Russia, busied with the war against the Russian White Guards, was in very weak force on the Western Front; that she was careful of the workers' and peasants' blood, and therefore attempted to obtain even a poor peace with the Polish workers and peasants, in no way desiring the destruction of the Polish army.

The Polish landowners and capitalists, knowing that things would be bad for them when Soviet Russia collected her forces, broke off peace negotiations and sent their troops to battle. They are now triumphing over the capture of Zhitomir, and with them the exploiters of the whole world rejoice. The Red Army, however, will prove to them that their triumph has as small ground as had that of Denikin and Kolchak after their initial successes. Denikin gave out his triumph in the Rostoff-on-Don newspapers, under the heading, "We Shall Celebrate New Year in Moscow." New Year was celebrated by the Red Army men in Rostov-on-Don.

All Soviet Russia, all workers, all intelligent peasants will concentrate all their efforts so that this war thrust on us by White Poland will be the last war; so that by autumn we shall be the neighbors, not of White, but of Red Poland.

[Radek then remarks that in order to get this victory quickly Russia must be prepared to sacrifice part of her vast economic program. He then continues:—]

For these reasons, and in order to prevent the military clique from obtaining the upper hand amongst the Allies, we must beat the Polish White Guards as quickly as possible. There is no doubt about it that the Red Army is more powerful than

the Polish Army, although many of the elements of the Red Army have been changed into a Labor Army. The Poles rely on the transport difficulties. Events will prove that they are wrong. And even if they should be right, the thing that matters in this war is not to beat the enemy here and there, but to beat him in the end. No matter at what point it may be, we will beat the Polish White guards by the superiority of our numbers and our armament, by our moral superiority and by the inner cohesion in the Red Army.

Although the Polish Army is influenced by class antagonism, this antagonism will not produce its effect until after a defeat. The Polish Government is playing at present with the blind nationalism of the masses for whom a Red General or a White General always remains a Russian General. The Polish aristocracy and bourgeoisie will not fail to unite against Russia, but immediately after the first defeats there will be violent upheavals amongst the different cliques composing the Polish bourgeoisie.

In Poland we have to deal with an adversary who is strong and dangerous, and we must realize that the concentration of our forces on the Russo-Polish frontier alone can enable us to terminate

this war rapidly. All half-measures, all illusions to the effect that Poland, after having had a taste of war, will recognize her error and will very quickly reconcile herself with us, and all efforts to conduct this war simultaneously with a vast economic program, will do nothing but retard victory; that is to say, postpone the moment when we will be able to devote ourselves to our economic projects without interference.

COUNTER-REVOLUTIONS

PARIS, May 7 (Havas Agency).—The *Petit Parisien* circulates a report according to which the Russian reactionaries who have fled to Germany plan for the immediate future re-establishment of the former Government of Northern Russia. They are declared to be associated with a number of persons, including the former German Secretary of State, Dr. Solf, Gen. Mannerheim, and Hetman Skoropodski, in an effort to appeal to the Russian prisoners and also to secure the assistance of German contingents. This army would be under the command of Von Wrangel in Bessarabia. It is further stated that the German Government is fully informed of these intrigues and disapproves of them.

Two Months on a Death Train

(Continued from a Previous Issue of SOVIET RUSSIA)

October 27. Irkutsk Station. We are being deluged with food. The sympathy of the outsiders instils fresh hope in my breast. Two war prisoners (Austrian Jews) brought me food, cigarettes, and money. They asked the Irkutsk Jewish Community Council to do something for us but they refused.

Our train is being shifted from one track to another on account of the enormous crowd that surrounds it.

We are now stationed at Inokentievsk, a half-way station near Irkutsk. There is a sanitaire train close by. I recognized it. It is my train from the Orenburg front. The personnel recognized me and began to point their fingers at me. The supervisor approached my car to speak to me, but a group of Semionov soldiers attacked him and threatened to shoot him and our entire train. They were so wrought up that I really expected excesses to follow.

October 28. We are stationed at Irkutsk. I again visited the sick today. Their number is increasing. A doctor's assistant gave me medications and bandages. Fortunately the guards, too, are becoming sick and this gives me the opportunity to visit the sick comrades, for the command needs my services. . . . I carried water all day, brought them a newspaper, talked to them. My condition has improved but the rest are behind bars in the cars the same as heretofore. I shall

do all in my power to get some concessions for them.

October 29. Our prospect of remaining here becomes slimmer. Only the criminals will stay here. We are to be sent to Chita, to Semionov, to do with us whatever he pleases. . . . Not very good news. . . . From the newspapers I received a good conception of Semionov.

The criminal women were taken out of our car to be kept in Irkutsk. There now remain but ten women. So comfortable! . . . Only one thing disturbs us: the officers are coming into our car too frequently and showing too much kindness to us. . . . their "wooing" is already perceptible. . . .

October 31. We left Irkutsk last night when we again had a horrible experience. In the middle of the night the train was halted. Steps approached and a voice asked: "Is this the car of the nun?" The bar was released and the chief of the train entered, in a very intoxicated condition. "I received a telegram that someone in this car had committed a crime, so I had the train stopped. Are all here?"

At these words he began to approach the nurses—revolver in one hand and candle in another. He singled out the young women. . . . One of them, a girl of nineteen, sprained her wrist defending herself. He rode with us a couple of hours, threatening every minute to shoot. At last, seeing that he could accomplish nothing, he left the

car (the train having halted) ordering one of the girls to accompany him for a "hearing." We did not let her go . . . He threatened to shoot us all, but to no avail—she did not go with him. I must admit that the last dispute took place in the dark and all of us were hidden under our cots . . .

November 2. Chita. We are already in Semionov's hands . . . Terrible repression! . . . We cannot open the windows . . . We are obliged to burn candles all day owing to the darkness. The drunken officers are annoying us all day long . . . Several shots were fired into the train when attempts were made to open the windows.

Semionov's soldiers have attacked some of the prisoners with knouts and sabres. Strange that my nerves have ceased revolting and are no longer shocked by such disgraceful outrages! . . . I am seemingly indifferent as I am writing this, yet deep in my soul I feel a pain which cannot compare with the greatest physical pain . . . The officers assert that they come into our cars in order to prevent any excesses upon us! . . . This is all very well, but we are paying too dearly for this protection . . .

November 3. We are still in Chita. No one is permitted near our train except the Semionov soldiers who know how to make our life unendurable . . . We frequently hear shots (evidently into the cars). Someone dared to approach the train to give the prisoners a newspaper and he was shot on the spot by a Semionov guard . . .

This is horrible! . . . Our train not only carries death to its own inmates but to outsiders as well! . . .

November 4. We are moving again. Semionov ordered us to Vladivostok, on the "Russian Island."

November 5. For whole nights long they give us no rest . . . they never leave our car . . . All day and night, drunk as pigs, they loaf around, stretching themselves upon the cots . . . They molest us, and insist that we obey their will . . . Some women, fearing for their lives, have yielded to them . . . There is no use of protesting or pleading—how can you—when they are drunk?

November 6. Harbin. They made a pretense of disinfecting the train. It has been definitely ascertained that there is spotted typhus on the train. Several die every day and their bodies are being thrown out upon the road . . . People die of disease, by bullets—and their relatives will never even know where the graves of their dear ones are! . . . I can not become reconciled to the thought that my life will end the same way . . . No, I want to live, I very much want to live!!

November 9. Left Harbin yesterday. Today we are stationed at a junction.

I asked for permission to visit the cars of the sick and it was granted. I took along a nun and intended visiting the train from one end to the other. We entered the first car and what I saw there is not fit to print . . .

(To be concluded in the next issue)

THE NEXT ISSUE

of

SOVIET RUSSIA

Will Contain, Among Other Features, The Following:

1. HOW REVOLUTIONS ARE RECEIVED IN OTHER COUNTRIES, BY HUBERT PHILLIPS. *A parallel drawn between the French and Russian Revolutions.*
2. KAUTSKY, MEYERBEER AND SOVIET RUSSIA. *An analysis of Kautsky's attitude toward revolutions, past and present.*
3. THE MILITARY SITUATION ON THE JAPANESE FRONT. *This will be the subject of our military expert, Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek.*
4. THE SOVIET LAWS OF MARRIAGE, GUARDIANSHIP, AND SOCIAL STATUS. *The last installment of the code of laws dealing with domestic relations in Soviet Russia.*

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Protection of Labor in Soviet Russia

It is natural to expect the most considerate attention to the protection of labor from a state in which labor is the only ruling power.

The first steps of the Soviet Government were directed towards the protection of labor. Not more than five days after the November Revolution, on the 11th of November, 1917, a decree was published in regard to establishing the eight-hour working day and the limitation of overtime labor. Thus the question of the protection of labor was at once raised above the former basis of good intentions and humanitarian experiments which characterized it prior to the October revolution.

The question of the social maintenance of the workers is closely allied to that of the protection of labor. In dealing with the protection of labor it is impossible to pass over what has been done in the sphere of the social maintenance of the workers.

Soviet legislation safeguards the worker right up to the moment when he is able to make use of his labor. There exists a labor exchange which registers the unemployed, as well as an Unemployed Bureau which pays out relief to those who have been registered. All these organizations on a national scale have been first brought into being by the Soviet Government. Further, a worker, who for reasons beyond his control, is deprived of the possibility of working, who has temporarily lost his working capacities, receives monetary and medical assistance from what is known as the "Sick Fund." In connection with this much has been done already to provide those persons who have lost their working capacity with the possibility of regaining their health in sanitariums, health resorts, and so on. A person who has com-

pletely lost his working capacity is provided with a pension ample enough to cover his requirements for life.

In order to introduce all these measures a very accurate and well working apparatus is required for the consideration both of the objects of social maintenance and of the organization of the relief itself. Naturally, in a period of revolution and intense struggle it is very difficult to construct this apparatus. It becomes necessary to content oneself with a number of makeshifts and imperfections, principally of a technical nature, and often with undesirable compromises. We must emphasize, however, that in spite of all these difficulties the question of social maintenance in Soviet Russia is no longer a problem but a practical matter which has already given a number of practical results. Our task consists in making ourselves acquainted with the protection of the worker at the moment when he is making use of his labor power. A special department for the protection of labor at the People's Commissariat for Labor is in charge of this.

The protection of labor is of course chiefly concerned with the length of the working day. The decree of the 11th of November established throughout the whole of Russia an eight-hour day while night work was reduced to 7 hours. For trades particularly detrimental to the health a still shorter working day was enforced. The Department for the Protection of Labor was given the right to make an examination with a view to discovering to what degree the various manufactures were harmful to the health. As a result of this investigation the working day in certain industries has been correspondingly reduced; for instance,

tobacco manufacture to seven hours, the chemical, aniline and paper trades, as well as the gas works, to six hours. The question of introducing a six-hour working day for the brush workers in the glass and china trades is being considered. Overtime work is regulated on a direct basis of the length of the working day, namely to limit its continuity to the proportions of its remuneration.

Further, the logical conclusion to the legislative rating of the length of the working day is the same legislative rating of holidays. The code of labor laws established the right of every employe and worker, who has worked six months, to a holiday of fourteen days, and to the employe and worker who has worked one whole year, to a holiday of one month. This periodical legal holiday is independent of the health of the worker as well as of any private conditions, arising as it does only from the regulation of a similar right for all to rest; it is in itself something quite new in labor legislation created by the Soviet Government. Fully conscious of the importance of this workers' right, the People's Labor Commissariat is very persistent in putting down the least violation of this right irrespective of the quarter from which such violation may come or the circumstances by which it might be modified. In addition to this the Commissariat for Labor has the right, as a consequence of its own investigations to increase the length of this holiday for the branches of industry which are particularly harmful to the health. Twenty different industrial undertakings were inspected and a list of trades formed which have the right to a two months' holiday.

The rating of the length of the working day and of holidays applies to all workers in general. It is natural, that in our Soviet legislature a cardinal place should be assigned to the rating of certain categories of workers who, owing to conditions of their physical structure, do not come under the general rate, namely women and young people.

First of all, night and overtime work for women is prohibited. Women are not allowed to work underground, in mines, etc. Persons of both sexes who have not attained the age of 18 years are forbidden to work during the night or in trades detrimental to the health. Work of young people from 16-18 years is limited to six hours, and from 14-16 years to four hours, with payment for a full working day. These rates are drawn up after considerable investigation along these lines, attempts, experiments and contact with real practical needs.

It is necessary to take into consideration the technical connection between the work of young people and the work of adults, the economic and domestic position of these juniors, many of whom are without homes, as well as a number of other circumstances. To deprive these juniors of their work is a very complicated matter. It is first of all necessary to give them the possibility of making use of the free time thus placed at their disposal and to see that this privilege is not accom-

panied by a loss for them. This difficulty has been removed by paying them for every four hours' work the full rate of pay for a full day's work, and in regard to the former a number of measures have been undertaken by the combined efforts of the Commissariat for Labor, Social Maintenance, and Education, in order to open up a sufficient number of trade and general schools, boarding schools, etc.*

Special provision is made for the case of women workers and employes during pregnancy and after childbirth. Women who are engaged in physical labor are allowed a holiday of eight weeks both before and after childbirth. Other women, not engaged in physical labor, are allowed a holiday for six weeks both before and after childbirth. Both grades of women are allowed a half hour's interval each feeding time for their infants.

For the proper introduction of all the regulations relating to social legislature and particularly of regulations which apply to protection of labor, work of a very complicated and expert nature is required. Naturally, the persons best able to carry out this work are those persons mostly interested in the business, namely the workers themselves. For this purpose the decree of the 18th of May, 1918, instituted working class inspection of labor. The bases of this institution are the following: First of all the inspector of labor is delegated by the trade unions and the labor insurance fund; further, all spheres of industry where labor is applied are subject to the supervision of these inspectors, not omitting even those spheres of labor, such as domestic servants, and the workmen of small enterprises, etc. The figures collected with the object of throwing light upon the social standing of the elected inspectors of labor offer us an exceedingly interesting picture. The figures at present at our disposal apply to only 49 per cent of the whole number of inspectors for 1918. The largest percentage falls upon the worker of 30-35 years of age with low education and who has worked in the party and labor movement. It is evident that in the election of the delegates the workers were guided by a proper understanding of the tasks of labor inspection, for it is quite clear that only a worker closely acquainted in practice with all the requirements of production is able to discover the true path for the realization of all the legislative measures for the protection of labor.

The delegated inspector is required first of all to inspect the undertakings within his district, and having done so, is required to act. One half year's experience in the realization of labor inspection convinced us that it is quite impossible

* It is natural that the holiday accorded to young people should be longer than that accorded to adult workers. All people under the rated age have the right to one month's holiday during the summer, namely up to the 13th of September, for the rational realization of which the People's Commissariat for Education and the Trade Unions have organized children's colonies, summer houses, excursions, and so on.

to mark out in advance the limits of the activities of labor inspectors. Sometimes it was necessary for them to undertake the role of organizers of labor inspectors. Sometimes it was necessary for them to occupy themselves also with the work of culture and education. All the inspectors have noted the highly beneficial results achieved as the result of their work, as well as the great assistance rendered them on the part of the workers themselves. The question of the protection of labor of persons who work alone or in such undertakings in which it is difficult to apply general rules (such as, for instance, domestic servants, laundresses, circus employes, etc.), is the object of special attention. Protection of labor of this kind is entrusted to what is known as the "Special Inspection" delegated by the trade unions and to a special inspector who supervises the work of those persons who, in the majority of cases, are as yet unorganized.

A very sharp and delicate question is that which relates to the compromises and the suppression of labor law caused by the requirements of war time. Inspection here must be carried out very carefully in order not to admit the curtailment of the right of the workers except in cases of extreme necessity.

All these complicated and responsible tasks which are placed upon the inspection of labor convert the latter into a corner-stone of the whole system of labor protection.

Together with this general inspection there exists a secondary special inspection in which special knowledge is required and which is entrusted to specialists: sanitary-hygienic inspection and technical inspection.

Two hundred and twelve specialist sanitary inspectors, that is to say, doctors possessing the necessary qualifications in public sanitation and hygiene, and elected by the trade unions, are required for the territory of Soviet Russia. Owing to conditions of war, the number of sanitary inspectors is below the number required. The technical inspection, which attends to the general safety of labor conditions, is placed in the hands of specialists who act under the control of the general labor inspectors. One must also mention the special committee for supplying workers with special clothes and boots necessary for their work.

Labor inspection which is really the execution of measures created by labor protection is an institution forming a section for labor protection of the Commissariat of Labor. With the section for the protection of labor lies the task of putting into execution all measures necessary for labor protection, the legislative task of elaborating projects of rates required by labor protection, and the scientific task of experimental study of everything that concerns trade hygiene and technical safety, working out projects of workers' villages and dwellings according to the latest improvements of hygiene and technique, etc.

In all these spheres a wide field of fertile activity is opened to all those who desire to make use of their knowledge and talents in the work of building up a new society. In this sense the sphere of labor protection is not only one that realizes in practice the gains of the workers in matters of improving their existence, but it is also a sphere of further conquest along the path of civilization and progress.

How Revolutions Fare Abroad

By HUBERT PHILLIPS.

Ideas have always plagued the world. Especially is this the case if they are new ones and if the application of them to practical affairs involves changes in generally accepted social institutions. The reaction of society to such an idea has changed very little throughout the ages. The best proof of this statement is found in a comparison of the effects of the French and Russian Revolutions on public officials, and through them on public opinion in neighboring states.

The background of both social upheavals is very similar—a noble class living in ease and luxury, while the majority of the people eked out a mere existence; exemption of privileged classes, nobility, and clergy, from bearing an equitable share of taxation, and finally, the dread of an autocratic power which could lay its mailed fist upon one without cause and without explanation.

But even before such conditions produce revolution, there must be a practical collapse of the existing state. This is what happened both in

France and Russia. Absolutism collapsed in France in June, 1789, just as it did in Russia in March, 1917, the only difference being that in the latter case there was a state of war.

Attention cannot be called too often to the fact that in neither case was the change in the existing government immediately followed by disorder or bloodshed. It should also be noted that in both cases many of the privileged classes supported the new regime.

But it may be that it is beyond the power of man to change the form of the state except through the shedding of blood, that is, where the principle challenged affects the privileges and income of any very large number of people. So the National Assembly was followed by the Reign of Terror and the Kerensky regime by the Revolution of November, 1917. These later phases were evidence that the French and Russian people "had struck their tents and were on the march" toward freedom, and woe betide any special class opposing them. It

would be crushed by the inexorable law of progress. In 1789, the revolution against the divine right of kings could not be stopped, and there are many who feel that in our own day the revolution against the divine right of property cannot be permanently checked. He who shivers at that last sentence should consider the adjective qualifying "right."

But, after all, why magnify the numbers of those killed and the enormity of the crime of those causing their death, when the thing has happened because humanity was on the march? 'Social statistics show us that more babies die from lack of milk every year in the United States than the total number of persons killed in the Reign of Terror in France and the Red Terror in Russia combined. Yet this fact does not stir the complacency with which most people drink a glass of milk. Thomas Jefferson, then Secretary of State, when chided for his support of the French Revolution, said that while he deplored its excesses, "Rather than it should have failed, I would have seen half the earth desolated; were there but an Adam and Eve left in every country, and left free, it would be better than it is now."

Were one to ask the average person, with some knowledge of history, the probable number of those killed during the troublesome times of the French Revolution the answer received would generally be, "Oh! tens of thousands." Such is the common opinion. But historical students have investigated that question and the judgment of the best scholarship is about ten thousand. From the daily papers and most magazines, one would gather that the Bolsheviki had killed, or rather massacred, somewhere near a million of their opponents since the November revolution placed them in power. Evidence is not lacking, to those who have tried to find out the truth about Russia, that history will reduce the horrors attributed to the Reds in about the same proportion that it has in the case of the French Revolution.*

Not only were the initial changes in the governments of the two countries under consideration acceptable to some of the privileged classes of those countries, but likewise to the same classes in other countries already on the road toward democracy. Many well-known men in public life in England were friends of the French Revolution, while in the United States the opposition political party, numbering among its members Jefferson and Madison, was called by its opponents the "French Party." Again the historical parallel between France and Russia runs true. The Kerensky regime was welcomed by liberal opinion in England, while the United States received an ambassador from that government—an ambassador still recognized,—three years after the disappearance of the government accrediting him.

As long as the ruling class of England thought that the revolution in France was going to be an imitation of their own of a century earlier, they

* It is probable that the so-called "Red Terror" has not had more than about eight thousand victims.—Editor SOVIET RUSSIA.

welcomed and aided it, but when it became clear that it was to be a great social leveling, it was assailed from every side. Edmund Burke's *Reflections* (1790) might well be called the manifesto of the reaction. When the Kerensky regime was replaced by that of Lenin, exactly the same change took place in public opinion in England and in the United States. The Russian Revolution had at first been hailed as bringing one more great nation under the beneficent system of democracy. But it suddenly developed a tendency to go farther along the road of democratic development than had those nations which had been longer on the way. No newcomer in the family of democratic nations could be allowed to explore this dangerous path. As far as the rest of the world was concerned, it had better remain a despotic monarchy. Of course, no nation through its official spokesmen ever said the above, but the treatment of Soviet Russia by England and certain other countries can be explained on no other reasonable basis.

The ostensible reason in 1790, as well as in 1917, for this change of attitude, was that some things most dear and sacred to humanity were threatened. Burke's great pronouncement is full of alarm that the "Church and Constitution" were endangered and that all good Englishmen must unite to save these from the peril of "new theories." In our own time, press, pulpit, and public rostrum have resounded with the warning to beware of the dangerous "new theories" which would undermine religion, overthrow the family, and wreck civilization. To the student of social history, these warnings have had such a familiar ring that they have sounded more like a phonographic record than the utterances of statesmen and prophets.

The change in attitude, referred to above, was, in both cases, soon followed by open interference in the affairs of the revolutionary country. The *Reflections* were hailed with praise by the "benevolent despots," while in our own time the declaration of great idealists that we would never deal with men on whose hands was human blood was applauded by every reactionary in Europe and America. Allied armies at Archangel and in Siberia have waged a war that did not have even the moral foundation of a legal declaration. It has been sufficient defense of this undeclared war for statesmen to say that their troops were in Russia to aid in the establishment of law and order. One wonders whether these statesmen ever read the proclamation of the Duke of Brunswick, commander of the allied troops in France, issued on July 25, 1792, in which he declared his only aim was "—to put an end to the anarchy in the interior of France and to check the attacks upon the throne and the altar."

There were, however, in England in 1790 some perverse people who continued to support and believe in the revolution across the channel despite its excesses. Likewise there have been those in England and the United States who have contended that the government under Lenin was an

experiment along new lines of social, political, and economic democracy, and ought at least to be left alone to work out its program.

November, 1919 brought the second anniversary of the Russian Revolution. In certain cities of the United States meetings were arranged to celebrate this event. Those participating in such celebrations remember well that use of halls was refused, speakers were arrested, and, in some instances, the meetings were broken up by mobs shouting "Down with the Reds." For one who had such an experience it is illuminating to read what happened when some friends of freedom sought to celebrate the second anniversary of the French Revolution. The following advertisement appeared in a Birmingham (England) paper under the date given:

Hotel Birmingham, July 7, 1791.

Commemoration of the French Revolution.

A number of gentlemen intend dining together on the 14th inst., to commemorate the auspicious day which witnessed the emancipation of twenty-six millions of people from the Yoke of Despotism, and restored the blessings of equal Government to a truly great and enlightened nation, with whom it is our interest, as a commercial people, and our duty, as friends to the general rights of mankind, to promote a free intercourse, as subservient to a permanent friendship.

Any friend to freedom disposed to join this intended temperate festivity, is desired to leave his name at the Bar of the Hotel, where tickets may be had at five shillings each, including a bottle of wine; but no person will be admitted without one. Dinner will be on the table at 3 o'clock precisely.

A day or two later the following advertisement appeared from which it is clear that the idea of publishing lists of names of those interested in unpopular causes is not a new one:

On Friday next will be published, price one half-penny, an Authentic List of all those who dine at the Hotel, in Temple Row, Birmingham, on Thursday, the 14th instant, in Commemoration of the French Revolution. *Vivant Rex et Regina.*

The afternoon of the fourteenth arrived. While the dinner was progressing as planned, a mob was organized under the "auspices of a few in elevated life," as we are told by a local historian, William Hutton. In the meantime the magistrates were dining at a neighboring inn and were "huzzaing Church and King." The mob evidently sensed that this was the proper watchword, for it proceeded to break all the windows of the hotel to the cry *Church and King.*

To those who naturally think that only foolish or wicked people would take part in such a celebration as that mentioned above it comes as a sort of shock to learn that the chief organizer of the dinner was Joseph Priestley, scientist and Unitarian minister. Such men should be disciplined and depend upon a mob to do it—under the cover of darkness. About eight o'clock on the night in question the mob, now greatly augmented in numbers, with the "approbation at least of the higher powers," marched down Bull Street "under the smiles of the magistrates" shouting, "Go and burn the Meetings." The Meetings was Dr. Priestley's chapel and short work was made of it. Pews, pulpit, cushions, and books were broken and thrown

about and then the building was set on fire. As soon as the chapel was well ablaze the mob set out for Priestley's home a mile distant. Upon the approach of the mob the family fled, but the house was ransacked and burned, and with it the scientist's library and scientific instruments. Thus are dangerous ideas and social theories checked.*

The moment it became evident that class privileges were really to be abolished, a great emigration of nobles and officials took place in France and likewise in Russia. It was the "August Days" decrees which brought this about in France, and those leaving their native country because of the decrees became its most bitter enemies. They veritably swarmed along the Rhine, but were to be found in every court which was ultimately arrayed against revolutionary France. Speaking of the emigres, Professor Hayes says: "They maintained a perpetual agitation, by means of newspapers, pamphlets, and intrigue against the new regime." How Kolchak, Denikin, Semionov, and Yudenich have camped around Soviet Russia, and, with allied aid, have tried to overthrow the Soviet Republic, is well known, but the query arises "will the historian of the future pass judgment, similar to that above, regarding much of the Russian emigre literature that has been spread before the American public the past two years?" Ex-Senator Beveridge recently declared in his Republican keynote speech that the full page advertisements which had been run in American newspapers extolling the democratic aims of Kolchak and Denikin were propaganda pure and simple, and had been intended to mislead the administration and had succeeded. Perhaps he was only trying to discredit the administration, yet the fact remains that during the past few months some people have pointed out the voluminous amount of information on Russia which has appeared in American papers from London, Geneva, and Copenhagen. The latter city, especially, has been so conspicuous as a source of such dispatches that the question has arisen in more than one mind, "When did Copenhagen become such a center of news-gathering and distribution?" In this same connection, the people of the United States will some time know, perhaps, what has become of the millions of dollars loaned to Russia, but which have been spent in this country by Bakhmetiev, the ambassador without a government.

Were this a dissertation on the whole question of social revolution, instead of the tracing of some parallel events in two such revolutions, the possibility of the parallel being extended by future events would have to be considered. It should be noted in passing, however, that just as external pressure finally forced the French Revolution to assume a militaristic and aggressive form, so may

* The distinguished scientist was so mortified at being treated thus, that he decided to live in another country, and emigrated to America, where he lived from 1794 until his death in 1804. Horne Tooke, the well-known amateur philologist (1746-1812), was persecuted in England for his sympathetic utterances on the American Revolution.

the same conditions force the Soviet Government to defend itself against Europe. If this happens, the idealism and hope for a better day will be swept away in blood, for the time being, as truly in 1920 as it was in the period 1792-1815.

Thus we have seen a thread of similarity, striking in its color, running through the reaction to two great social convulsions. Is it carrying coals to Newcastle to ask once again, "What was involved to arouse such bitter and fierce opposition to the two movements?" To France the American Colonies had set the example of revolt from the authority of an hereditary monarch. Fortunately, the physical location of America, far removed from the person embodying this authority, made the contest one revolving around the words "taxes" and "representation." But in France the same kind of movement had to meet and finally overcome the opposition and physical presence of the royal power. Authority and privilege were threatened, and they fought back as long as they could—hence the bloodshed.

Ideas do not respect boundary lines. Of this fact the privileged classes of all European countries were well aware. Once one admitted the right of the people to abolish privilege in France, where would the exercise of that right stop as long as privilege existed anywhere? This was the troublesome question and the fear of its answer, "Nowhere," was the fundamental cause of the wars which raged throughout Europe for twenty-three years. It was a contest between the forces of revolution and reaction.

Many years had passed between the uprising of the French people and that of the Russian. In the meantime society had learned many things, among them that political democracy had not and probably could not solve all the social problems of mankind. The leaders of the Russian movement seem to have had as part of their philosophy, not only a belief in the right of every Russian to political freedom, but to economic freedom as well. To them the statement of Henry George uttered in 1880, "—nothing short of making land common property can permanently relieve poverty and check the tendency of wages to the starvation point," was as much worth fighting for as was the revolutionary watchword of the American forefathers, "Taxation without representation is tyranny." One is no more revolutionary in its saying than was the other.

But once more the issue is joined. Privilege is threatened; the call goes to the ends of the earth for its defenders, and the age-long battle between reaction and revolution is on. Some find themselves unable to consider the possible triumph in Russia of this new idea in democratic government, the Soviet system, without going into a frenzy and approving of means and methods to prevent it which are difficult to reconcile with generally accepted principles of ethics. To avoid such an attitude one need only have as his own the philosophy of Milton and Gamaliel—who ever saw Truth put to flight; and will not every movement perish which does not have its foundation upon eternal principles?

The Japanese at Nikolaievsk

Nikolaievsk on the Amur, March 27 (Rosta).—The staff of the Red Army of the Nikolaievsk district reports the details of the bloody events and of the actions of the Japanese in the city of Nikolaievsk on the Amur.

The Siege of Nikolaievsk by the Reds.

The circumstances which preceded these events make clear and obvious the perfidy of the treacherous attack of the Japanese on the Soviet Red Army after the conclusion of peace with them. From the very beginning of the siege of Nikolaievsk by the Red Army, after the seizure of the fortress Chnyrich, which took place in the early days of February, the Japanese participated in the battles against the Reds, and were even the chief participants in these battles, directing the White Guards, who were in complete subjection to the former.

The siege had lasted almost a whole month, and during this time the staff of the Red Army three times addressed peace proposals to the White Guard—Japanese troops. The staff pointed out that the Red Army, being in possession of the fortress Chnyrich with its far-range cannon, could surely take the city in one or two days but, not desiring to subject the city to bombardment and destruction and to endanger the non-combatant

inhabitants, suggested that the city be surrendered without a fight.

The Peace Proposals of the Reds and the Capture of the City.

Our first peace proposal was ignored by the Japanese, and Comrade Sorokin, who was sent as a messenger, was killed. The second proposal for peace negotiations was sent to the Japanese at Nikolaievsk by three messengers, two of them Chinamen and one a Russian comrade, Orlov. In place of a reply, the Japanese again murdered our messenger Orlov, subjecting him to cruel tortures. This fact was established by the International commission of inquiry after our occupation of the city. The International commission found Orlov's corpse and discovered on it marks of horrible tortures. The third proposal was made by us after the Japanese had sent to us the declaration of General Siramidzu, the commander of the Japanese troops in the Far East, which contained a statement regarding the intentions of the Japanese to remain neutral in the future. In sending the proposal we have at the same time asked for an explanation on some points of the declaration which contradicted each other and which were not in harmony with the conception of neutrality. We declared that in case they persisted, we would be forced to bom-

bard the city. Again there was no reply, and only after we had begun a bombardment, which lasted one day, did the Japanese send a messenger, an aged Russian peasant. He was taken by the Japanese by force, who told him that he would anyhow have to die, evidently assuming that we would follow their example and brutally murder the messenger. There was no written proposal from the Japanese, and we were only orally informed by the messenger that they desired to open peace negotiations with us. The staff handed to the messenger its reply, expressing willingness to open peace negotiations with the Japanese and to immediately cease military actions, and suggested that the Japanese send representatives. Negotiations opened on February 24. On the basis of General Siramidzu's declaration we asked the Japanese to put an end to their military activity against the Soviet Red Army in Siberia and to conclude peace with us. The peace terms contained a demand that the White Guard troops in Nikolaievsk be disarmed, and the last point demanded the carrying out of all the conditions of the agreement, that is, that they turn over all the guard-posts to our troops and that they occupy quarters which would be assigned to them. The peace terms were accepted by the Japanese, and were signed by the representatives of the Japanese command, of the White Guards, by the representatives of the city self-government, and by the representatives of the Red Army. We occupied the city without a shot on February 28.

The Establishment of Friendly Relations.

However, taking into account a report received by us to the effect that friendly relations have been established between the Soviet and the Japanese troops, we left to the Japanese at their request the right to keep guard over their troops and institutions, and thereby released them from carrying out the last point of the agreement. Armed Japanese went freely throughout the city. Relations seemed to be most friendly. All requests from the Japanese regarding any privileges for them, for the delivery of goods to them, etc., we willingly granted at once; the Japanese also acted very courteously and assured us of their sincere friendship. Their officers frequently visited our staff, where besides business conversations, friendly conversations took place. The officers declared themselves in sympathy with the Soviet power, pronounced themselves Bolsheviki, put on red ribbons. They promised to assist the Red Army with force, arms and in every possible way. But as it turned out later, this was only a mask put on in order to conceal the treachery which was in preparation. Externally everything went well. Two weeks had passed from the day when the city was occupied, and it seemed that peace and quiet were firmly established. Life in the city settled to its ordinary course. A provisional Executive Committee was formed, and a city Soviet was elected. The opening of the congress of the district Soviets was set for the 12th of March, after which opening were to take place

the solemn funerals of the victims of the White Terror, including our comrade Orlov and the others, who were tortured to death by the Japanese. All the Soviet institutions, the peaceful population and the Red Army were making preparations for these two solemn events. After the intense work of the day, all went to sleep. The military units were resting in their barracks, having received orders to appear in the morning at the assigned places to participate in the funeral procession. The Japanese occupied, as before, the posts not only at their staff-headquarters, but almost at every house where Japanese lived. The Japanese patrols replacing the guards went freely through the city, and our patrols never halted them. It seemed that the peace which was concluded with the Japanese was kept just as honestly by them as by us.

The Criminal Action of the Japanese.

But the Japanese were preparing for a treacherous blow in the back. After having concluded peace with us and after repeated assurance of friendliness, the Japanese treacherously and perfidiously attacked the Red Army. At three o'clock in the morning considerable Japanese detachments suddenly appeared at the staff-headquarters of the Red Army, at the building which was occupied by one of the regiments, at the house where the artillery was located, and also at the camp of Klyzhnikov's detachment on the Cathedral Plaza. They appeared at all Soviet institutions and regimental staff-headquarters. The main forces the Japanese assembled at the general staff-headquarters. The attack was a complete surprise. The guards were killed. The building of the staff-headquarters was surrounded by a triple line, and the Japanese opened an intense fire from machine guns and rifles and began to throw incendiary bombs, as a result of which the building caught fire on all sides. Only by a miracle the members of the staff who were in the headquarters escaped from the burning building which was under an intense bombardment. Simultaneously the other buildings where the troops were located were bombarded and fired. The diabolical plan of the Japanese had now become clear. They proposed by a simultaneous surprise attack to annihilate the whole commanding staff, assuming that after this it would be easy to destroy the frightened and confused mass of the Red Army. At the first moment it seemed as if this plan would succeed. But the Japanese failed to take into account the high morale and the valor which dominates the workers' and peasants' Red Army.

The Resistance of the Reds and the Annihilation of the Japanese.

At the first sounds of the shooting partisans began to run from all sides, dressing on the run and asking—not how many enemies there were, but where they were. Every crossing was turned into a trench defended by several partisans, who—without any connection, without general direction, acting individually and on their own initiative—began to cross from point to point and to

attack the enemy. Gradually the disconnected groups established contact with each other. Whole districts united under a single command, and about noon the Japanese saw that their plan had failed. They began to surrender position after position, tried to concentrate, but met with resistance at all points. Every street was occupied by us after a struggle of an extremely sanguinary character. The main forces of the Japanese were concentrated at their consulate, at the barracks, and at the garrison assembly. The Japanese also entrenched themselves in every house where they lived. Their individual groups and all the Japanese civil populace participated in the attack with arms in their hands. Evidently conscious of the whole baseness of their action and not expecting any mercy, the Japanese offered stubborn resistance during two days. On March 13 a desperate battle went on and all the most important fortified positions of the Japanese were taken one after another. On March 14 the last groups of the Japanese who were entrenched in private houses, were annihilated. In the evening of March 14 everything had been liquidated, with the exception of one Japanese unit, which occupied the stone barracks. At this time an order was received from the Japanese General Yamada, the Khabarovsk commander, which was addressed to the chief of the Japanese detachment and called for an immediate cessation of hostilities against the Soviet troops and the conclusion of an armistice. The order, which was sent by telegraph in Russian and Japanese, was immediately sent by us to the Japanese through their translator who had been

captured, and he brought a reply expressing their consent to a cessation of hostilities and the surrender of their arms. On March 15 the Japanese numbering 130 men were received by us, and are now held as prisoners of war. Thus the affair was liquidated. The losses of the Japanese, in view of their resistance, were very great. Almost all those who had arms were annihilated.

Our losses are fifty men killed and over a hundred wounded. Among the killed are our best and most courageous comrades, whose valor and heroism saved the Red Army from destruction.

The Protest of the Reds.

The staff of the Red Army of the Nikolaievsk district informs all of the action of the Japanese at Nikolaievsk, expressing its profound indignation at this treachery, and calls upon all Russian and foreign workers to protest against the perfidious and treacherous action of the command of the Japanese troops in the Far East, who despite the declaration of General Siramidzu regarding neutrality, and despite the agreement concluded with us, suddenly attacked us, knowing that we would not violate the agreement and that we would not believe an attack possible. We beg all cities to inform us of the receipt of this communication, and to notify us how the population and the Japanese themselves react to this new bloody crime of the command of the Japanese interventionist forces in Siberia.

*Commander of the Red Army of
the Nikolaievsk District,*

Y. TRYAPITZ.

Military Review

by LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

THE SITUATION in the Far East still remains gloomy, and inspires considerable anxiety.

The Japanese, as far as can be judged from the Russian press of Eastern Siberia, have become complete masters in the region of their "influence" in China.

Tsingtau in reality is now a Japanese capital in Shantung. Dalny is the same in the province of Kwantung. The principal town of Japanese Manchuria, Mukden, as well as both the above-mentioned towns, are connected by railway lines which represent, together with a railroad through Tsinan-fee, an encircling railway communication with Peking, of great strategical importance. Japan knows that in order to be able to accomplish her aggressive plans in Eastern Siberia, she must first firmly establish herself in Northwestern China, Manchuria, and Mongolia, thus protecting the rear of the Japanese army in case of war with Russia.

According to the *Voyenni Nabat* ("The Military Alarm,") the official daily newspaper of the Russian Headquarters Staff of the fortress of Vladi-

vostok, the Japanese have triumphed in China. The Japanese soldiers, their officials and businessmen, are a common sight throughout all the sphere of the Japanese influence within this enormous circle.

After careful investigation of the situation in the Chinese provinces invaded by Japan, *Nabat* considers the Shantung province definitely annexed by Japan, and never will it be restored to the Chinese Republic without a long and bloody struggle. "The port of Tsingtau, however," this Russian newspaper says, "Japan would never return to China"—nor could this important commercial port even be transformed into an international port, thanks to the sabotage, espionage and denunciatory conduct of the Japanese commercial officials, as well as their civilian and military officials. And this in spite of the solemn promise to withdraw their troops from the Ussuri region, as well as from the Maritime district and the zone of the Chinese Eastern railway, as soon as the Czecho-Slovak army accomplishes its evacuation of Russia! The imperial address read at

the annual meeting of the Japanese Red Cross of May 23 openly declared that the Japanese troops must remain in Siberia. At the same time, fresh Japanese forces are continuing to reach the Ussuri region, gradually invading this part of Eastern Siberia.

Such conduct on the part of the Japanese Government can be interpreted as a demonstration against the pacific steps of the Soviet Government towards China. According to the Vladivostok special *Asahi* dispatch dated May 19, 1920, a declaration of the Soviet Government signed by Mr. Karakhan, representative of the Soviet Russian Foreign Commissar, was issued to the Chinese people and to the Northern and Southern Governments of China. This declaration was as follows:

"The Soviet Government at the time of the November Revolution in 1917, in the name of the Russian people, had proposed peace under these fundamental conditions—peace without annexations and without indemnities, to all peoples, of all countries, and at the same time the Soviet Government declared that it relinquished the execution of all the secret treaties concluded with various foreign countries. Soviet Russia also at that time attempted to negotiate with China concerning the treaty of 1896, the Peking treaty of 1901, and the treaty with Japan, concluded in 1907 and in 1916, to the effect that Russia would give up all these treaty rights. But this was prevented by the Allies. Russia was not permitted to return the Chinese Eastern Railway. The Allies, deceiving China, in the name of a joint military operation, entered and occupied Manchuria and Siberia. Therefore we, the Russian people, make this declaration, informing the Chinese of the real state of things, in order that we may be understood by the Chinese as to our real purpose.

"On that occasion, the Russian Soviet Government shall return to China without payment the Chinese Eastern Railway and various concessions obtained during the time of the Czar, the government of Kerensky, and furthermore by those exploiters: Horvath, Semionov and Kolchak. Also, the Soviet Government has the intention to return the Boxer indemnity. According to a report, the minister and consuls of the late Russian imperial government are receiving this indemnity in order to draw from it their own salaries, but their power and authority is now fallen; they have no right to receive the indemnity from China, so that China should therefore stop the payments.

Moreover, the Soviet Government shall give up all special concessions to Russian merchants in Chinese territories. The Soviet Government wishes China not to become a second India or Korea through the action of the Allies, and it desires that the Chinese people and their government may come to negotiate formally with a sister government—the Soviet Government."

This declaration caused a great sensation in Japan; the press commented on it, foreshadowing grave consequences, and soon after its publication the Japanese troops stated their concentration in the Maritime and Ussuri districts of Eastern Siberia.

Camouflaging their aggression towards Russia under the form of protecting herself against the imaginary danger of Bolshevism, and hypocritically appealing to the Allies for support, to save the common cause, namely China, the Japanese General Staff is practically accomplishing the concentration of its army in order to direct a sudden blow at the Red Army in the Chita region, in case the fighting on the Polish front, as well as in Central Asia, should be unfavorable to the Russians.

Intervention in Russian affairs has already brought Japan a considerable number of killed and wounded, and, as Marquis Shigenobu Okuma, one of the most famous Japanese statesmen, stated in the *Globe* of May 25, Japan has spent, for her military expeditions in Siberia, \$300,000,000. Naturally the Japanese Government is making all the effort she can in order to justify such enormous expenses in the eyes of the Japanese people.

Marquis Okuma is much frightened at the penetration of Bolshevism into China, and he declares that in case it should penetrate there, "Japan will be obliged to help her . . ." We can imagine how ardently China desires such help.

"Some are apprehensive of the entry of Bolshevism into India and other Mohammedan countries," continues Marquis Okuma. "It is threatening Poland, Persia, Hungary, Ukraine, and other nations on the Russian border," and in concluding, the Marquis declares it is probably true that Russia, whether Bolshevik or imperialistic, would want to have restored to her all the territory lopped off by the peace treaty. So the moral of Marquis Okuma's conclusion would be that it is not Bolshevism which is the real bar for the Japanese aggression in Asia—but the whole Russian nation.

BOUND VOLUMES FOR 1920

At the end of June, 1920, which marks the close of our second volume (January to June), we shall bind two hundred full sets of *SOVIET RUSSIA* for this period (26 issues—half a year), and deliver them to persons who have placed their orders in advance. The price for such a volume, bound uniformly with the first volume, is five dollars. The volumes will be delivered promptly in July.

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Russo-Japanese Agreement

[The following official document, which we believe has not yet appeared in print in this country, is a translation from the original as it appeared in a Vladivostok newspaper "Slovo," on May 4, 1920.]

For the purpose of establishing friendly relations between the two countries, the Joint Russo-Japanese Commission, without going into the question of fixing the guilt or responsibility for the incident, and taking the status which existed prior to April 4 as a starting point for further negotiations, on the basis of the theses mutually accepted by the previous Joint Military Mission on April 5, set forth the following terms with a view to settling the incident and avoiding similar conflicts in the future:

1. The Russian military command, on the one hand, and the Japanese military command on the other, mutually agree to discontinue immediately hostilities between the detachments of Russian and Japanese troops stationed in the various districts of the region. This is to be accomplished by means of orders simultaneously issued by both parties, the cessation of hostilities to go into effect on both sides the moment the orders reach their destination and have been mutually exchanged between the commands.

2. The Russian armed forces, regardless of the political party or group to which they belong, must not remain simultaneously with the Japanese troops within the boundaries of the following regions:

a) The territory bounded by a line drawn thirty kilometers away from the extreme position occupied by the Japanese troops on the Ussuriysk railroad on the one hand, and by the line of the Russo-Chinese-Corean frontier in the west and south, on the other hand.

b) The zone situated along the Suchan railroad up to the station of Suchan from the end of the line, extending for a distance of thirty kilometers on each side.

3. The Russian armed forces stationed in the above mentioned regions are to evacuate them within three days from the receipt of the order to stop military operations. In the event of any difficulties in the way of evacuation of the above regions within the fixed three day period, the same may be extended upon agreement with the local Japanese command.

4. The Russian armed forces which are shifted beyond the line of demarcation are to retain their arms, ammunition, equipment, and provisions in a quantity commensurate with the numerical strength of the force, on the day when orders for cessation of hostilities have been exchanged, and in accordance with the existing war-time schedules. The Japanese command will in no way hinder the Russian authorities in the normal equipment of the Russian detachments (stationed in their new positions) with provisions, forage, clothing, and other articles necessary for their existence.

5. In case of necessity, the Russian troops or separate units thereof, may be directed by order of the Russian command from the places of their original destination farther away from the provinces of Transbaikalia and Sakhalin, into other regions, beyond the line of demarcation. For the above removal of the Russian troops, they may pass the fixed thirty kilometer zone and may use the Ussuriysk railroad in accordance with the provisions contained in article 4, but only upon agreement with the Japanese command with reference to the above stated means of transportation of troops.

6. For the purpose of maintaining general order and tranquility in the regions indicated in article 2 and along the railroad lines, the presence of Russian military militia is allowed. Its composition, equipment, and numerical strength are to be determined in each region by the Russian authorities on condition, however, that the Japanese command be informed on the question and that the militia be stationed only when actual necessity arises. As regards the military units necessary for the purpose of doing convoy and patrol duty in the city of Vladivostok, as well as for the needs of military training schools, the conditions for their formation are determined upon the mutual agreement of the commands.

7. The railroads are to be guarded in accordance with the regulations on railroad administration worked out by the Allied military committee.

8. Arms, fire-arm equipment, and other supplies necessary for the immediate conduct of military operations; the factories producing these articles, and the stores wherein they are kept within the regions mentioned in article 2, are subject to seizure by the Japanese command. The further disposition of these supplies will be decided separately. The following are exceptions to this provision:

a) Arms, fire-arm equipment, and supplies necessary for militia and convoy duty, as well as for military training in the military academies in the city of Vladivostok, in accordance with article 6, are to be returned out of the stocks seized by the Japanese Command.

The Far-Eastern Mechanical and Shipbuilding Mill of Vladivostok remains under the jurisdiction of the Russian authorities on condition that no war material is to be produced in the same, the Japanese Command to have the right of supervising it in this respect.

c) All articles and materials for military use, not mentioned in article 8 and having no direct bearing on military operations, as well as stores thereof, are not subject to seizure.

d) The military supplies for the protection of the transportation facilities which are seized and

which are not entirely the property of the Russian authorities, are to be specially accounted for.

9. The right over the barracks occupied and to be occupied by the Japanese troops, belongs to the Japanese command up to the time of their evacuation. In case of necessity the Japanese command allows, insofar as possible, the use of the barracks under its jurisdiction to the military units and institutions mentioned in article 6.

10. The Russian authorities are to take all measures to safeguard the railroad and telegraph lines against damages in the regions mentioned in article 2, and are to endeavor to restore normal communication as soon as possible. The Japanese

command will cooperate in this whenever the need arises.

11. Both parties to the agreement are to take all steps for the speedy realization of this agreement. For this purpose, if necessary, a special Russo-Japanese Commission is to be created, also for the purpose of explaining the details arising out of putting this agreement into practice.

12. All the terms arrived at by the commission are of a provisional character and are subject to reconsideration upon the request of any of the parties thereto and can be changed upon mutual consent.

April 29, 1920.

What Should We Begin With ?

By L. TROTSKY.

[*"The Labor Week" (Trudovaya Nedelia) a Kiev publication, prints the following article under date of April 19, 1920.*]

The city workers—the vanguard of the Soviets—suffer hunger and cold. Yet there is plenty of bread and fuel in our vast and rich land. We have an inexhaustible supply of labor power. What do we lack then? *It is the organization of work that we lack.*

Under the bourgeois system the work was organized by the capitalist employers and directors. They had charge over the means of production (the factories, machines and raw material), they engaged labor, out of which they squeezed their profits, and converted it into their property. Driven by hunger and habit inherited from their fathers, the workers went into the factories and workshops and yielded their labor power to the capitalists. And production went merrily on.

Now the factories and workshops have been taken away from the capitalists and are forming the property of the laboring masses. The raw material is there, the labor power is there, but there is not, there has not been created, the new organization of labor which would correspond to the newly established conditions of production—without capitalists, without masters, without the foreman's lash.

This new organization of work—on new comradesly, social, socialistic foundations—must now be constructed on all sides.

First the imperialistic, then the civil war have exhausted and dislocated the country and her economic life. *Our economic life can be restored only by means of a common concerted effort.* Entire Russia must be transformed into one huge factory, where every citizen, man and women, must be a producer and where the whole working population is master.

We must start with the fundamentals—with the grain and fuel.

The factories must be supplied with wood and coal. The industrial and railroad workers must

no longer suffer hunger. Then our industries will come back to life, and the peasants will receive the indispensable products—fabrics and nails, salt, and agricultural implements.

We must start with the foundation—with the production of rye and fuel.

For this task all must be inducted into service—workers and peasants—women as well as men—the Red soldiers freed from the business of war, and finally all those who had led an idle life under the bourgeois system and have not yet grown accustomed to productive work under the Soviet system.

Soviet Russia is the property of the producers. Every worker belongs to Soviet Russia. The Socialist state must care for every one of its workers. This becomes possible of realization only in case every worker cares for the state as a whole. The villages must work not only for themselves, but for the cities as well. The cities, in their turn, must work for the villages. The railroad workers must link the cities with the villages and facilitate the exchange of products.

The old capitalistic egoistic rule—"Everybody for himself," is now inapplicable. The country can be saved from cold, starvation, and epidemics only through the utmost, uninterrupted and truly heroic work of all its citizens.

This is the universal labor duty. Everyone is in duty bound to give his knowledge, his power and, if need be, his life for the great entity, which we call Socialist Russia.

The old organization of work on the basis of capitalism has been destroyed forever. The new socialist organization is now being erected.

We must all become conscious, unselfish master-builders of the socialist industrial life. This alone makes it possible to find a way out of the difficulty; only therein lies salvation; and this alone will enable us to attain the commonwealth.

SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the
 RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU
 110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.



This weekly will carry 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.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT is often accused of being a government by one class only, and we have no objection to this understanding of the situation, provided the situation be really understood. The Soviet Government is a "dictatorship of the proletariat," a coming to life of that society which, as Marx and Engels scientifically proved, would precede the realization of Socialism. But, while Soviet leaders have indicated in innumerable writings that the Soviet Government is such a Marxian dictatorship, they have also clearly shown, as did also Marx and Engels, that this dictatorship is a temporary stage—the transition form assumed by society before its transformation into a one-class system. And the one-class system that is the goal of this transition—in other words its justification and the cause of its being—this real explanation of the proletarian dictatorship and "class rule" is the one phase of the matter that the opponents of the Soviet Government always overlook. For their information we repeat what has been so often said before: In Soviet Russia the government is in the hands of those who work—and all must work, either with hand or brain (the exclusive domination of physical labor is a fiction that must have arisen in the mind of some New York reporter who was completely terrorized by the janitor of his flat)—and furthermore, the government in Soviet Russia is being conducted by those who work, until such time as the doctrine that all must work has been completely accepted; after which the class government becomes a "government of the whole people," since the whole people is then of one class: the class of those who work.

The mathematically inexorable clearness of this position is too much for the minds of the newspaper writers; and besides, if they should understand it, they would lose their bread and butter. They not only continue writing the same old vituperative stuff from their flats in Harlem, in spite of the fact that such writings as Nikolai Lenin's "The Soviets at Work" are fully accessible to them and would give them a real understanding of the aims of the Soviet Government; but even when they get to Russia they continue to look at the facts before them through the glasses of the "class interpretation" that is peculiar to capitalist newspapers.

An amusing instance of the application of the "class vision" has just come to our notice in that newspaper which is perhaps its chief representative, the *New York Times*. That paper's issue of June 5 prints a "Special Cable to the *New York Times*," from Mr. George Renwick, dated Kiev, June 4. In a full column of misrepresentation, much of which is of purely rhetorical and propagandist nature, Mr. Renwick only occasionally gives you an idea of what was the chief symptom of the misery and wretchedness he saw at Kiev. It seems that the shops, under the Soviet system, are for the most part closed, and that those who do not work have to spend enormous sums in order to get anything to eat. One unfortunate creature said this to Mr. Renwick:

Sovietism shut down nearly all the shops. Soon it became almost impossible to buy anything. Oh, yes, there were plenty of ration cards, but you could get nothing for them. I have gone about with thousands of rubles in my pocket and been unable to buy bread. Gradually one sold one's belongings—furniture, what the Bolsheviki had left of it, overcoat, books, boots. It was the only way to keep alive.

It is possible that most of this man's statement, as here repeated, is true. He was apparently a man who did no work, and who depended entirely for his livelihood on the spending of money, with which, after selling his furniture, etc., he nevertheless, in spite of his statement to the contrary, did manage to live. The fabrications appearing in the press are often contradictory. They cannot even "lie straight"!

Kiev, Mr. Renwick rejoices to say, is already improving, now that the Poles have "delivered" it from the Bolsheviki, and have introduced their "beneficent" rule. We quote Mr. Renwick's own words:

Though but recently liberated, Kiev has revived wonderfully. Shopkeepers are busy putting their shops in order again. A few are open and doing a small trade with scant stocks from somewhere. Two or three cinemas and restaurants are shipshape once more. Peasants are bringing their welcome supplies into the city. Milk, butter, sugar, tea and coffee are now plentiful and white bread is no longer a great luxury. The city has light, trams and water again, and to open banks the stranger carries his money troubles—and they are troubles, for six currencies are about, Polish and Ukrainian marks, Czar, Duma and Kerensky rubles, and Soviet notes. Every one has his own particular likes and dislikes in the matter of money, but the peasant sticks to his preference for the old Czar notes. On them he reads that the mighty Russian Empire will pay so much. No other notes hold out such magnificent promise.

All this means simply one thing: Mr. Renwick has a "class view" of life and sees prosperity all around him as soon as that class is favored. When the Soviet Government eliminates unnecessary traders, he beholds ruin and disaster, because a certain class is being deprived of its former source of income and set to useful work, and as soon as the petty exploiters are relieved—in this case by the Polish Government—of the necessity of earning their livings like the rest of the population—the star of hope again rises in Mr. Renwick's breast, because the small shops are open-

ing, and "commercial life is booming," while the rest of the population, not to mention the petty exploiters themselves, are being once more subjected to capitalism in its most revolting form—the tyranny of a small nation acting not of its own accord, but in pursuance of the ambitions of powerful masters who find themselves too remote from the scene of battle to send their own troops to do the job, and too unpopular with their own masses to dare propose to them an open state of war with Soviet Russia.

Our contributor, V. Vasilyev, whose work has already appeared in the columns of SOVIET RUSSIA (see Vol. II., No. 20), will treat the subject of the *Relations Between Latvia and Soviet Russia*, in an article that will appear under that title in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA. We also call the attention of our readers to detailed Moscow wireless reports of the daily results of the conferences being held at Moscow between Latvian and Soviet Russian delegations, appearing in this and other issues of SOVIET RUSSIA.

FRANCE and the other governments of the League of Nations, who are driving Poland into the mad adventure of attacking a people who have tasted freedom, know very well that this method is the last that will avail. And they must also suspect that even this will avail them little. Already Poland is reported to be recruiting age-classes many years back, to fight for France's seizure of Ukrainian grain, and already the parallel case of Esthonia suggests itself: After the English had used up all the available able-bodied males in that country, and had begun recruiting little boys (we printed their pictures in our January 3 issue), after all Esthonia was a mass of wretched, diseased, and starving people, with no other chance for life than to cast off the Allied domination and live at peace with Soviet Russia, a treaty was signed between the two nations, and "Esthonian" aggression on Soviet Russia ceased. We know that Latvia is negotiating peace with Soviet Russia, as Latvia also has learnt that the Allies regard her only as a sentry-box from which to shoot at Soviet Russia, a battle-ground and raw material for counter-revolutionary armies. France is exhausting Poland's man-supply and resources so rapidly, that soon the Polish people must force their government to take the course already taken by Esthonia and Latvia.

PERSIA will probably not be a center of counter-revolutionary attack on Soviet Russia, but only for the reason that there is no country from which to draw troops for that purpose. Of course England's conduct in India has been, as we have been repeatedly informed, of such a character as to insure her the undying gratitude of the millions of India, but we conjecture that England will nevertheless not entrust the task of attacking Soviet Russia from Persia to the hands of Indian troops. The Persians themselves, perhaps—well,

it is true that England had wined and dined the Shah, who arrived at Teheran, on his return from Europe, on June 3, and "was welcomed by 300,000 people there" (we do not know the population of Teheran)—but then, let the English Government try to use Persian troops.

MR. WILLIAM MORGAN SHUSTER, in 1912, wrote a book called "The Strangling of Persia," in which he described the manner in which the Russian and British Empires had robbed Persia of her last vestige of independence as a nation. It will not be possible for England to count on Russian assistance now. Soviet Russia renounces the concessions gained by the Czar's henchmen in Persia, and has no aggressive policy of her own. It was natural, therefore, that the reports of an occupation of Teheran by Soviet troops, appearing in New York newspapers on the morning of June 4, should be denied in the afternoon papers of the same day, and that the New York *Times* of June 5 should print a London cablegram saying that Persian officials in London had received an official telegram from Teheran dated June 3, in which no mention was made of any Bolshevik advance from the Caspian Sea coast. The Soviet Government was compelled to seize the Persian port of Enzeli, on the Caspian Sea, in order to capture and restore to the Russian people the steamers that Denikin had stolen from them and was using as warships against them. But as soon as it knows that Enzeli cannot be used as a base for counter-revolutionary operations, the Soviet Government will withdraw its troops from that city. Teheran is safe from the "Bolsheviki"—unless the British insist on breeding a native Persian variety by trying to force the country into aggression on Soviet Russia, as France is breeding a Polish brand in Poland.

CONTINENTAL populations love anniversaries. Every author who reaches the age of forty years goes through ordeals of congratulation and adulation that are exceeded only by those he knows he must meet when he reaches fifty. In France, Germany, and Italy, the "jubilee" spirit has become a pest. In order not to aid in introducing this vice into America, SOVIET RUSSIA has not made this issue an *Anniversary Number* to commemorate the raid undertaken against the Russian Soviet Government Bureau by Mr. Archibald Stevenson and the Lusk Committee on June 12 of last year. SOVIET RUSSIA had then appeared once only; the present is its fifty-fourth issue. The raid was treated editorially in Vol. I, No. 3.

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The Industrial Situation in Soviet Russia

[Report offered to the Third Congress of Industrial Councils, at Moscow, January 22-25, 1920.]

THE FUEL CRISIS

This question called forth the longest debates in the assembly, and the inhabitants of Moscow most of all have had to bear the entire burden of the fuel crisis.

I must say that in regard to firewood the situation has essentially improved. Up to January 1, 1920, we provided about 6 million cords. Therefore, we have carried out about half of the production program made out for this season by the Council of People's Commissars. As for the transportation of wood,—during November and December, 1,400,000 cords were shipped by rail, and about one million by water, making a total of 2,400,000 cords. This proves that the transportation does not keep up with the manufacture, and that out of six million, only two and a half, or less than one-third were transported.

In any case, it is evident that the crisis in firewood has now become extremely acute. The chief problem here is railroad transportation from the forest. Our attempts in this direction have not yet met with much success, for out of the 400,000 cars counted on for Moscow, we could not in a single instance provide as many as 300 a day. Consequently, we have not been able, up to the present time, to furnish the minimum amount necessary for the most essential industries of Moscow, because we lack means of transportation.

So while Soviet Russia has been able to improve her supply of firewood to a certain extent, the situation with regard to coal, and especially naphtha, is just as bad as before.

As for coal, we have just taken possession of the Donets basin, which is the most important coal territory. I am not yet in a position to give sufficient information about the productivity of this region. It is reported, however, that there are more than ten million poods of coal on the surface, which can at any time be brought to the industrial sections of Russia. As long as the bridges and trains in the territory of the Donets are not repaired, this coal supply cannot be used.

As for the supply from the regions around Moscow, it not only failed last year to give us the fuel necessary for the maintenance of Soviet Russia, but the production in previous years had been on the same low level. Not once did the total amount to thirty million poods of coal.

During the war, the Czar's officials were able, with the help of the war prisoners, to raise the production of the coal regions around Moscow to as high as forty million poods and more. The workers and peasants must be just as energetic in this regard, and bring the coal production not only to forty, but to sixty and eighty million poods. The Czar and his officials, in the interest of a small handful of nobles and capitalists, succeeded in increasing the production to one and one-half times that of former years by compulsory meas-

ures and state coercion. If this could be done under Czarism, then the workers' and peasants' government, with the help of compulsory labor, and backed up by the state, can put the coal district around Moscow on its feet in the interests of all the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia, and raise the coal production to double and three times that of past years.

For the next year we have made an estimate of sixty million poods, and we shall be able to carry through this program only by means of iron discipline and compulsion, and through the greatest utilization of all our resources.

THE FOOD PROBLEM.

This problem, because of its close relation to industry, is next in importance to the fuel question. For when we come to speak of the factories, of an increase in output, higher wages, etc., the answer is always the same: "Give us more bread and we will work more."

As for the food situation,—last year brought an increase of our supply many times over that of the previous years. By January 1, 1920, the Commissariat of Maintenance had procured ninety million poods of grain, compared with sixty million the preceding year. Then followed the delivery of one-half of the amount due from the peasants. At present there is such a great supply of grain in the storehouses of the republic, that the demand of the workers and peasants is assured for three months,—that is, through April, and on the basis of the full maintenance standards. If workers and peasants have not received any grain up till now, or if a food shortage has been observed in some territories, it is not the fault of the supply, but it is due rather to the impossibility of moving and distributing the grain that is stored up. The food problem is at present chiefly a transportation problem. Naturally it is not anything to be proud of if one of the richest grain countries in the world is supplied for three months ahead. Instead of sixty million poods, we need many hundred million. We must get rid of the bread-card system, and must bring it about that every worker and peasant gets as much bread as he wants. What we must show now is a great increase over the bread-supply of past years.

The question of supplying food to the worker is now simply a question of repairing cars and engines, delivering the bread to the plants and factories, and distributing it among the workers and peasants. If in the factory assemblies the demand is made to solve the industrial problem by increasing the food-supply, it must be explained that the supply can be increased only by work. For whatever problem faces the industrial life of Soviet Russia, whether it be one of transportation or of food supply, we are confronted with the question of labor power. This means, however, that in the labor republic of the workers

and peasants, the industrial question lies entirely in the hands of the workers' and peasants' organizations. It is not food and fuel that is needed today, but the transportation of what we have to the factories.

To quote one more figure relative to food: at present we have on hand four and one-half million poods of oats. And yet the supply is only about twenty-five per cent, or one-fourth of what is needed.

THE INDUSTRIAL SITUATION

The following circumstances have been responsible for the present industrial situation in Soviet Russia. We have to do almost entirely with a collective and nationalized industrial system. Earlier, in the first years of the November revolution, the question of nationalization and organization of industry was the most important problem of our industrial life. Supporters and opponents of nationalization were in reality supporters and opponents of monopolies, supporters and opponents of concentrated production, etc. I think that for this Third Congress of People' Commissars, this problem has already been solved, and a further discussion is unnecessary. For former years, I believe I estimated the number of nationalized industries at about 1,125. This year we have about 4,000 nationalized industries. This means that nearly all the industries have been transferred to the hands of the state and the industrial organizations, and that there are very few privately owned and managed industries left. Statistics showed about 10,000 industries in the country, including the small shops. These latter did not succumb to nationalization, and the 4,000 nationalized industries include not only the larger ones, but also a considerable number of the medium-sized concerns in Soviet Russia.

Of these there are now about 2,000 running. All others are closed down. At present, according to recent estimates, there are about one million persons employed. This shows that the manufacturing industry is going through an employment crisis, due to the causes explained above, namely, the crisis in the production of raw materials and fuel, as well as the transportation crisis.

In the manufacturing industry the crisis in the supply of man power is of special significance. Even in organizing a branch of industry for the maintenance of our army, we have to fight continually against the lack of skilled workers. There have been times for weeks and months when we were not in a position to obtain the number of skilled workers needed in the factories, in order to provide the Red Army with arms, machine-guns, and cannon to save Moscow and destroy the White Guards. Sometimes we have had very great difficulty simply because we could not find 20 to 30 workers of the kind we needed. We tried the labor exchanges and the unions and searched in the army and in the villages. One of the most dangerous factors in our present industrial life is the scarcity of that most valuable asset of production—namely, man-power. This has now

reached immense proportions, and there are many enterprises requiring fuel and raw materials, which we have not been able to take over because of the lack of skilled workers.

Because of the above reasons, industry has not once been able to use the machines at its disposal. A large proportion of the manufacturing enterprises have come to a standstill, and the management has been kept up in only a few instances. The nationalized industries are the largest of all, and about 700 of these have had to stop. Altogether, more than forty-one per cent of the enterprises are nationalized, including the smaller enterprises, of which seventy-six per cent of the force is employed. This means that this forty-one per cent of nationalized industries includes more than three-fourths of the entire national production. At present only fifty-seven per cent of the industries are working, while forty-three per cent are closed down.

Regarding the organization of nationalized industries, a large proportion of it is in monopolies.

THE METALLURGICAL INDUSTRY.

The total number of foundries at present is 1,191. Of these 614 are nationalized, and about 160 are closed. Last year, forty million poods of metal were released, which filled about thirty per cent of the needs of the state. Of this thirty per cent, however, only fifteen per cent has been used. For January, 1920, we produced from the Ural altogether twenty-five million poods of iron and steel, about five million poods of other metals, 6,000 poods of nails, and about three million poods of other articles. That is less than one-fourth of what is absolutely necessary for the continuation of our industry. And we were able to get that only because we are now in control of the Ural territory, which offers us a definite foundation for the metal industry and supply for the country. Until the recapture of the Urals, none of the blast-furnaces were running, and not a single pood of metal was produced. We lived entirely on the supplies which we found in the warehouses, plants, and factories. At present, the work in the Urals is not in full swing. As has been already mentioned, Kolchak had captured ninety per cent of the technical workers, and an immense number of skilled workers. Besides this, a large proportion of the factories were damaged and dismantled.

According to the latest accounts, a large portion of what was taken from the factories by Kolchak has been located in the Tomsk district. Now all these objects are being carried back, and we shall soon be in position to set a large part of the Ural industry in motion.

At present, fourteen out of ninety-seven blast-furnaces are working. They can smelt up to a million poods of iron-ore, which is not even twenty per cent of the normal peace output; sixteen out of ninety Martin furnaces are working, producing 1,320,000 poods, which is about twenty-five per cent of the normal output; six out of fourteen

puddling-furnaces are working, etc. Altogether there are 100,000 workers in the Ural district, which is about half the number working there in times of peace. If the shortening of the working-day is also taken into account, the production is

about forty per cent of what it was before the war.

The question of man-power, and of increasing the output in the Ural district, must be solved under any circumstances, otherwise the metal crisis will grow more acute from day to day.

Industrial Enterprises and Agriculture

Side by side with the Soviet management of communes and artels, during the past year, a new type of collective agricultural undertaking has begun to develop in Soviet Russia. These undertakings are being instituted at various factories, under the guidance of the Supreme Council of National Economy, while the workers employed at these factories are concentrating their efforts upon the formation of large farms, from the harvest of which it is intended to satisfy the food requirements of the factory workers.

This new form of rural economy, at least on a small scale, gives us the possibility of realizing the main principles of Socialist land cultivation, namely the generalization of management and the collectivity of labor, with, at the same time, the application of machinery to the work of agriculture itself.

Up to now not very much has been accomplished in this respect, and at present there is still no possibility of drawing final conclusions as to the results of the work; but, nevertheless, even at present, we have sufficient data in order to conclude as to the need of continuing energetic work in this sphere.

On the 1st of June, 1919, i.e., prior to the formation of a special organ with the Supreme Council of National Economy to conduct this branch of rural economy, the industrial proletariat was credited with not more than 50,000 dessyatins: now, however, on the 1st of January, 1920, 150,000 dessyatins of land have already been assigned to various factories and trade unions.

At first it was the custom to assign only a small section of land to a definite factory, whereas at present the land is being assigned on a larger scale to combines of the industrial proletariat and to trade unions.

Here are a few figures:

In the governments of Saratov and Samara up to 100,000 dessyatins of land have been transferred to the Chief Management of the State United Machine Constructing Works: to the Chief Management of the Water Transport up to 15,000—to the Chief Management of the Glass Industry up to 6,000 dessyatins.

In assigning land acreage to the use of the industrial proletariat, consideration is given to the fact that it is necessary to satisfy their requirements of such important products as meat, milk and garden vegetables. For this reason, the quantity of land assigned in each case is calculated accordingly. The direction followed

in assigning land to the proletariat is along general lines. In order to satisfy requirements in garden-produce, estates lying adjacent to the industrial enterprises are assigned, with a view to avoiding difficulties in transport.

For the purpose of receiving bread, meat and milk for the same undertaking, a larger quantity of land is granted chiefly in the black-earth (fertile) governments.

The work upon the agricultural estates is conducted in the majority of cases by the workers of the enterprise themselves through the Committees of Public Land Cultivation elected by them. These committees, in case of need, engage the services of agricultural specialists.

Starting from the estate and ending with the last phase of the work done upon it, namely the destination of the harvest gathered,—all the work is carried out on a strictly collective basis. The industrial worker himself takes part in creating the food produce necessary for him by his own labor. When the products are divided, the needs of those workers who during the summer holidays participated directly in the work of agricultural management are first attended to.

When the land was being distributed the industrial proletariat came face to face with a difficulty in the form of what are known as unfertile lands, namely swamp lands, hilly lands, etc. Much difficult work is necessary in order to extend the area of land owing to the unsuitability of certain parts of it. On many estates work was carried out very successfully through the work of the industrial proletariat itself. For instance, the area of land granted to the Chief Management of the State United Machine Constructing Works was increased to 1,100,000 dessyatins, the land area of the Chief Management of the Textile Industry to 1,340 dessyatins, the land of the Chief Management of Paper Industry to 620 dessyatins, and so on.*

Notwithstanding the brief period during which this type of rural economy has been in existence, machines are being introduced as far as possible. For instance, on the fields of one of these estates attempts have been made to plough the land by the employment of electrical energy; on other estates tractors have been used, while on others electrical energy is used as locomotive force for various agricultural machines.

* The great disparity between the three land areas indicated here would suggest that there is an error somewhere, but we have no data by which we can decide which is the wrong figure.—*Editor SOVIET RUSSIA.*

As to the solvency of the proletarian agricultural undertakings, one may judge from the following figures:

During the second half of 1919 about 100,000,000 rubles were granted altogether to the Chief Management of Land Agriculture for the purpose of introducing the work. At the present moment (January, 1920) according to accounts presented by the chief industrial combines, the following sums have been received for products sold at fixed prices (grains, vegetables, etc.):

United Machine Constructing Works	11,811,398 rubles
Chief Management of the Paper Industry	12,770,179 "
Chief Management for Supply of Electrical Energy	3,286,488 "
Central Management of the Textile Industry	60,494,320 "
	88,362,385 rubles

Let us make the reservation that the figures quoted above are taken only from preliminary accounts of the most important combines, and that not all the undertaking of these combines are included in these total figures.

As we see, the rural economy of the industrial proletariat is of enormous and varied importance. Not only does it serve, on a level with the Soviet undertakings, agricultural communes and artels, as a practical school for the Socialist education of the workers and peasants, but it represents also undertakings of a model type, fitted out with a highly technical plant, simultaneously useful in extending the acreage of land suitable for agriculture. There is every reason to believe that this new type of rural economy has an important part to play in the cause of Socialist land cultivation of Russia.

Children in Russia

Reports drawn up by representatives of the "International League to Fight Child-Mortality" show clearly the awful destitution and want left in the wake of the World War among the children of the poor in every land. In every country, no matter whether victor or vanquished, in victorious France and England, as well as in conquered Germany, Austria, Hungary,—everywhere, the imperialistic war has set its dreadful seal, first of all upon the children. Madame Miliukov draws a vivid picture of the heartrending condition of children under Denikin's regime showing that the barest necessities of food, clothing, and medicines are lacking, and that child mortality has reached the appalling level of ninety-five per cent.

As early as 1918, Soviet Russia anticipated a catastrophe, and, in the apportioning of the daily food-ration, the children were the first to be looked after. They were given breakfast in the schools, gratis; for those children who did not as yet attend school, special mess-halls were erected. The People's Health Commissariat set aside a special fund which is to be used for the purpose of nour-

ishing children. In February, 1919, there was created a Soviet for the Protection of the Children; all organizations interested were here represented. On May 17, 1919, the Soviet Government issued a decree, ordering that the children in the districts where food was scarce and in the two chief cities, be fed gratis. Next to the Red Army came the children,—they were the first to receive food. Pregnant women, and nursing mothers, were also well supplied with food. Reports from various places all affirm with what zeal the local Soviet organizations followed the government's orders. From famine-stricken districts there came frequent reports stating that the inhabitants of those parts, although themselves very poorly supplied with food, put all their store at the disposal of the children. For example, in the district of Nizhni-Novgorod, the peasants themselves lived on nothing but war bread and soup, and supplied the children in the schools with a warm breakfast consisting of two courses. Every newspaper prints reports that no sooner do the soldiers of the Red Army occupy districts where bread is plentiful than, of their own accord, they buy bread from the peasants and send it to the starving children of the cities. The children of Moscow and Petrograd frequently receive packages of food from the children of more prosperous districts, through the Soviet for the Protection of Children. In these packages, they find enclosed touching letters which speak of the "Solidarity of Childhood."

We have here a demonstration of the fact—which experience has taught us a thousand times—that a just apportionment of the necessities of life is only possible through a system of rationing. Soviet Russia blockaded, her transportation system completely disorganized, had yet the power to fight against the starvation of her children, while nations rich in industry are helpless when faced by the same situation.

Soviet Russia gives its last crust to the children. The Soviet for the Protection of Children receives daily contributions for these hungry children from districts where bread is plentiful. The children of Soviet Russia are spared the catastrophe to which the children of the western countries, where the struggle against hunger is carried on by individuals, are doomed. The capitalistic ruling class does not trouble about the children of the working-classes,—why should they trouble about the children of strangers? Such a state of affairs leads inevitably to a tragic end, to chronic hunger, and its attendant infant mortality. Soviet Russia is essentially the country of the worker and the peasant, and therefore looks after the children of the workers and peasants before everything else.

HAVE YOU BACK NUMBERS?

You will observe on page 583 a request for copies for our issue of February 7, 1920. We shall be glad to purchase any number of copies of this issue at ten cents per copy.

Order to the Third Red Army

The Third Red Army has fulfilled its military task. But the enemy has not been destroyed on all fronts. The hired troops of the Entente menace Soviet Russia from the west. White Guard bands still occupy Archangel. The Caucasus is as yet not liberated. For these reasons the Third Revolutionary Army remains under arms, preserves its organization, its internal unity, and its war spirit in the event of the Socialistic fatherland calling it to new military feats.

But imbued with a sense of duty the Third Revolutionary Army is eager to waste no time. During those weeks and months of respite which fell to its share it decided to utilize all its means and forces for the economic uplift of the country. Remaining a fighting force, the terror of the enemies of the working class, it at the same time became the Revolutionary Army of Labor.

The Revolutionary War Council of the Third Army enters into the Council of the Labor Army. In this Council, the members of the Revolutionary War Council will join the representatives of the chief economic institutions of the Soviet Republic. They will secure the necessary guidance for the various spheres of economic activity.

The starving workers of Petrograd, Moscow, Ivano-Voznesensk, the Urals, and all the other industrial centers are in dire need of provisions. The chief task of the First Revolutionary Labor Army is the systematic collection of all surplus bread, meat, fats, and forage in the locality; the exact registration of the food provisions collected; energetic and rapid concentration and dispatch to factories and railway stations, and loading into wagons.

Industry is in need of fuel. The most important task of the Revolutionary Labor Army is the cutting and sawing of timber, and its delivery to factories and railway stations.

The workers in the preparation of fuel are in need of living accommodations. The Revolutionary Labor Army must build, where necessary, a number of barracks, and secure for the workers and for those who may subsequently take their places comfortable living accommodations.

Spring is approaching, the time of field work. The output of new agricultural implements of our exhausted factories is very small. But there is a great quantity of old implements in need of repair, in the possession of the peasantry. The Revolutionary Labor Army will offer its workshops and smithies, uocksmiths and carpenters for the repair of agricultural machines and implements. When the field work begins the Red "Shots" and the Red cavalrymen will show that they are able to follow the plough, to till the Soviet land.

The proletariat and the peasantry of the Urals and Siberia live and work in close connection with the worker-soldier of the Third Army. Part of the labor army, its red soldiers, its commanders

and commissars, must establish comradely relations of friendship and collaboration with all the workers.

All the members of the army, from the highest to the lowest, must bear an attitude of fraternity, and attention to the trade unions, to the local councils, and to the small and large executive committees, clearly bearing in mind that these are the organizations of the laboring masses. Work in all localities must be carried on in agreement with these latter, the army undertaking to explain to them the importance of the work which the Soviet Government has directed it to do and to appeal to them for active support of this great initiative.

It should be the first task of the Red Army to take all possible measures that in the locality of its work not a single factory should suffer from a scarcity of food. All honest Red Army soldiers who try to do as much work as a factory worker—must at the same time see that the workers obtain through the army apparatus an equal amount of food.

Untiring energy in work as in battle! All skilled workers and specialists in the army must be registered and kept ready so that the entire army machine begins work in its new field simultaneously, harmoniously, smoothly, and rapidly, without interruption or delay.

We must have an exact registration of the force that is expended and of the results that are obtained; and careful and honest control over all appliances and over material expended. Not a pound of Soviet bread, not a log of the national wood is to be left unregistered or wasted. All this must go to form the basis of the Socialist edifice.

The commanders and commissars are responsible for the work done by their men, as they are on the field of battle. Discipline is to remain as stringent as ever. It is not to be weakened even by a hairbreadth. The communist circles are to be an example of efficiency and perseverance in work.

The unity between the various parts of the army must be strictly preserved. Watchfulness must in no case be weakened. The fitness and hardness of the workmen must not be relaxed.

The commanders and commissars are to send exact labor operation communiques on the amount of corn gathered, loaded and transported, of the cubes of wood cut and sawed, and of all other works. These communiques are to be published in the daily paper *The First Labor Army* with the exact mention of every regiment and every separate labor group so that the most diligent and zealous of the regiments may enjoy the respect they deserve while the backward, slovenly, and lazy ones should be made to strive to improve and rise to the level of the former.

The political department of the army is to carry on its work with redoubled energy, educating a

warrior in the workman and preserving the workman in the warrior.

Hundreds of thousands of printed appeals and speeches must be distributed to make clear to the most backward of the Red Army soldiers and all the surrounding workers and peasants, the idea of the great work which the Third Army is entering upon.

The Revolutionary tribunal of the army punishes loafers, parasites, shirkers, and plunderers of the people's property.

A strict registration should be made so as to prevent all dishonest leave-taking.

A deserter in work is just as dishonest and contemptible as a deserter on the field of battle. Both are to be severely punished.

Most conscious and intelligent fighters, foremost workers, revolutionary peasants, Red Army soldiers, ahead to first places! Let your untiring energy and self-sacrifice be an example to the

others, enthusing them to take the same role.

Let the rear be diminished to its minimum; all superfluous men to the foremost line of labor!

Begin and end your work, wherever possible, with the sounds of Socialist hymns and songs, for your work is not the toil of slavery, but a supreme service to the Socialist Fatherland.

Soldiers of the Third Army, now the First Labor Army! Your initiative is indeed a great cause. The whole of Russia will become aquiver with life to respond to you. This present moment the Soviet radio-telegraph is carrying to the world the great news that the Third Army by its own free will has changed into the First Labor Army. Soldier-workers, do not put to shame the red banner!

*The President of the Revolutionary
War Council of the Republic,*

L. TROTSKY.

Moscow, January 15, 1920.

Ninth Congress of the Communist Party

A Soviet radio of April 7, quoted in *l'Humanite* on April 16, gives the following passages from Trotsky's speech at the final session of the Party Congress on the previous day:

The Soviet Army reflects the transitional character of the Soviet regime. The latter is entering today upon a new period of its existence in which the principal weight of its forces is being transferred to the economic front. Consequently, the Red Army must modify itself to correspond to the new phase of the development of the Soviet Republic. Obviously, while the country was obliged to carry on a desperate war on all fronts there could be no question of creating a regular militia service, that system exists today only in its embryonic form of universal military training.

The idea of the militia arose at once amongst the bourgeoisie and from the Socialists of the Second International. In his book, "L'Armee Nouvelle," Jaures foretold that a military army, in a democratic republic, would little by little come to transform and socialize the mobilized citizens. But the imperialist war, the Revolution, and, finally, the creation of our Red Army, have shown that the character of any army is not determined merely by its form. It was suggested that the militia system would assure the defence of the country at much less cost: on the contrary, a well-organized militia will be much more costly than a standing army, if only for the reason that it covers infinitely vaster masses of the population. The fact is that the militia system has been simply forced upon the nations by the march of events; this was seen during the late imperialist war, which forced all states to call up class after class, and, in some cases, to multiply tenfold their peace effectives. But the principal argument for the militia system is that, to have an army, we must produce, and, in order to produce, we must retain the necessary man-power in the workshops and the fields. The trade unions will certainly play a considerable part in the organization of the army.

If we speak of militarization of labor, we must also set before ourselves the idea of industrializing our army. A militia is necessarily of a territorial character, we must therefore transform its present administrative areas in such a way that they will have as pivot an industrial center. In short, in every area the industrial proletariat will be the basis of the militia. In the present period of transition it is not possible first to demobilize the Red Army and then to create a militia;

these two processes will take place simultaneously, and the defensive powers of our Republic will not be weakened for a single day, for a single hour.

Finally, thanks to the militia system, our country will be able at the same time to solve the problems of economic reconstruction and of defence of the Revolution." Trotsky's theses on this subject were unanimously approved.

The Congress was closed by a speech in which Lenin reminded delegates that it was a spirit of strict party discipline which had up to the present assured the Republic of all its miraculous successes; all efforts could thus be concentrated on one essential task at a time. The same energy and spirit must now be introduced into economic life. This would be a difficult task, but gradually, day by day, and inch by inch, stocks of corn could be replenished, machines repaired, factories going, and the economic problem would be solved just as the military one had been. The workers of all countries were watching Russia and awaiting new victories.

After this speech, on the motion of Preobrazhensky, Lenin's oldest friends—Kamenev, Bukharin, Kalinin, Radek, and Riazanov—addressed the Congress on the subject of the life and work of the leader of the world revolution, who would on April 10 attain the age of 50. Bukharin called him the most perfect type of logical Marxist theoretician and statesman. "Lenin is exempt from all narrowness of view. His universal spirit seizes in every period the characteristic tendency and gives clear, exact, and considered replies which are always to the point. He has always struggled against the least manifestation of opportunism and has always attacked the least traces of bourgeois spirit." Kalinin attested the affection and respect which all workers cherished towards Lenin. Riazanov characterized him as a figure who is both national, in the Russian working-class movement, and international, as is shown by the revolutionary murmurs which agitate the whole world in reply to Lenin's words.

In spite of Lenin's protests, these speeches were greeted with a great ovation.

The new Central Committee, elected on the 8th day of the Congress, comprises: Andriev, Bukharin, Dzerzhinsky, Zinoviev, Kalinin, Kamenev, Kestinsky, Lenin, Preobrazhensky, Rudzutak, Radek, Rakovsky, Rykov, Sergeido, Serebriakov, Smirnov, Stalin, Tomsky, and Trotsky.

Press Cuttings

A Report on Soviet Russia

[This report appeared in a Vladivostok newspaper of March 14, 1920.]

The principal problem of the Food Committee is an equitable distribution of food-stuffs among the population. According to the Soviet Decree, all of the most necessary food products are state property. In Russia, under threat of the Revolutionary Tribunal, it is forbidden to sell food-stuffs to anyone except the state, as that would be considered speculation. All food products received by the Food Committee are distributed among food stores and lunch rooms, at which they are sold to the population in strict proportion (upon presentation of cards) for definite and stable prices.

There are three classes of lunchrooms in Russia. The first category of lunchrooms exists for those who do not want to work, for those who live upon the remains of their savings; at such places minimum rations are issued. Those who do not wish to take prepared lunches receive the raw food-stuffs.

The second category represents "Soviet lunchrooms," where all the Soviet employes receive their meals. These lunchrooms distribute not only lunches, but breakfasts and dinners as well.

The third category of lunchrooms is "Children's lunchrooms," which receive the greatest attention. The future lies in the children; therefore, the Soviet Government endeavors to take good care of them. Moscow has the best children's lunchrooms. The idea of children's lunchrooms originated at the time when Soviet Russia was cut off from the grain sections. At that time everything was requisitioned for the children's lunchrooms, so as not to let the children starve.

UNIVERSAL EDUCATION.

The report further dwells on education in Soviet Russia. The Commissariat of Education is most complex and extensive. In order to give to the children a proper education, and not merely instruction as it was before the Revolution, Soviet Russia adopted a "united labor school." Education is given in this school in such a manner that the child, on entering the "labor school," forgets that he begins to study with the sound of the bell and quits with the sound of the bell. "The labor school" does not merely teach literacy, but also acquaints the children with the various branches of economy and industry. Here, the child simultaneously learns to read and write, and receives information about agriculture, gardening, shoemaking, carpentry, etc. The teacher must answer every question put by the child. For the purpose of preparing the respective teachers, Soviet Russia formed "Soviet seminaries," where the teachers besides receiving instructions on the meth-

ods of teaching, are brought up in a strict political atmosphere. In order to ascertain whether the teachers instruct the children properly, special commissions were formed, before whom the children lay their knowledge. If the commission finds that a teacher has not instructed the children sufficiently, such a teacher is sent away to complete his or her education, and the children are transferred to a more experienced teacher.

The children do not pay any tuition fees. In accordance with a decree, all parents are obliged to send their children to school up to the age of seventeen.

Besides compulsory education for children, such education for Red Guards was introduced. For this purpose schools were organized in the battalions and regiments.

Zinoviev's decree that there should not be a single illiterate in Petrograd within six months is a good illustration of the importance attached to education in Soviet Russia. Petrograd was divided for that purpose into sections, in all of which schools were opened.

EDUCATION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

The Soviet Government is also engaged in educating the working masses. The best building in each city is nationalized and turned into "the workers' palace." "The workers' palaces" are equipped with free libraries, newspapers, tea-rooms, free schools, etc. At "the workers' palaces," the workers themselves open theatres and produce plays in them. People's houses and workers' clubs are organized, where the worker takes a spiritual rest at his leisure. All actors in Soviet Russia are paid by the government. Portable theatres are in existence; these are used in towns and settlements. People's dramas, comedies, etc., were written for the theatres. All libraries in Soviet Russia have been nationalized.

THE COMMISSARIAT OF LABOR.

The Commissariat of Labor supervises the distribution and the general run of work. All working forces are concentrated at this Commissariat. There is a motto in Russia for non-toiling elements: "he who does not work shall not eat," and therefore the whole of Russia is working, for the purpose of reconstructing that which has been ruined. One of the main problems of this Commissariat is the proper distribution of the workers among the sections. There is always some sort of work to be done, and for this purpose the unemployed are organized into working *artels* (associations). The Commissariat of Labor in its activity strictly adheres to the Code of Labor Laws as published by the Soviet Government.

THE COMMISSARIAT OF PUBLIC WELFARE.

A Commissariat of Public Welfare was organized for the purpose of taking care of children, aged persons, and of persons who are unable to work. Instead of pensions, the Commissariat issues to those unable to work, and in general to workers who have reached the age of 50, a minimum life allotment.

THE COMMISSARIATS OF SUPPLY, INDUSTRY AND TRANSPORT.

For the purpose of regulating supply and industry, Commissariats of Supply and Industry have been organized. These Commissariats are entrusted with the most important work. In order to reconstruct industry, the Commissariats are supplied with the most capable organizers and specialists. The Commissariat of Transport is closely connected with the Commissariats of Supply and Industry.

ARMY AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

[A recent issue of *Social-Demokraten, Christiania, Norway*, prints an interview granted by Chicherin to Friis, the special correspondent of this Norwegian newspaper in Russia.]

"The peace with Esthonia has shown," was Chicherin's answer to my question as to Soviet Russia's policy toward small nations, "that our country is the only true friend of the small nations. There is no danger that the Red Army may develop a militaristic tendency. For the situation in Russia is entirely different from the situation in France after the French Revolution. We have no professional military class nor a warlike population. The old officers of the Czarist army have done good service in a military-technical way, but have no deciding influence. The war commissars come from the working class and will go back to the workshops. They all belong to the party ranks and are under its control. The Red Army is only one of the subordinate instruments of the workers' republic. The three actual organs of power of the dictatorship of the proletariat are the Party, the Soviet and the Trade Unions. The unifying elements in the army are the Party and Trade Unions, which have mobilized their members. The local military organizations have grown up out of the local soviets and are controlled by them. The officers are appointed, but under the influence of the Soviets. The army is a mobilized army, not a standing army. It is a portion of the working class, which has risen from the soil, arms in hand. Finally, we must emphasize that the party controls the military academies. Most of the specialists are elected by the party; besides, the great work of education which is being carried out in the army will prevent the rise of any *cadavre* discipline."

"Is there not a danger that an attempt will be made to spread the social revolution with the aid of the army?" I asked.

"No," answered Chicherin, "it is a principle with us that Communism must arise within the various countries. We should merely be hampering the evolution of Communism if we should attempt to force it artificially upon any people from without."

I asked Chicherin to make a statement upon commercial relations, and his answer was: "Our principal is that of the exchange of goods, but the goods in question may also be gold or any other metal."

I asked about Norway's relations to Russia, and his answer was: "Of all countries, Norway has acted most decently to us. As a matter of fact there have been no serious frictions between us."

Concerning Norway's resources in Russia, Chicherin said: "Of course all legal debts will be paid, but we must distinguish between lawful and unlawful trade. If an honest investigation shows that goods have been unlawfully confiscated, the goods shall be paid for. But special negotiations will have to be carried on concerning resources of capital."

EMIGRATION COMMITTEE ARRIVES

PETROGRAD, May 14.—The emigration committee of the Scandinavian workers arrived Sunday, May 9, at Petrograd, after a pleasant trip over the Murman railway. The reception here was just as hearty as in Murmansk. The Russian comrades met us at the railway station and accompanied us to the Hotel Internationale. In the evening the committee was invited to a trade union banquet in the former Royal Opera House.

All members of the commission are in good health. The commission will proceed on its journey as soon as possible. With comradely regards,

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION.

—*Social Demokraten, Christiania, May 14.*

FIRST RUSSIAN SHIP

GLASGOW, Wednesday.—A Russian ship with a Ukrainian crew has arrived in Glasgow harbor, but its destination is not known. Many of the crew, so far as an interpreter could ascertain their opinions, are Bolsheviks and admirers of Lenin and Trotsky.

This is believed to be the first Russian ship and crew to arrive on the Clyde since the Soviet Revolution in November, 1917.—*London Daily Herald, May 6.*

Beginning with July 1 we are withdrawing our offer of three months' subscription for one dollar to new subscribers, and shall substitute ten weeks for one dollar.

If you desire to avail yourself of the three month offer send in your subscription before July 1.

Radios

RUSSIAN TRANSPORTATION BETTER

(*Moscow wireless message late in April.*)

Siberia was left by Kolchak in a condition of complete disorganization as far as railroad and rolling stock was concerned. Practically all the material, even in the shops of the Omsk government, was taken away and destroyed by the Whites. Of the 1,054 locomotives which the Soviet Government took over in Siberia, only 329 were in usable condition. A special expedition was sent out by the Commissariat for Means of Communications, in order to work for an improvement of conditions. On March 1, 50 of the locomotives had already been repaired, and by April 1, 557 were again in good condition. It is calculated that by May 1, 683 locomotives will be available, thanks to the energetic measures that have been taken, and by June 1 there will be 730. Of these, 200 locomotives, with 200 full trains, loaded with 4,000,000 pounds of foodstuffs, will be sent to Central Russia.

UKRAINIAN RAILROADS.

At the liberation of Yekaterinoslav, work had been stopped in almost all shops occupied in preparing and repairing railway material. Practically all locomotives, 883 in number, were useless. Railway bridges were destroyed, railway tracks and telegraph wires torn up, and the personnel had been decimated by typhus. The Soviet power immediately began the work for the reestablishment of the railway system. The work of repair on the railway bridge over the Dnieper is being carried on night and day with three shifts of workers, all together, 1,500 men. This work will be completed in two or three months. The railway traffic from February 10 to March 10 increased 30 per cent. The number of "sick" locomotives decreased perceptibly in the same period. Railway traffic is now in full operation, and it is hoped that in the course of two months this railway system will be completely restored, and in condition to take care of all necessary postal, freight and passenger traffic.

On the Perm railway line, the percentage of unavailable locomotives has gone down from 65 to 47. In the month of April, 56 additional locomotives will be put into practicable condition.

NORWAY AND SOVIET RUSSIA

Moscow, April 27.—People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, has expressed to the Norwegian Commissar for Foreign Affairs the most heartfelt appreciation of the Soviet Government for the readiness expressed in its willingness to equip an expedition to rescue the Russian ice-breaker *Solovi Budimirovich*, which is adrift in the Arctic Sea, and simultaneously states that the Russian Soviet Government is appropriating a credit of 300,000 crowns to be remitted to the Norwegian Government to assist in its work.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND LATVIA

Moscow, April 24.—In the peace negotiations between Latvia and Soviet Russia, the Chairman of the Lettish Delegation has presented a new proposition concerning the regulation of the boundary question. In this proposal the incorporation is demanded of parts of the Governments of Pskov, Ostrov, Sebez and Drissa, with Latvia. In other matters, the Lettish Government is ready to fix the boundary in accordance with the proposition of the Russian Delegation.

The fourth session of the peace conference between Russia and Latvia treated the proposed boundaries between the two countries. Yoffe pointed out that in consequence of the declarations of the Lettish Government, the districts of Dvinsk, Rezhitsa and Lutsin are to go to Latvia, and Sebez, Drissa or some part of the Government of Pskov was not to be added. Statistics show that the population in the latter province consist of as much as 99 per cent Russians. The Lettish Delegation is therefore demanding the separation from Russia of a territory with a population of 207,000 people, of which only 1,600 are Letts. Such demands are dictated exclusively by considerations of aggression and strategy and are entirely unjustified in view of the demand for self-determination of nations. The boundary is already too far to the east as far as the government of Pskov and Ostrov are concerned. As for Lutsin, Opochka, Sebez and Drissa, they are inhabited exclusively by Russians, therefore the Soviet Government is obliged to issue all proclamations to these populations in the Russian language as none of them understand Lettish. Territorial questions are left with a commission which has two sessions each day.

Moscow, April 28.—The Commission appointed by the Russian-Lettish peace conference to treat boundary questions began its work on April 22. With the aid of statistical material and economic data, together with the report submitted by the Lettish Delegation to the peace conference at Versailles, in accordance with which Latvia consisted only of the three districts of Lutsin, Rezhitsa and Dvinsk, the Russian Delegation called attention to the contents of the exorbitant demands made by the Lettish Delegation in the question of the districts of Drissa, Sebez and Opochka. However, recognizing the immense importance to Latvia of a railroad connection between Latvia and Livonia, and eager to aid in remedying the economic distress which prevails among the population, the Russians in the Commission consented to have Latvia obtain a way to the Pytalovo Railroad.

At the conclusion of the second session of the Commission, the representatives in the Lettish Delegation moved an adjournment in order to be able to confer with their government. After an adjournment of two days, and after a motion, by

the Russian Delegation, the Letts were again ready to resume negotiations on April 26. But no new propositions had meanwhile come up, and no remarks were made on the Drissa district, which the White Russians also believed they had claims to, in accordance with self-determination. For the Russian Delegation, Lander answered that the conference which was now in session had no mandate to decide questions of frontier with Latvia, and certainly none to discuss such questions with White Russia. The latter question can be arranged only by the White Russians themselves. As the Commission did not succeed in coming to an agreement on this matter, it will be presented to the conference as a whole, which is to meet today.

SOVIETS WELL EQUIPPED FOR FIGHT

Moscow, May 7.—The Moscow Soviet in its session of yesterday decided to carry out the battle against the Polish magnates up to a final victory. Yesterday workers' and peasants' battalions left Moscow for the Polish front.

Moscow, May 7.—In yesterday's session of the Polish Communists of Russia it was unanimously decided immediately to leave for the Polish front as soldiers of the Soviet Army.

Two Months on a Death Train

(Continued from the Previous Issue of SOVIET RUSSIA)

November 9. No matter how hard I shall try to give an idea of it, the picture will remain vague . . . It was simply horrible! . . . Half dressed, filth up to the neck, insects and eruptions covering their bodies, pale and haggard, there lay four skeletons with little sign of life in them, upon the floor, hugging the cold stove that had not been heated for several days . . . They died seeking the last rays of warmth, seeking means to save themselves from cold and hunger, trying to adapt themselves to their terrible surroundings—but in vain . . . Life had left them . . . One of the poor wretches died in my presence and the others, with their last bit of energy, asked me to help them . . . This scene reminded me of the iron law of biology—"the survival of the fittest." The same law applies to us. The stronger ones always manage to get to the windows and procure whatever alms and food they can get. As there is not enough to go round the weaker ones remain hungry and become weaker and more helpless every day, fall victims to disease, and are finally thrown off their cots upon the floor where they end their lives . . . People have become beasts. There is no trace of human reason, culture, or civilization here . . .

November 12. I cannot write . . . but I must make note of what happened to me yesterday so that in case I die my personal experience will be known. And that I shall not leave the train alive, of this I am sure . . . At best I will put an end to my own life . . .

SOVIET RUSSIA PROTESTS

Moscow, April 28.—People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, has informed the Czecho-Slovakian Minister for Foreign Affairs, that he has information, which he considers beyond suspicion, to the effect that three regiments of Ukrainians who had been prisoners of war in Italy and other countries, have been reconstituted in Czecho-Slovak territory and that new formations are being organized. The regiments, he says, are destined to reinforce the Polish Army against the Soviet Government. The Czecho-Slovak Government declared several weeks ago that it would neither undertake nor support acts of war against the Soviet Powers. The unfriendly attitude of the Czecho-Slovak authorities is still further emphasized by the fact that the agents of Petlura, who represents no one, and whose desire for conquest is based upon his own ambitions alone, are permitted a complete freedom of action. The Russian and Ukrainian Governments would consider it to be a sufficient indication of the good faith of the Czecho-Slovak Government, if these Ukrainian regiments should be immediately dissolved and the Ukrainians in them permitted to return to their home country.

Yesterday about 2 o'clock in the afternoon we halted at a junction. It was quiet in our car. Ozolin entered and ordered one of the women with whom he had had a dispute over their intimate relations, to get into another car. (It was there that all the chronically diseased men and women were kept). She refused to obey, and Ozolin pulled her out of her cot and threw her off the car . . . I could not restrain myself from protesting against this inhuman deed! He left and a few minutes later he returned for me. I ran out. He ordered me to stand against a telegraph pole to be shot. But later he changed his mind and put me into the car with the chronically diseased. He closed the door and started shooting into the car. The blood of a wounded patient was flowing near me. We all lay flat on the floor. He continued to shoot. He afterwards opened our door and seeing that the woman he had transferred was still alive (she had meanwhile gotten up from the floor and was going to reproach him)—he ordered her to lie down, and shooting at her twice, killed her! . . . Simultaneously two others were killed accidentally by the bullets . . .

He had emptied his last bullet so he had to go for more to finish with me. Meanwhile the train had started. I crept out from under the cot and bandaged up the wounded, expecting him to come back any minute to shoot me. The train halted. I asked the sentry to call the officer-on-duty. The sentry delivered the message in the guards-car

where many sick guards immediately demanded of the commander that he send them a doctor (myself). And that is how my life was saved accidentally just as it was nearly snuffed out accidentally.

I have now no more faith in my life . . . and am possessed by only one thought—to secure some poison and end it all . . . I have no desire to be shot down like a dog by a drunken officer . . .

I am nearly going crazy . . . Every knock on the door, every time the word "doctor" is mentioned—I become terribly excited. I can not eat nor sleep. I can do nothing and want to do nothing . . .

November 13. Now I am afraid of no one . . . My dear friend! I wonder whether, upon reading this diary, you will be able to conceive what your "Laintchik" has gone through! . . .

The End of the Death-Train.

Our train traveled over the Manchurian and Ussurisk lines back and forth for about twelve days. On the 18th of November we reached Nikolsk-Ussurisk. The populace greeted us warmly. We were still kept in the cars for several days, but the regime was more lenient here. Indeed they had no one to fight on our train now. Some had died, others had escaped, and the rest were nearly all suffering from various diseases such as typhus, dysentery, influenza, etc. . . .

In the end American Red Cross members intervened and through their efforts a part of the sick (600) were lodged in the military hospital of Nikolsk. The rest of the patients in the train were sent back westward. It traveled for a long time until it finally reached Irkutsk where every-one on the train was placed in hospitals.

In this manner the typhus epidemic was spread over the whole of Siberia.

But one thing puzzles me and remains a mystery up to this very day, that is, if their aim was to kill us, why then did they spend so much time and trouble on us?

Would it not have been better for us, as well as for our murderers, to finish us all at one time? There were plenty of ways to do it. I would like to have someone explain this to me.

In regard to myself there is a great deal to write, but I shall make it brief.

In Nikolsk-Ussurisk I was again put in prison and was about to be put through a court-martial. In the meantime I became very ill with a nervous disease and was sent to the Vladivostok prison hospital where I spent seven months.

On August 20th, 1919, I was released on parole for I needed an operation. Meanwhile I am free. What will happen later I do not know . . .

L. Z.

Vladivostok, December 14, 1919.

THE END.

THE NEXT ISSUE

of

SOVIET RUSSIA

Will Contain, Among Other Features, The Following:

1. PEACE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN LATVIA AND SOVIET RUSSIA, BY V. VASILYEV. *Our contributor has studied the situation carefully, and presents an authoritative analysis.*
2. *Additional documentary material on THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION OF EASTERN SIBERIA, on which some material already appears in No. 24.*
3. KAUTSKY, MEYERBEER, AND SOVIET RUSSIA. *This article which has been announced for some weeks, has hitherto been omitted for lack of space.*
4. OUR WEEKLY MILITARY REVIEW, BY LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK.

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Relations Between Latvia and Soviet Russia

By V. VASILYEV.

IN THE MIDDLE of April of this year Latvian and Russian peace delegates met at Moscow for peace negotiations. It was more than seven months after the first peace offer of the People's Commissar, Chicherin, to Latvia on September 11, 1919. Though the provisional legislative body of Latvia, the National Council, passed, on October 8, 1919, a resolution in favor of peace with Soviet Russia, Chicherin's proposal failed, mainly because of the intervention policy of England and France, to result at that time in any negotiations.

The primary cause of the long delay has been once more the Baltic-Russian policy of the Allies, a policy opposed to an early Latvian-Russian peace. It would have interfered with their contemplated plans of organizing from the Baltic states, including Poland, a military aggressive union against Soviet Russia and with their particular economic aspirations in the Baltic region. A military union of this kind was urged by the secret allied diplomacy at the Helsingfors conference of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland, January 16-21, 1920, and at the subsequent Warsaw conference of the same states. Fortunately, in this respect both conferences failed. At Helsingfors, the conferring parties could agree only to the formation of a military defensive alliance, which, however, so far has remained only on paper. And the Warsaw conference could not induce the Letts or the Lithuanians to join the Poles in their recent attack upon Russia.

As to the economic aspirations of the Allies, England and France were determined to insure their own complete economic supremacy in Latvia before the conclusion of peace, in order to deprive

Russia of a chance to get any considerable economic concessions in that country. The English and French capitalists have already secured the privilege of the exploitation of the Latvian flax-culture (totalling, in normal times, some 30,000 tons annually) and forests (the territory of the state forests in Livland and Courland alone amounts to 411,000 dessyatins). Up to the most recent times, the question of the establishment of an English bank of issue in Latvia for the reorganization of the Latvian currency, was pending. Such and other aspirations of the English-French money interests could be realized best, the longer the war in Latvia lasted, all the more since as a consequence, the country's own economic resources would be ruined, and the more, therefore, it would become dependent upon the mercy of foreign capital.

For all the reasons outlined above, the military representatives of England and France—General Burt and Colonel Tallant, General Niessel and Colonel Du Parquet—have, after Chicherin's peace offer, encouraged the Latvian nationalists with promises of military help from their countries, urging them to continue the war against the Soviets. The French Colonel Du Parquet has taken the most active part in the organization of the Latvian army on the Baltic-Russian front, distributed French medals among its soldiers, admonishing them in speeches "not to believe the Bolsheviks."

Some of the Lettish newspapers, in the middle of January, 1920, reported: "The French military mission in Latvia advises us that a division of our army is going to be completely clothed and equipped by France. The clothing, weapons, and

ammunition for 10,000 soldiers and six artillery batteries are already on hand... For two weeks four military officers of the French mission have been training our officers and non-commissioned officers in the use of the new weapons. In the next few days, they will be joined by three more French officers . . . , all of whom are coming by order of General Niessel."

The attitude of the American representatives has been in this respect by no means neutral. Colonel Orbison, the Chief of the American Children's Relief Commission in Latvia, in an unusual "Christmas message" to the Lettish people, declared: "We, the Americans, hold to the view that the Bolsheviks should be treated as traitors . . . They are like poisonous snakes, and therefore must not be tolerated." And the United States Government's Commissioner, John Allyn Gade, is quoted in the Latvian Government *Official Gazette*, January 11, 1920, as having expressed to the Latvian Minister of the Interior his particular appreciation of the "successful" struggle of Latvia against Bolshevism.

It is obvious from all these facts that the war between Latvia and Soviet Russia, after Chicherin's peace offer, has been practically inspired, and to a large extent organized, by the Allies, though the Latvian nationalists themselves, once more safe from the danger of a German invasion, were inclined to prolong for a time the state of war. But with their own exceedingly poor material resources and, besides, being surrounded by a laboring class quite hostile to them, they were able to continue the war only with the support of the Allies. As a pretext for the continuance of the war, the Latvian nationalists urged the necessity of the occupation of Latgallia, a part of Latvia which still remained under the rule of the Lettish Soviets, and which was never held by the provisional government of Latvia. Accordingly, the provisional government in January of this year ordered an offensive against the Lettish Soviet Army, which, without any serious resistance, evacuated that province in January and February, fighting only rearguard actions. The Lettish nationalists rejoiced over the "liberation of Latgallia."

However, that "liberation" did not necessitate the employment of the force of arms at all. The Russian official *Izvestia* and the Lettish Communist newspapers of that time contain information to the effect that the Soviet Government of Russia had not the intention to retain Latgallia and have urged the Lettish Soviets to *evacuate* it voluntarily. Therefore Latgallia might be included in the territory of Latvia without shedding a drop of human blood, only by means of peace negotiations.

The real, though secret, reasons on the part of the Latvian ruling parties of the bourgeoisie and peasants for the continuance of the state of war were, first, their readiness to yield to the pressure of the Allies; second, their desire to keep up the spirit of chauvinism and to leave in effect the ex-

isting martial law, in order to subdue the growing revolutionary labor movement and to achieve, in an atmosphere of chauvinism and militarism, favorable results in the approaching elections to the constituent assembly, promised since November 18, 1918.

Accordingly, the political reaction was in full swing. Hundreds of communists were kept in jails. In December, 1919, a group of twenty-nine revolutionaries in Volmar, mostly pupils of secondary schools, were arrested, tried by a drumhead court-martial, for "revolutionary conspiracy," and fourteen of them, including a school girl fourteen years old, were sentenced to death and shot. After this unheard of, "civilized" cruelty the government's authorities and the courts started even to suppress the activities of the legally organized labor unions, of which many were closed, and of the moderate, nationalistic, "legally" existing Social-Democratic Party, a number of its members were jailed, its political press strongly censored and fined, its offices searched.

In this atmosphere of militarism and political reaction, the economic situation of the country went from bad to worse. Industry was largely at a standstill, chiefly on account of the state of war, and because the most important factories, with their equipment and workers, were evacuated to Russia during the German-Russian war. The revival of commerce proceeded with extreme slowness. While the total number of incoming and outgoing ships in the seaport of Riga, the largest commercial center of the country, in 1913, was 5,835, in the second half of 1919, when the Latvian foreign trade was practically started, it amounted only to 126. Simultaneously, the Latvian currency was demoralized to the utmost: at the end of April, 1920, the exchange value of the Latvian ruble, a counterpart of the Russian ruble, had sunk to one-eightieth of a dollar. As a consequence, the cost of living mounted extraordinarily, while wages by no means increased to correspond with the depreciation of money. The masses of the city population, therefore, were and are living in poverty.

This breakdown of the economic life of the country urgently demanded the end of the war, as industry, commerce, and exchange could be restored to a more normal basis only by the resumption of peaceful trade relations with Russia. The delay of peace was rendered entirely baseless particularly by the occupation of Latgallia, which deprived the militarists of any reasonable pretext for a continuation of the state of war.

Therefore, the opposition of the population, mainly of the working class, to the postponement of peace, increased unceasingly. It manifested itself in the widespread "under-ground" anti-war propaganda of the Lettish communists, and in the peace policy of the Social-Democratic Party, which, though in principle stupidly opposed to the Soviet idea and to communism, had, since September, 1919, persistently advocated immediate peace negotiations and in this way become the

legal rallying center of the thousands who were longing for peace.

The provisional government was thus ultimately forced to pass on February 16 a decision to resume peace negotiations. This was rendered possible by the declaration of the Allies that the blockade was lifted, and that they did not urge the Baltic states to continue the war against Russia. Though the declaration did not at all preclude well-known subsequent intrigues and conspiracies of its authors, against Soviet Russia, the Letts, however, had now a reason to enter into a peace parley on the basis of the formally announced views of the Allies.

After some hesitation, caused by the vain hopes of the Latvian nationalists to arrange the peace negotiations together with the Poles, at last, at the beginning of April, the final arrangements between Latvia and Russia were made regarding the peace conference. The Latvian peace delegation, some twenty-five persons, on April 12 crossed the Russian border, and the first peace meeting took place at Moscow on April 17, 1920.

These steps were accelerated, on the part of the Letts, by the elections to the constituent assembly, appointed for April 17 and 18. The ruling parties had to show their willingness to make peace in order to meet the peace demands of the masses of the electors.*

At the first meeting, presided over by Yoffe, the delegation of Latvia laid down the fundamental Latvian peace conditions, which are as follows:

The recognition by Russia of the independence and sovereignty of Latvia, consisting of the Lettish part of Livland, of Courland and Latgallia. No contributions on either side. Both parties must abstain from any interference with the internal affairs of the other state, and agree not to allow, on their territories, the formation or maintenance of an army of other states, or of the existence of organizations claiming to be a government of the other states. Russia must return to Latvia the

Latvian property evacuated during the war, and repay some of the losses sustained by Latvia in the wars between Russia and Germany and between Russia and Latvia. The recognition by Russia of the right of Latvia to claim a part of the state property, and, among other things, of the gold reserve of the former Russian empire.

Latvia cedes to Russia the right to use the Latvian seaports and to obtain transit for a certain remuneration.

At the second meeting, the Russian delegation answered in general to the Latvian peace conditions. Soviet Russia likewise disapproves the existence on the territory of another state of organizations claiming to be a government of the other state. The evacuated property can be returned in case it is proved to be the property of Latvia. The repayment of war losses, which contains in a concealed form a contribution, Soviet Russia definitely refuses. The claims to the state property of the Russian empire should be discussed separately. The Russian delegation cannot agree with the demand for a remuneration for the use of the free seaports, as they are the result of the labor of the whole Russian nation.

The above outline reveals some ridiculously extravagant Latvian demands, which never will be acceded to by Russia. However, the Latvian delegation, in the course of the peace proceedings, presumably will drop some of these demands, as they seem to have been advanced only temporarily, as an election manoeuvre.

According to a cablegram in the *New York World* of May 27, the Russian delegation has already recognized the complete independence of Latvia, and between both delegations an agreement has been reached on the frontier question.

The further difficulties which both delegations may encounter will be solved as the Latvian delegation cannot return to Riga without peace. Therefore the Latvian-Russian peace will soon be an accomplished fact.

Commencement Day of Young Officers

The commencement day of the young officers of the military training schools of Soviet Russia has always been utilized by its representatives as an occasion to reflect upon the general, as well as the military policy of revolutionary Russia. The speeches quoted below were made on one of the commencement days of the Red commanders, in Petrograd.

The *Petrograd Pravda* describes this commencement as follows:

The students who were to be promoted to the

rank of Red commanders were mustered out at 6 o'clock in the evening in the park of the District Commissariat of the Institution for Military Training.

The District Commissar of the Department of Military-Training Schools, Comrade Zhiki, handed out the diplomas to the young commanders and said a few words in greeting.

"Three months ago," began Zhiki, "the military situation was such that the students were compelled to abandon their regular work and go to the front. The situation of the Red Army near the Petrograd front was very difficult at that time. The strongest forces of the Red Army were required to check the advance of the enemy. The Soviet Government did not possess sufficiently strong and steadfast divisions capable of resisting the attack of the White Guards. The Red Army did not have

* At the elections the reactionary Farmers' Union came out as the strongest party in the Latvian constituent assembly; it comprises, together with the other bourgeois parties, a considerable majority; the Social-Democratic Party secured a little more than one-third of the seats; the Communists abstained from the elections.

stronger and better disciplined soldiers than these military cadets. The students were the last reserve thrown into the battle for the defence of Petrograd.

"And the students came out with honor from this trial and lived up to expectations. They moved along the front line of the Soviet army and drove back the white army to the Esthonian line, near the Yamburg front; and they occupied the city of Yamburg—this last stronghold of the enemy forces in this region. Without sparing strength or energy, the cadets pressed upon the foe, driving him back beyond the boundaries of Soviet Russia.

"Now we may say with certainty, that we do not fear the enemy from this side. The approach to the Red capital of the Soviet Republic is strongly fortified and the White Army is far behind the boundary line from which it started its attack on Soviet Russia. We find the same thing at the Olonetsky front.

"Now you must go south, in order to defend the ideals of the working mass in the struggle against Denikin. Keep in mind that the difficult and great task of defending the honor of the Proletariat and the Red Army against our enemies fell to our lot."

Then the military commissar Issakov spoke:

"There were armies at all times," began Issakov, "there were armies and leaders,—but never was there an army such as the Red Army.

"The Red Army is struggling for the liberation of the working class. Our enemies are strong and we must be strong, in order to conquer our foe and not fall in this struggle.

"We must create an army similar to that of the old one in order to strengthen our power. The Peasants' and Workers' Government invited

the old officers to participate in the work of establishing a powerful Red Army; they helped us to accomplish our task. But our army must have other military leaders: its leaders must be inspired with the ideas of the proletarian mass in their struggle with capital.

"You, Red Commanders, must become such leaders. You must keep in mind that you are leading the army, that you are torch bearers, who illuminate the path for the mass in their hard struggle. You are not only the military leaders of the proletarians: you are their intellectual leaders."

Then Issakov spoke of the necessity of developing in the army an intelligent comprehension of those ideas for which the proletariat is fighting, and the necessity of the most rigid discipline in the army.

"You are sent to the southern front," continued Issakov, "where defeat after defeat was inflicted upon our army not long ago. In the lack of rigid order we will find the reasons for our failure on the southern front. This lesson was to our advantage. The south is pulling itself together. They realize now that in a war, in a military atmosphere, there is no place for the assertion of individual will, that the military orders of the superiors must be executed with absolute submission, that it is necessary to act under a unified system, rather than disjointly at individual risk.

"It is our task to bring discipline into the Red Army. With the proper discipline our southern army will be just as powerful as our eastern. The victory of the former will thus be assured."

The new Red commanders were then greeted by the representatives of the Finnish officers' training school and by representatives of other military schools.

Has the Soviet Government Failed?

By A. C. FREEMAN.

IN HIS report to the American State Department Colonel Edward A. Ryan, Red Cross Commissioner for North Russia and the Baltic States, who recently spent five days in Moscow, characterized the Russian Soviet Republic as "a social adventure become a ghastly failure." Now there are several passages in the abstract of the report printed in the *New York Times* on May 16 which are calculated to raise some doubts as to Colonel Ryan's entire dispassionateness and impartiality as a witness. He is often unable to disguise his hatred and contempt for the Soviet Government. So he attempts to destroy the effect of his reluctant admission that the children of Moscow are taken care of as well as circumstances permit by the sneer:

"In this respect the authorities are inclined to boast of things which other civilizations take for granted."

Then there is a certain quality of melodramatic

exaggeration in the assertion that "when the train coming out reached typhus infested Narva it was like getting into a clearer and purer atmosphere, where one could breathe without effort."

And not many Russians would share Colonel Ryan's evident horror at the fact that "it is impossible to tell from a man's clothes what position he may have."

But, putting aside for the moment these proofs of the Commissioner's prejudice, it must be admitted that he draws a gloomy and disheartening picture of life in Moscow and Petrograd. There is little food and little fuel. Street cars are not running. The transportation situation is bad. Suffering and disease are widespread and prevalent.

Such conditions, if they existed in an American or western European country, would certainly indicate criminal inefficiency on the part of the government. But it is absurdly unfair to apply American or western European standards of ma-

terial comfort to Russia at the present time. No country in modern history has suffered as Russia has suffered from the war and the subsequent blockade. The only lands whose sufferings can even be compared with those of Russia are the other states of eastern and southeastern Europe. Are these countries better off than Soviet Russia?

This question is very fully and decisively answered by Mr. H. P. Davison, chairman of the Board of Governors of the League of Red Cross Societies, in a detailed and authoritative statement on the situation in eastern Europe outside of Russia, which was published the day after Colonel Ryan's report on his five days' sojourn in Moscow. Mr. Davison has no prejudice against the existing governments of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugoslavia and the other countries mentioned in his statement. He does not attempt to prove that their governments constitute social adventures which have become ghastly failures. He feels only pity for the unfortunate inhabitants of these war and pestilence devastated regions. Yet he declares unequivocally that "the reports which come to us make it clear that in these war ravaged lands civilization has broken down." In "these war ravaged lands" he does not include Russia. Mr. Davison makes this distinction more explicit elsewhere. An article, printed in the *World* of April 25, embodying the gist of Mr. Davison's investigations, declares that "In all the rest of Europe (i. e. Eastern Europe)—*excepting, possibly Russia, about which reports are conflicting*—civilization has broken down." This is certainly a significant observation, proceeding from a man who can scarcely be suspected of undue sympathy with Bolshevik political and social philosophy.

And Mr. Davison's altogether sympathetic description of the state of eastern Europe is actually more terrible, more devoid of alleviating features than Colonel Ryan's distinctly hostile account of his experiences in Moscow and Petrograd. Here is perhaps the most significant part of Mr. Davison's statement:

"Wholesale starvation is threatened in Poland this summer unless she can procure food supplies in large quantities. A telegram to the League of Red Cross Societies, March 20, stated that there are now approximately 250,000 cases of typhus in Poland and in the area occupied by the Polish troops.

"This is already one of the worst typhus epidemics in the world's history. In Galicia whole towns are crippled and business suspended. In some districts there is but one doctor to each 150,000 people. During the year 1919 about 2,400,000 refugees and prisoners entered Poland.

"In the Ukraine, we are told, typhus and influenza have affected most of the population. In villages of two to three thousand half the people were ill at the same time and there was almost no medical care. In many cases a territory forty miles in diameter had but one physician. Some doctors who had twenty to thirty thousand patients could get no medical supplies whatever and

had nothing better to give the sick than oral instructions. Pauperism is intensified every day.

"A report from Vienna dated February 12 said: 'There are rations for three weeks. People are apathetic, fatalistic, tired. One hundred thousand school children in Vienna are reported as underfed and diseased because of food shortage and lack of fuel. At least twenty-five thousand hospital beds have become useless owing to lack of medical supplies. Death stalks through the streets of Vienna and takes unhindered toll. The general death rate has risen 46 per cent since 1913 and the mortality for tuberculosis 250 per cent.'

"Budapest, according to our information, is one vast city of misery and suffering. The number of deaths is double that of births. Of 160,000 children in the schools 100,000 are dependent on public charity. There are 150,000 workers idle.

"In Rumania tuberculosis is spreading in an alarming and unprecedented manner. All energies are devoted to keeping the typhus epidemic at bay, and a military cordon along the Dniester River prevents the entrance of 20,000 Russian refugees on the other side whose infection is feared.

"Typhus and smallpox have invaded the four countries composing Czecho-Slovakia, and there is lack of medicines, soap and physicians. The shelves of the pharmacies and their hospitals are bare.

"In Serbia typhus has broken out and there are but 200 physicians to minister to the needs of that entire country. In Montenegro, where food is running short, there are but five physicians for an estimated population of 450,000."

It should be observed that there is not a word in Colonel Ryan's report about epidemics in Russia. And there is nothing in Mr. Davison's statement to indicate that the governments of the stricken countries of eastern Europe are making any attempt to enforce at least equality of suffering, to thwart the working of the cruel natural law by which the weak and helpless are the first to perish in times of great privation. There is nothing to show that in Warsaw and Prague and Budapest the children are fed before other classes of the population. There is no reason to assume that in Poland, for instance, the rich are compelled to ration themselves for the sake of the poor.

Mr. Davison's report is so authoritative and so terrible that it scarcely requires confirmation or strengthening. A more detailed account of conditions in Poland, however, is contained in an article by Mr. Harold Phelps Stokes in the *New York Evening Post* of May 19. The article is based upon information brought by Americans who have recently returned from Poland. Neither Mr. Stokes nor his informants display the slightest bias against the Polish people or the Polish form of government. Yet their accounts reveal a state of squalor and misery that fairly surpasses Colonel Ryan's descriptions of Moscow. Here is an ex-

cerpt from a report by Major Baker, an American relief worker, on the Polish hospitals:

"In the hospitals the patients are lying on the floors, or on simple board platforms. There are no linens or washing of any kind. The bed sacks are made of paper and very dirty. Straw is dirty, infected and lacking generally. Blankets are made of paper and the patients suffer terribly from the cold. There are no available medicines, instruments or hospital utensils of any kind. Washing and latrine facilities are almost absent and the whole place is foul and terrible. There are no towels or clothes of any kind in the hospital. The patients are poor, foul and lie in their rags of clothing cuddled up under their one paper blanket, and are in the most extreme misery."

The complete collapse of Poland's economic life is vividly described in the following passage:

"Economically Poland is in a state of stagnation. Manufacturing centers such as Lodz, Bielostok and Vilna show no signs of revival. Last summer Hoover and his aids succeeded in bringing some cotton into Poland to get the mills started, but it was only a drop in the bucket. The difficulties of transportation on a railroad system already inadequate have been doubled by the poor condition of rolling stock and the impossibility of getting locomotives and cars repaired.

"In Galicia nobody has the hardihood to start drilling new oil wells, with the result that the output fell there from 2,000,000 tons in 1909 to 700,000 tons in 1919, with the prospect that even that small output will be cut in two within the

next few years unless new wells are drilled. There is a flood of worthless currency in the land, with marks, which started at ten for a dollar, selling 160 for a dollar last March."

Certainly a country could scarcely exist at all under worse conditions. And it must be remembered that Poland, unlike Russia, has been given every chance to get on her feet again. Her ports have not been blockaded; she has had no wars except of her own making. Much valuable territory was assigned to her by the Peace Conference. Relief work in Poland has been undertaken on a gigantic scale. Trade with Poland has been fostered, not interdicted. Yet, according to the testimony of friendly and trustworthy and well informed witnesses Poland at this moment is in a worse physical plight than Soviet Russia. This amazing fact constitutes a plain and decisive answer to the question: Has Bolshevism failed? In the face of innumerable difficulties the Soviet Government has survived and is giving the Russian people a better, a more humane, and a more efficient administration than any other government in eastern Europe. Considered by itself Colonel Ryan's attack on the Russian Soviet Republic is disingenuous and unconvincing enough. Compared with Mr. Davison's statement it becomes a veritable boomerang. Colonel Ryan's dramatic phrase, "a social adventure become a ghastly failure" could be applied with far more justice to the political systems which prevail in the countries described by Mr. Davison.

Kautsky, Muenster and Soviet Russia

"**THE REIGN OF TERROR.** It is of the first importance to remember that a state of war existed in Muenster from the day the Bishop surprised it on February 10 (1534). A war must be a remarkably insignificant affair, else how comes it that historians who are acute enough to discover the most trivial circumstance of possible moment to the often puerile actions of a *monarch*, almost invariably forget to take account of the state of war, when they concern themselves with the actions of a democratic and even communistic commonwealth fighting for its life? We refer in proof of this to any of the traditional descriptions of the uprisings of the Paris Commune in 1871, or of the Reign of Terror during the great French Revolution.

"Precisely the same thing has happened with regard to the Anabaptists in Muenster. If, however, we would understand them, we must not measure them by the standard of a condition of peace, but of a state of siege; and indeed a *siege of peculiar severity*. They could not appeal to the customary laws of war; they were precluded from making an honorable capitulation; they had only the choice between victory and a most agonizing death."

"**I**N THE course of the siege a rigorous government became necessary within the city, and a series of executions took place. If the cases adduced by Kerssenbroick and Gresbeck are examined they will be found in every instance to relate to offences against the safety of the town; such as treacherous communication with the enemy, offences against discipline and attempts to desert, or to discourage the populace. Without doubt an execution is a cruel deed, but no more cruel than war. The Baptists had not sought this war; it was forced upon them, for on all occasions they earnestly asseverated their love of peace.*

"A 'reign of terror' existed not only in Muenster, but also in the domain of the Bishop; and the

* In a pamphlet issued to the besieging mercenaries they proclaim: "Hear ye, young men and elders, who have encamped yourselves against our city, as we wish not only to *live in peace with every one*, but also to *prove by our acts our brotherly love in Christ for all men*, ye must take heed how ye shall answer before pious persons—not to speak of God—for having laid violent siege to us and murdered us, against all written and unsigned treaties of peace, and without proper declaration of war." The whole pamphlet is reproduced by Kerssenbroick.

comparison between the two does not redound to the credit of the latter.

"The Bishop was the aggressor, the Baptists the defenders; the Bishop slew for his own gain; the Baptists slew that they might not be themselves slain. They fought for their lives. While the Bishop delighted in inflicting cruel modes of death upon the Baptists (especially drowning and burning), the condemned in Muenster were not tortured, as there existed only two modes of execution, viz., beheading and shooting, and no less offensive form of capital punishment has been advanced in even the humane nineteenth century."

"A STATE of siege has always led to the temporary suspension of civil rights and privileges, and to the transference to the military authority of an unlimited power over the life and property of the people; so much so indeed that the words 'state of siege' imply the setting aside of Freedom and ordinary judicial methods. Communism has, unfortunately, not yet discovered the miraculous elixir which shall make this necessary consequence of a state of siege superfluous. Neither could it prevent the siege of Muenster leading to a military dictatorship."

THE ABOVE three passages were written by Karl Kautsky. They appear in his book, *Communism in Central Europe in the Time of the Reformation*, and are taken from the chapter dealing with the Anabaptists (English translation of 1897, pp. 245-246, 247-248, 249-250, respectively). The situation which Kautsky is speaking of in these excerpts is the necessity in which every revolutionary government finds itself, of defending its accomplishments against its internal enemies with a firmness sometimes greater than that which must be applied to the enemies that threaten from without. The specific case is that of the city of Muenster, in Westphalia, where a communist dictatorship, with the religious envelope so frequent in these movements in the medieval period, had succeeded in establishing itself in 1534.

This Muenster experiment in communism is one that has had altogether too little attention from historians in the field of sociology and *Kulturgeschichte*. In addition to those mentioned above in Kautsky's essay on the Anabaptists, other men have written on this movement and on the Muenster dictatorship, but its striking features have not received the attention they so richly deserve. The present interesting stage of history is, however, again bringing this episode into prominence, for it so happens that many of the steps taken by the Communists of Muenster to defend themselves against the besieging enemy, as well as the general political situation among the surrounding hostile states during the period of the existence of the Realm of the New Jerusalem (as the Muenster Government called itself), from February, 1534, to June 25, 1535—are remarkably similar, in general outline, to the steps taken by the Soviet Government of Russia in a similar plight, surrounded

as it has been by enemies whose chief characteristic, barring their savagery, has been their lack of common purpose. And Kautsky does not seem to have recognized the analogous situation when it was presented in the East. His eyes and mind were turned to the West; he recognized the course of history in that part of Europe that he had studied, and not elsewhere.

OR, IS IT POSSIBLE that Kautsky, who is now a very old man (he was born in 1854), stopped advancing, stopped studying social movements when they came in periods outside of his specialty? Did he, like so many German professors of History (and not only the German professors) restrict his view chronologically to the few years he had staked out for himself? Was his specialty Christian Communism, and are we to take the closing sentences of his essay on the Anabaptists as his renunciation of further study in the field of Communism?

"As a real, effective force in public life, Christian Communism came to an end in the sixteenth century. That century saw the birth of a new system of production, the modern state and the modern proletariat; and it also saw the birth of modern socialism. A new era was dawning for mankind."

Whatever may be the cause for his partial blindness, the fact is this: Kautsky was able to understand, in the case of the Muenster communists of 1534, the necessity for applying an iron hand to put down mutinies against the Communist Government, but when the Russian Soviet Government finds itself in a similar position, his understanding ceases.

HERE is one of the gems of Kautskian thought when he speaks of the necessary severity of the rules enforced by the Soviet Government, in order to maintain itself. It is taken from his latest attack on the new civilization, published in 1919 under the title *Terrorismus und Kommunismus*:

"Shooting—that is the alpha and omega of the communist wisdom in government. Yet, does not Lenin summon the intelligentsia to aid in the struggle against bandits and adventurers? To be sure, but he prevents the intelligentsia from making use of the sole instrument by which it might give aid, namely, *the freedom of the press*. It is only a system of control through an unlimited freedom of the press that could hold in check the bandits and adventurers who inevitably usurp any unlimited, uncontrolled governing power; in fact, such characters are often only made possible by the absence of freedom of the press." (P. 140.)

ANOTHER sample of Kautsky's consistency is the following; it is from pages 145-146 of the same work:

"The fact that Bolshevism feels that it is a minority among the people is the only fact that can explain why it so stubbornly rejects democracy,

in spite of its claims that democracy 'would not harm the revolution.' If it believed that the masses of the people were behind it, it would not need to dispense with democracy, even though it might consider the fight with cannons and machine-guns to be the only true revolutionary struggle. This struggle also would be easier for the Bolsheviks if a revolutionary convention should back them.

"But the point is that such a convention would not back them. When the Bolsheviks took the reins of government, they were at the peak of their influence over the masses, over the workers, the soldiers, a great portion of the peasantry. And yet, they did not dare even then appeal to the general suffrage. Instead of merely dissolving the Constituent Assembly, and convoking another, they simply dispersed the Assembly.

"Since then, the opposition to Bolshevism has increased from day to day, as is proved by the increasing nervousness of its adherents, with regard to the press that is not official, as well as by the exclusion of socialistic critics from the Soviets, and by the transition of terrorism.

"To gradually abandon the dictatorship and return to democracy, in this way, is scarcely possible. The Bolsheviks are ready, in order to maintain themselves, to make all possible concessions to *bureaucracy*, to *militarism*, to *capitalism*; but a concession to *democracy* seems suicide to them, and yet, only this concession can possibly end the civil war and lead Russia back to the path of economic progress and a healthy evolution to higher forms of life."

* * *

THE last quotation is interesting. Note that "the transition to terrorism" is explained by "the opposition to Bolshevism, increasing from day to day." In the case of Muenster, summary acts of justice were explained as due to the state of siege, which rendered it impossible to be indulgent with counter-revolutionists within. But Kautsky's hatred for Soviet Russia is so great that he cannot see that Soviet Russia also has faced a state of siege, that she has been one great city enveloped by besieging counter-revolutionary mercenaries, and choked by the unseen hands of a blockade engineered by diplomats thousands of miles away. Kautsky should know perfectly well that the opposition press, of which he appears to be so fond, is always cut off in a state of war; he knows, for instance, that the German Government in 1914 confiscated all Socialist papers that

did not follow the Scheidemann policy in endorsing the government's imperialistic war. He knows also, or should know, that unlimited freedom of the press in Soviet Russia meant the right of foreign governments, supporting the counter-revolutionists, to use the newspapers as a means of counter-revolutionary propaganda. Does Kautsky really think that any revolutionary government could stand that? It is hard to see what influence it may be that has prevented this mind, so lucid when applied to the Muenster experiment, to see the clearly similar situation of the very much larger Communist territory in 1919, unless it be that Kautsky's mind has gone back on him altogether.

* * *

BUT perhaps we should be grateful to Kautsky for having at least seen the justification for the use of force in our Communist experiment, and not require him to possess the rare virtue of consistency to such a degree as to grasp the applicability of his explanation not only to the Paris Commune of 1871, but also to the Soviet Commune in Russia, which has endured and grown stronger ever since the Soviet Government in November, 1917, "then at the peak of its influence over the masses," seized the reins of power and established a system of economy that has been so clear and simple in its operation that all but the greatest scholars can understand it.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF ELECTRIC SCIENCE IN RUSSIA

Moscow.—The preservation and utilization of electric energy plays a big role in the development of the industrial life in Soviet Russia. In agriculture, dairying, and small industrial enterprises electric energy finds extensive use. The peasants already use electric light for their houses and have electric motors for their mills and threshing machinery. Starvation is already leaving Russian soil, but not before the day when the proletariat has made an end of the egotistic rule of those who own and till the soil, and has discovered for itself its wealth and the great value of technical science will our whole program be realized.

MAXIM GORKY TRAVELS FOR STUDY

According to *Ceske Slovo*, a Czecho-Slovak newspaper, it is expected that Maxim Gorky will soon arrive in Czecho-Slovakia, together with a Russian Red Cross commission, in order to study the internal situation in Czecho-Slovakia, and the Socialist organizations.

BOUND VOLUMES FOR 1920

At the end of June, 1920, which marks the close of our second volume (January to June), we shall bind two hundred full sets of *SOVIET RUSSIA* for this period (26 issues—half a year), and deliver them to persons who have placed their orders in advance. The price for such a volume, bound uniformly with the first volume, is five dollars. The volumes will be delivered promptly in July.

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Military Review

by LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

AT LAST Lloyd George is talking sense. The Red Army has taught him reason. During the course of the negotiations with Gregory Leonidovich Krassin, the Premier confessed that Great Britain must admit the "impossibility of fighting and crushing Bolshevism unless prepared to sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives and add thousands of millions to the national debt." (New York Times, June 8.)

These significant words mean that the Allies, admitting their complete strategical failure, are at last prepared for political surrender.

The last hope of the imperialistic coalition, Poland, is on the eve of utter collapse. The attempt of France to support the Polish front by the dispatch of her colored Colonial troops through Germany failed completely. According to a United Press dispatch from Berlin, the Polish command, suspicious of the fidelity of their troops, asked France for support.

I stated in a previous article that Poland had employed strategical reserves on the battle front. Strategic reserves cannot be replenished, once they are expended. Poland's dire shortage in men, therefore, can be remedied only by her imperialistic supporters and allies. France is absolutely unable to send her own workers to Poland. To undertake this would be to risk an outraged protest from the whole French population. Nevertheless, France, as the active supporter of the Polish adventure, could not remain indifferent to the critical position of the Polish army.

The French General Staff, accordingly, decided to dispatch colored African divisions to the Polish front, and actually, so it is reported, secured the consent of the Ebert Government for the passage of a part of these troops through Germany. The German railway workers, however, categorically refused to permit this movement. With the fall of the Ebert Cabinet on June 9, the French were compelled to give up any further negotiations with the German Government for this purpose.

At this juncture, we note an extraordinary statement in a dispatch to *The Christian Science Monitor*, June 1: "A Moscow message states that a declaration has been received at Copenhagen from the French Government that it has not in any way taken part in the military operations which the Polish Government says they were compelled to undertake owing to an offensive started by the Soviet Government on April 6, while negotiations were still in progress between the Polish Government and Soviet Russia. The declaration further says that members of the French military mission in Poland, at the beginning of military operations between Soviet Russia and Poland, were ordered to leave the front, and that, at present, not a single French officer is with the Polish army."

Only very recently numerous American, British and French correspondents repeatedly reported that the Polish army was officered by the French, who compose about ten per cent of the officers of the Polish forces. Considering the heavy casualties which the Poles have suffered in officers, the withdrawal of this ten per cent of the experienced and able French officers during the development of the military operations would mean the ruin of the Polish command and would amount to treachery on the part of France towards Poland. Such a blunder naturally must be far from the actual facts. The French officers were, and still remain, with the Poles, as well as the American aviators and British volunteers, and such a declaration by the French Government could only be considered as a sign that the Polish military situation is so critical that even France is preparing the way for a political retreat. At the beginning of June, certain European military critics expressed the opinion that the second phase of the Polish campaign, namely, the Russian counter-attack, was terminated. The lack of news of further Russian advances toward the west was interpreted to indicate a weakening of the Russian counter offensive. The fact was, however, that the censors simply suppressed the wireless from Moscow at the moment when it was not in the Polish interest to expose the actual position of the Polish army, considering that the Polish Government was attempting to raise a loan of \$30,000,000 in America in order to pay the interest on the debt already owed by Poland to the American Treasury.

As a matter of fact, the Russian counter-offensive, which began on May 14, in the north along three sectors, has continued with success; first in the direction of Vileika-Molodechno, in the north, astride and south of the Polotzk-Molodechno railway, with the railway junctions of Molodechno and Svientsiani as objectives; secondly, in the center sector on the River Berezina, from Borissov to Bobruisk, with Minsk as the objective; and thirdly, on the southern part of the northern front astride the Gomel-Pinsk railway, with Luninez on the western extremity of the Pripet Marshes as the objective.

According to reports from Moscow, of June 1, the Red Army up to May 23 had already advanced about fifty miles on the northern sector of that front. On the central and southern parts a considerable advance likewise could be observed. On June 1, the Soviet Government claimed a series of new successes, which effectively contradicted the reports from Warsaw, which is always victorious even in retreat.

A Soviet military communique, reported in *The Christian Science Monitor*, states: "In the Svientsiany direction, after overcoming the enemy's resistance, our troops occupied a series of points

from three to three and a half miles east of Moziany village, and also further south, in the vicinity and northwest of Postavy, on the Glubokoi-Sventsiany railway, twenty miles east of Svientsiany." The latter place is undoubtedly now in the hands of the Soviet troops, thus cutting off Vilno from Dvinsk, and practically giving the Reds full control over the Vilno-Petrograd railway. In capturing Sventsiany, the Soviet army threatens Vilno from the northeast at a distance of not more than fifty miles. Hard fighting was also reported along the sector of Krivichi, Dolginov, Plestchenitzi, Lake Pelik, in the Molo-dechno direction; while in the Borissov region the Red troops are occupying the left bank of the Berezina. This latest information indicates that Borissov, which was captured by the Russians during the first period of the Russian counter-offensive, was abandoned by the Reds. The nature of the Russian advance in the northern sector of that front, however, is of such a character that a temporary withdrawal to the left bank of the Berezina, in the district of Borissov, is unimportant. The advance on that town was of demonstrative character, in order to attract to this sector the Poles from the north, where the Russians are surely accomplishing a successful encircling movement. The Polish army attempted to attack the Soviet forces in the Bobruisk region, but were beaten off with considerable losses.

On the central front or, as it is known, in the Mozir region, the Russians continue to hold the enemy, maintaining only local engagements, without any sign of aggression; but along the southern front, between the Dnieper and the Dniester, and

especially in the Tarashcha region, in the plains away from railway communication, the Poles have suffered considerable reverses. The Reds, after having lost the town of Tarashcha some time ago, recaptured it and advanced their front twenty-seven miles to the northwest. A similar success is observed on the western extremity of that front, in the Yampol region, where a series of tactical successes were obtained by the Soviet Army.

I am often asked why the Soviet General Staff, having at its disposal a strong body of reserves, does not undertake a decisive blow against the enemy.

The present tactics of the Russian General Staff appear very reasonable if one takes into consideration that the same final results can be attained ultimately without unnecessary bloodshed and that the Polish workers and peasants are already gradually recovering from the poison of militarism with which they had been infected by their criminal leaders. In such a case slow warfare is very effective. Nothing so exhausts the enemy as a slow, steady advance of the opposing forces, especially when the latter are constantly winning tactical successes against troops which are aware of their own lack of strategic reserves. The end will be the same unconditional surrender of the Poles, brought about by the physical and moral exhaustion of the enemy—whether or not a big decisive battle takes place, and this is well known to the Russian strategists.

The scarcity of news from Poland during the last week suggests that something serious has happened behind the Polish lines, as well as along the battle front.

Prospects of the Russian Mining Industry

At the recent Congress of the Miners of Russia and Siberia, Comrade Syromolotov reported:

"In our Ural mining industry we have succeeded in attaining fifty per cent of the desideratum drawn up by us. Precise data indicate that our mining industry can at present yield only forty per cent of the 1913 production. We now employ 172,000 men in mining industries, as opposed to 500,000 in peace times. The mines can now yield 2,000,000 poods a month, but we must at any cost raise our production to 60,000,000 poods a year, and must even attempt, by the end of about a year, to increase it to 120,000,000 poods. As far as the south is concerned, if we can attain thirty to forty per cent of the normal yield, we may regard our task in this region as solved. We should then have in our possession about 1,000,000,000 poods of coal. As for the Orenburg region, the situation there is much more favorable; the yield in that region may be raised to 12,000,000 poods per year. In the Bakchachi region, 20 to 30 million poods are attainable, and in the southern region about 1,000,000 poods. Returns are coming in from Siberia that the work there is beginning, namely, in Irkutsk and in

northwestern and eastern Taiga. The naphtha question is solely one of transportation; our supplies of naphtha amount to 1,000,000 poods. One other branch of industry is completely new, with the Soviet state, namely, the production of combustible slate. This branch of industry is at present very favorably situated with regard to transportation and labor power, and for this reason the organization of this branch offers no difficulties at all. The production takes place in the Volga region, in Simbirsk and Samara, where there are hundreds of millions of poods of combustible slate. Slate of this kind is also found not far from Moscow. In the *hinterland* of Petrograd and Pechora immense deposits are to be found. This fuel will play a very great role, for benzine, paraffin, and a number of other chemical preparations may be produced from it. In this manner substances will be capable of production which formerly were imported from foreign countries. This will be of immense importance for our industry. The question on the order of the day is now the erection of an immense plant for the preparation of combustible slate."

Appeal of the Proletarian Cossacks to the Workers of the World

FELLOW WORKERS!

Two years ago the Russian workers and peasants brought about the greatest revolution in the world; they overthrew the power of a capitalist government, and took into their own hands the helm of state government. With the loss of ruling power, the capitalists also lost their factories, and their workers and peasants. Old Czarist and capitalist Russia exists no more. In its place there arose a new Russia called the Socialist Soviet Republic.

For a long time the cossacks held themselves aloof from this new Russia. The essence, the aim of the revolution that took place was strange and entirely incomprehensible to them. At the same time the bourgeoisie, assisted by the support of the social compromisers, spread the most incredible rumors about Soviet Russia. It was said that the government planned to sell Russia to Germany, to destroy the cossacks and people their territory with peasants, to introduce Communism by force, and so on. However absurd, these rumors gave rise to alarm and apprehension among the cossacks. There is very little reason to be surprised at this. The heritage of the cossacks consisted partly in the deplorable state of ignorance in which they had been kept, and they were therefore very easy to deceive and mislead. This was facilitated by the fact that, inhabiting an extremity of Russia, the cossacks were completely cut off from the center and had no knowledge of what was going on there. The Czarist generals, officers, bureaucrats, landlords, and capitalists took this circumstance into account, and flocked to the cossack territories in great numbers. By united efforts they succeeded in gaining the support of cossackdom, leading it against Soviet Russia in the name of the Constituent Assembly. Thus it happened that the cossack territories became the centers of the counter-revolution, the Russian Vendee, the source of civil war. This is a bitter, painful fact for the delegates of the first All-Russian Congress of the laboring cossacks to dwell upon. But such is the truth, and we must admit it. The civil war brought great losses to the cossacks, both in victims and money; it left them almost ruined and destitute. On the other hand, however terrible its consequences, the civil war was instrumental in opening the eyes of the cossacks as to who were their real friends and who their enemies.

During the civil war the cossacks had an opportunity to witness how, with the general consolidation of their position, the generals and "compromisers" began the work of restoring the old order,—returning the land and factories to their former owners, and restoring the hated police and gendarmerie; they witnessed how the battle-cry of the Constituent Assembly gradually changed to that of "Long Live Monarchy." They were also witnesses of another thing: they saw that in ex-

change for gold, cannons, and ammunition with which the Allies supplied the counter-revolutionary Kolchak and Denikin, the latter gave away the cossacks' corn and coal, and enslaved one part of Russia after another. They also saw that the bourgeoisie, hiding behind the backs of the cossacks, engaged in mad speculation and indulged in vice and riotous living.

The masks were torn off. The laboring cossacks understood at last that they were being cruelly deceived and misled, and that the Russian capitalists, landlords, and Czarist generals were not the least bit interested in the fate of Russia or the cossacks, but had simply decided to utilize the latter as cannon fodder in the attempt to gain their own narrow, selfish, class aims. The laboring cossacks turned back to Soviet Russia whom, together with the bourgeoisie, they yesterday crucified and executed. What did they meet here? Was it a firmly closed fist? A heartless attack? No! The Soviet Government met the laboring cossacks as prodigals, saying, "However great your error, however great your delusion, I will take no revenge."

The laboring cossacks have found in Soviet Russia their true motherland, and their loyal protector and ally.

Let those who wish to use the name of the laboring cossacks for the purpose of strengthening their black counter-revolutionary cause be silent now. The cossacks have bought their enlightenment at too bloody a price, and they will no longer allow the bourgeoisie or its agents to speculate and stake upon their name. Having joined the Workers' and Peasants' Republic the laboring cossacks swear to defend it to their last drop of blood, and to bring ruin and destruction upon all those who have misled them. Tens of thousands of Red cossacks are already fighting on the fields along with the workers and peasants. This number will be increased to hundreds of thousands and will hasten the victory of the workers over the exploiters.

The laboring peasants have broken with their past. They condemn all those who by deceit and violence involved them in a fratricidal struggle against the workers and peasants. Henceforth they form a close column with the workers, and hand in hand with them will strive to win a brighter future, and to establish the domination of the workers.

Workers of the world! Know you this: henceforward the laboring cossacks are with you. Let your ranks grow firmer and firmer, your steps more sure and your heart pulse stronger. There is no force in the world strong enough to resist the united force of the workers.

Long live the universal alliance of all workers!

President of the Conference, D. POLUYAN.

Secretary, E. ULIANOV.

SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the
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 110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.

This weekly will carry 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.

IF AGAIN the negotiations now in progress at London between the Allied Government representatives and Mr. Gregory Leonidovich Krasin, the Soviet Government's commercial representative at London, should chance to fail, the sad privilege of taking the credit for the failure will fall to France. France, which once was the torch-bearer in humanity's march to freedom, (we refer to eighteenth century France), seems now, as represented in its present government, determined that freedom's spokesmen in Russia shall not be aided, in their effort to maintain life and health, by any commercial exchange with other countries. The latest evidence of this petty and wretched ambition is that recently reported in New York newspapers: the *New York Times* statement in its issue of June 11 will do as well as any other to illustrate the most recent flower of French democracy (perhaps what misguided persons in France are inclined to call "la democratie nouvelle"):

PARIS, June 10.—The French Government, acting in the name of French holders of Russian bonds, is about to serve upon the British Government a formal request for the sequestration of all gold which has been or may be shipped by the Soviets to London, and a request for formal assurance by the British Government that this gold will not be paid over in any commercial transactions between British subjects and Russia.

Similar representations, it is further stated, have been made by the French Government to that of Sweden. And the whole business is very sad, for it puts the French Government in the light of advocating the interests of a certain class, instead of the interests of the great masses of the French population. We know perfectly well—anyone who follows the French press must know it—that the French workers desire peace with Russia; that they have frequently, when serving in the French army and navy, refused to make war on Russia, and been severely punished for such refusal; that in countless parades and demonstrations they have demanded that their government cease its attitude of savage hostility to the Russia of the workers and peasants; that France is economically in a very bad way, and that the cost of food and rent is now so high as to make it appear very much to the interest of the French working class to have trade reopened with Russia, so that food-stuffs and building materials may be again im-

ported from Russia, in exchange for French manufactured products. But the French Government persists in upholding the French bondholders instead of advancing the real interests of the French people. It may be urged that in view of the broad limits of the investing public in France, even French workingmen have, to a certain extent, put their savings into bonds of the Czar's Government, but it is hardly likely that the wretched sums a workingman, or even a small shopkeeper, can accumulate, would be a loss so great to these individuals of the French population as to offset the immense benefits that would accrue to France through the reopening of relations with Russia. The French Government is evidently a class government, and the class it represents, to judge by the above quotation from the *New York Times*, is the wealthy investing class.

* * *

ETHICALLY SPEAKING—and there are persons who speak ethically—the question must be examined from a different angle. There is no doubt that, under the practice of capitalist society, a government must pay its debts, and yet, very little effort has been made by the Allied powers, representing their holders of Russian bonds, to collect the money due the bondholders, from the true representatives of the Czar's Government, the posthumously recognized ambassadors of Czarism in Washington, Paris, London, Constantinople, and elsewhere. We have not noticed for instance, that the French Government has made demands on Mr. Bakhmetiev, the representative in Washington of the Kerensky Government, a government which gladly—with almost indecent haste—assumed in 1917 the responsibility for all the debts incurred before that time by the Czar's and the intervening provisional governments. And yet, Mr. Bakhmetiev's embassy has had at its disposal very respectable sums of money, sums so large as to enable him to support a number of propaganda agencies in America as well as the less prosperous embassies in other countries. It would appear that here was a place to which the French and other Allied Governments might reasonably have applied for the money which the Czar's Government owed to bondholders living in those countries. Of course, the money is going so fast that it may be already too late for the Allied Governments to avail themselves of this suggestion that they ask Mr. Bakhmetiev for it.

So much for the true representatives of the real debtors. The wildest flight of imagination could not enable anyone seriously to hold the Russian people responsible for the acts of the Czar. The debts incurred by him as a result of the borrowings from France in 1905 were for the purpose of maintaining his stranglehold on the Russian masses after his armies had crushed their first great effort for freedom. And one condition made by France for negotiating the loans of that period was that the Czar should construct strategic railways to the German border, in order to aid France and England in the coming inevitable struggle

with Germany. Surely the crushing of their own revolution and the preparation for a war between the bloodthirsty militarists of Europe are not enterprises for which the Russian people should be asked to pay. It should be enough, in the eyes of those who advanced money for these purposes, that the Soviet Government, speaking for the Russian people, is not demanding retribution from them in a voice of thunder.

* * *

WHEN a government is overthrown, does its successor assume its debts? The various provisional governments did, to be sure, assume the debt of Czarism, but that was because they were governments differing only in name—not in substance—from the dominion of exploitation that preceded them. But the Russian people, whose great majority are the toilers now ruling Russia, must decide for themselves whether they will pay the foreign debt or not. We understand that sometime ago they expressed a readiness to pay it; it is not impossible that they may since have changed their minds, or that the indemnity which they now have the right to demand from France, Poland, and their Allies, for the havoc wrought in Russia by counter-revolutionists actively supported by those powers, may now far exceed the amount of any foreign debt that even Czarist Russia owed. What the Russian people intend to do they will no doubt announce, through the Soviet Government and through its representatives abroad. But of the fact that the Allies have inflicted more loss and suffering on Russia by their active intervention in her affairs, than Russia could possibly inflict on them by refusing to pay the old foreign debt—of this there cannot be any doubt.

* * *

NEW YORK newspapers of May 19 report an alleged "deposing" of Lenin at Moscow, resulting in a dictatorship of militarist forces under the leadership of General Brusilov. These reports are not new to us. Formerly they took the form of an imprisonment of Lenin at the hands of Trotsky, occasionally varied by an incarceration of Trotsky by order of Lenin. The present need for producing an impression throughout the world that Soviet Russia is weakening is no doubt responsible for the renewed reports of disaffection in Soviet Russia, which were timed to coincide with the first temporary successes of the Polish offensive and the reports of very transient visitors in Russia as to conditions of dissatisfaction and starvation. We reprint below a denial, sent out from Moscow on April 1, of similar misinformation then current:

"By reason of the isolated position which the Ukrainian Soviet Republic occupies with regard to the rest of the world, great quantities of rumors are circulated throughout Europe from Warsaw, Lyons and Berlin as centers, concerning uprisings and disorders in Ukraine. The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has sent out a message in which it denounces in suitable terms the lies

that are being spread by the counter-revolutionary press. Thus, Odessa, contrary to false reports that have been circulated, has been in possession of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic since its occupation by the Soviet troops.* Petlura's army has been disarmed for a long time, and all that remains of it is a few wretched bands who are still to be found in Denikin's territory, and whom we shall soon dispose of. Quiet and order have prevailed in Kiev since the occupation of the city, and Soviet authorities from the very first day took measures to put an end to the hordes of bandits with which Denikin terrorized the population.

"The population of Kiev is now over half a million, which is about the figure attained before the war, and five times as high as the figure given by a Lyons wireless message, which describes a population completely terrorized. The seat of the Ukrainian Government was never removed to Kharkov, for the simple reason that Kharkov has always been the seat of this government, since the beginning of the government, because of its situation as an industrial center, and also because it lies very near the Donetz mines.

"As for Petlura's rumors of disaffection among the population, it may perhaps be worth while to mention that the former President of the Central Rada, Grushevsky, the former President of the Directorate, Vinnichenko, and the former Minister of War in the Rada, Zhukovsky, have officially declared themselves as opponents of Petlura and adherents of the Soviet form of government, while Vinnichenko in addition has joined the Communist Party and has openly declared Bolshevism to be the only suitable policy for Ukraine. The former Ukrainian Borotbists** who once fought the Communist Party are now dissolved as an organization and are enrolling en masse in the Communist Party. The former Galician Army of 50,000 men has joined the Red Army to the last man.

"Impartial readers may be able to judge the enormous progress made by the Communists and may understand how hopeless it is for the reactionary elements to obtain any influence at all on the free course of events in Ukraine."

* Is this the report that has been parading in recent American newspapers as a "Capture of Odessa by the Ukrainians"? No effort has been made to emphasize that the Ukrainians in question are the forces of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.

** The Borotbists are that Ukrainian party which favored a nationalistic policy, and a struggle for it (*borotba*, "struggle"), but now accepts a Ukrainian Soviet Republic.

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Gorky's Reminiscences of Leo Tolstoy

[A little book by Maxim Gorky, entitled "Reminiscences of Liov Nikolaevich Tolstoy," was recently published in Petrograd. As it appears from the foreword by Gorky, this book consists of fragmentary notes jotted down by the latter in Crimea, when both Tolstoy and Gorky lived close to each other. The book contains also Gorky's letter on Tolstoy's "escape from Yasnaya Poliana." We cite here some fragments of these reminiscences, which are characterized by a compelling sincerity and directness, and at times by vivid imagery.]

HE FREQUENTLY had prolonged conversations with me; when he lived in Gaspra, Crimea, I often went to see him, and he also was glad to visit me. I have read his books with care and love—it seems to me, I have a right to express my thoughts of him. Even if they should be uncommon, and differ greatly from the general attitude toward him, I know as well as anyone that there is no man who more than he merits the name of genius, that there is no man more complex, contradictory,—and yet beautiful all the time, indeed, in everything. Beautiful in some special, broad and undefinable sense. There is something in him which has always aroused in me a desire to shout for all and everybody: see what a wonderful man lives among us!"

. . . I saw him once, as, perhaps, no one had ever seen him. I was going to Gaspra to visit him; I was walking along the seashore, and at the very edge of the shore, among the rocks, I noticed his small, angular figure, in gray dishevelled rags and crumpled hat. He was sitting with his chin in his hands,—the silver hair of his beard blowing between his fingers,—and was gazing into space, at the sea; and the greenish wavelets were obediently rippling up to his feet, as if asking to be petted and telling something of themselves to the old wizard.

. . . And suddenly, in a sort of momentary frenzy, I felt—as an actual possibility!—that he might rise and wave his hand, and the sea would freeze and turn into glass, and the rocks would begin to move and shout, and all the things about him, become alive, would begin to roar and speak of themselves in different tongues, and of him, and against him. Words cannot describe my emotions of that moment,—emotions, not thoughts. I felt rapture and awe, and then everything fused into the happy thought:

—I am not an orphan on earth while this man is here!

I then cautiously, to avoid the slightest noise, turned back, leaving him to his thoughts. And now I feel like an orphan, I write and weep—never in my life have I wept with such bitterness, hopelessness and despair. I do not know whether I loved him, but is it of any importance whether I loved or hated him. He had always aroused in my heart immense, fantastic stirrings.

He has wonderful hands, inelegant, knotted with swollen veins—and yet full of a peculiar expressiveness and creative power. Leonardo da Vinci, probably, had such hands. With such hands one can do everything. Sometimes, while speak-

ing, he would move his fingers, gradually bending them into a fist, then he would suddenly open them and at the same time pronounce a ponderous word. He resembles a God; not Yahve, or an Olympian god, but the kind of a Russian god who "sits on a maple throne under a golden linden tree" and though not very majestic, he may be more cunning than all the others.

. . . In his diary, which he let me read, I was struck by a strange aphorism: "God is my desire." Today, while returning the diary, I asked him,—what was the meaning of this?

—An incomplete thought, he said looking at the page with eyes half-closed. —I suppose I wanted to say "God is my desire to know him . . . No, not that . . ."—he laughed, and rolling the note book into a tube, he shoved it into the broad pocket of his coat. With God he stands on the indefinite footing of "two bears in one lair."

. . . Though he talks a great deal on his inevitable topics, one feels that still more is left unsaid. Anything else—no one could say. He must have thoughts of which he is afraid.

. . . Of Buddhism and Christ he talks always in a sentimental way; especially poorly does he talk of Christ—there is neither enthusiasm nor pathos in his words, and not a spark of passion. I believe he considers Christ naive and deserving of pity, and though he—sometimes—admires him, I do not think he loves him. And he seems to fear that should Christ come to a Russian village, the village maidens would laugh at him.

Someone sent him an excellent variation of the tale of Christ's cross. He delighted in reading the tale to Suler, to Chekhov,—the reading was wonderful. He was especially pleased with the part which describes the devils torturing the land owners, and there was something in this that I disliked. He cannot be insincere, but it is even worse if he is sincere.

Later he said:

—That shows how well muzhiks can narrate. Everything is simple. Few words and many emotions. Real wisdom is not verbose.

And the tale is brutal.

He likes to confront one with difficult and treacherous questions. One cannot lie to him . . . This is the insolence of a giant; the Novgorod sprite, Viaska Buslayev, played such games in his youth. He would resort to every trick, try everything, as if he were trying to get into a scrap. It is interesting, still I do not quite like it. He is

a devil, and I am still a child, and he should let me alone.

I asked him: Do you agree with Pozdnyshév's statement that the physicians have killed and are killing thousands and hundreds of thousands of men?

—And are you very eager to know this?

—Very.

—Then I will not tell you!

And he laughed, playing with the big fingers of his hands.

... "I will tell the truth about women when I have one foot in the grave,—I will say it, then jump into the coffin and pull down the lid,—and what could you do about it then?"—and he looked at us so impudently that all became silent for a while . . .

He talks much and readily about women, as a French novelist, but always with that Russian peasant coarseness which used to impress me so unpleasantly. Today he asked Chekhov:

—Were you very dissolute in your youth?

A. P. (Chekhov) smiled in an embarrassed way and, pulling his beard, said something inaudibly. And L. N. (Tolstoy) gazing into the sea, confessed:

—I was a tireless . . .

He said it in a contrite tone, using at the end of the phrase a spicy peasant word. And for the first time I noticed that he spoke the word so simply as if he did not know a more fitting term for it. And all such words, coming from his bushy lips, sound simple, ordinary, losing somewhere their coarseness and filth. . .

... Here is another of his expressions: "Caliph Abdurakham had fourteen happy days in his life, and I, surely, have not had so many. And all because I have never lived—cannot live—for myself, for the soul, but I live for appearances."

A. P. Chekhov said to me: "I do not believe that he was not happy." And I do believe. He was not. But—it is not true that he lived "for appearances" . . . He was giving to men, as to beggars, what he could spare . . .

... I am profoundly convinced that besides all of which he speaks there is a good deal which he keeps to himself, of which he is silent even in his diary, and will probably reveal to no one. This "something" was only sometimes barely suggested in his conversations, and, again only subtly; it can be found in the two note books which he gave to L. Sulerzhetsky and myself to read. To me it seems as a kind of "negation of all affirmations"—the deepest and most vicious nihilism, originating in infinite and irremovable despair and . . . loneliness, which, probably, no one, before this man, ever felt with such terrible clearness.

... He reminds me of the pilgrims who all their lives measure the globe with their canes, tramping a thousand miles from one monastery to another, from one sacred place to another, terribly homeless and having nothing in common with anything or anybody. The world is not for them. Nor is God. By habit they pray to him, but in the secrecy of their hearts they hate him.

I an unbeliever in God, look at him for some reason very cautiously; with some fear, I look at him and think: "This man is God-like."

Peter Kropotkin and the Soviets

SOME time ago the New York newspapers published the following report, taken from the pro-Denikin newspaper *Volnaya Kuban*:

"Of late the Bolsheviks have changed their attitude toward Peter Kropotkin. First, the Bolsheviks quashed the indictment against him for acting in opposition to them, and, secondly, the Central Committee is publishing his works.

"It has also been reported that Lenin invited Kropotkin to deliver a series of lectures and offered him payment for the works which are published by the Central Executive Committee, but Kropotkin refused the offer and is now delivering lectures at the Moscow Cooperative Institute."

Is this true? Has Kropotkin been persecuted in Soviet Russia? Has he ever been placed under indictment by the Bolsheviks?

Concerning this, a certain S. Alpha writes on the basis of incontestable information, in the Yiddish labor weekly *Funklen*:

"No! A thousand times no! The report that the Soviet Government persecuted Kropotkin are

just as true as the reports that the Bolsheviks killed Gorky, Shaliapin, Breshkovskaya, Spiridonova and others, or as the report about the nationalization of women in Russia.

"Kropotkin stayed in Petrograd until the 'Democratic Conference', which was called by Kerensky at Moscow in 1917. Since then Kropotkin lived in Moscow in one of the most luxurious palaces.

"In the spring of 1918 he moved to Dmitrovka, a little town near Moscow, where he still resides.

"In political affairs Kropotkin is now taking no part. When he returned to Russia from London he, as is well known, advocated the prosecution of the war. He then really believed that the German imperialism was a menace to the progress of mankind. He believed also that the Allies were fighting for democracy.

"Kropotkin was opposed to the Brest-Litovsk peace, believing that it would enable the German militarists to win the war. And this, in his opinion, would have imperilled the Russian revolution.

"Later, when the revolution broke out in Germany, and the German revolutionists abrogated the Brest-Litvosk peace treaty and Germany was defeated, Kropotkin altered his opinion. Nevertheless, he was still pro-Ally.

"He did not, however, remain a persistent apologist of the 'Allied 'democrats.' The Versailles 'peace' treaty opened his eyes. He understood that he was badly mistaken in working hand in hand with the imperialists. He was infuriated by the Versailles 'peace,' a thousand times more than by the Brest-Litvosk peace, which the German militarists had imposed on Soviet Russia.

"But more than anything else he was infuriated by the Allied intervention in the internal affairs of Russia. He is a rabid opponent of intervention. While all the anti-Bolshevik leaders,—such as Chaikovsky, Burzev, Breshkovskaya,—begged the Allies to send troops to fight the Soviets, Kropotkin publicly protested against intervention.

"Kropotkin disagrees with Bolshevism. This is not surprising—the Soviet system is not in harmony with the ideas of anarchism. But Kropotkin does not fight Sovietism, for—as he said once in a conversation with his friends—whether we like Sovietism or not, one thing is certain: it does bring us nearer to Socialism.

"The attitude of the Bolsheviki toward Kropotkin was never one of hostility. Lenin never attacked Kropotkin, while he did attack Plekhanov and others. And the reason for this is that he is greatly respected, and everybody knows that his attitude toward the war was based on conscientious motives.

"To prove what the attitude of the Bolsheviki toward him is, it would be sufficient to cite the following fact:

"In January, 1919, Dr. Milner, a close friend of Kropotkin, came to Lunacharsky, the Soviet Commissar of Education, and told him that Kropotkin was in need, and that it would not be a bad idea to help him. The question, however, was—how to do it. Simply to support him, to offer him money, would not do. Lunacharsky believed that Kropotkin would not agree to it. And Lunacharsky thought of the following plan: he went to Kropotkin and asked his permission, in the name of the Commissariat of Education, to publish his works. Each book, Lunacharsky said, would be issued in 50,000 copies, and Kropotkin, as the author, would be paid two rubles for every copy.

"Kropotkin consented to have his works published, but refused to accept payment, saying that he did not want to receive money from the state, even if it be a socialist state . . .

"It is interesting to recall that the Soviet Government, alleged to have persecuted Kropotkin, has as early as October, 1918, on the occasion of the first anniversary of the proletarian revolution, honored Kropotkin by placing near the Little Theatre on the Theatre Plaza, a marble bust of Kropotkin, with the following inscription: '*A commonwealth of free labor will have no reason to fear idlers.*'"

Such is the "cruel" treatment that Kropotkin received at the hands of the Russian Bolsheviki.

The Red Militia

A PROCLAMATION BY TROTSKY

When it was decided to transform the Soviet Army into a Labor Army, Trotsky published the following letter in *Pravda*:

1. The speedy ending of the civil war, and the favorable change in Soviet Russia's foreign relations have made the consideration of a far-reaching reform in our military organization one of the most important tasks of the day.

2. As long as the bourgeoisie are still in power in the larger countries, our Socialist Republic cannot feel secure. It is therefore necessary for us to keep up our defences, to maintain our army.

3. During the transitional period, the formation of a Red Militia would be the best weapon.

4. The Red Militia will have to be in close touch with increasing production in certain important branches of industry, while, at the same time, receiving training in military usage.

5. Whole regiments, brigades, and divisions, shall be assigned to branches of industry.

6. The Red Workers' and Peasants' Militia, composed of workers and peasants experienced in war, can at any time be called to arms against a foe.

9. The command of each unit of the Militia shall be given to the strongest elements of the local proletariat.

10. Local courses in methods of command shall be given.

11. Military training shall consist of the following: The training of the youth of the country in military duties. The training of those called to serve in courses of short duration, yearly. (Supplementary courses.)

12. The organization of the militia shall, in every respect, be based on the principle of universal labor-service. Since the Militia must bring about the transformation of the Russian people into an armed, well-defended Communist nation, its organization must retain the character of the dictatorship of the working class.

HAVE YOU BACK NUMBERS?

You will observe on page 606 a request for copies for our issue of February 7, 1920. We shall be glad to purchase any number of copies of this issue at ten cents per copy.

Peace Proposal to the Czecho-Slovak Republic

[Among the number of nations to whom the Russian Soviet Government has proposed negotiations for peace and regulation of mutual relations the Czecho-Slovak Republic must now also be mentioned.]

On February 25, by radio, a note from Moscow via Warsaw was sent to the Foreign Minister, Dr. Benes, signed by the Russian People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, which, translated into English reads as follows:*

IT IS well-known that influences from beyond the border induced the sons of Czecho-Slovak people to don uniforms in order to suppress the Revolution of Workers and Peasants, and, thereby to form the chief support of the Czarist counter-revolution.

Deceived by worthless intriguers, the Czech soldiers turned their swords against their Russian brothers; they did not know that the Russia of the workman and the peasant, is the only state that desires to be a true friend of the small nations—nations who until now were subservient to the leadership and supervision of the Mighty.

The Workers and Peasants of Russia have but one wish—to be able to continue their new working union with absolute freedom, and every thought of conquest is foreign to them. The war with the Czecho-Slovaks was a murderous tragedy. After untold sacrifices and sufferings, the Czecho-Slovak soldiers, those who were fortunate enough to escape death in Siberia, recognized the great error of which they had been victims, and closed an agreement with the Soviets, which guaranteed them free passage—a thing they, of course, could have had long before.

The obstacle, therefore, in the way of an understanding with your country, whose true friend Russia wishes to be, has been eliminated. We have heard, of course, of certain speeches made by persons holding leading political positions; according to the meaning of these, the Czecho-Slovak Republic was preordained to be a link of an attacking union which was designed to tear Russia apart. The Russian people are fully convinced that the working classes of Czecho-Slovakia will not permit themselves to be seduced to turning into murderous adventurers against the Russian people. The Russian Government is fully convinced that there exists no serious obstacle in the way of renewing peaceable and friendly relations between both Republics, and sends, therefore, today to the Government and all the nations of the Czecho-Slovak Republic a formal proposal to begin negotiations for the purpose of establishing peaceable relations and a peace agreement between both countries. We are convinced that commercial relations between the two countries would result in the greatest mutual benefit for both States, and that permanent friendship will come to life beneficial to both countries. We would request the Czecho-Slovak Government to inform us regarding

their wishes as to the place where our delegates could meet the delegates of Czecho-Slovakia.

The Foreign Minister of Czecho-Slovak Republic, Dr. Benes, replied to Chicherin's proposal in a note sanctioned by the Ministry in a session held April 14.

The following comment is from a Czecho-Slovak Socialist paper:

Russian Comrades surely did not forget the significance of the Czecho-Slovak army appearing in Russia to strengthen the reaction in that country. However, these "Russian barbarians" and "followers of Ivan the Terrible" answer all the shamelessness perpetrated upon them, with a deeply humane deed: They forget—and extend their hand in peace. Not from weakness—for Czecho-Slovak soldiers, realizing in what murderous play they were the instruments, themselves refused obedience to their leaders and ceased destroying the socialists' work. They did not yet, of course, penetrate the immensity of the horror and the hideousness of the crime, in which they played the part of misled sheep, but, notwithstanding this, they refused to fight against the Soviets and against the Russian people. It is, therefore, not weakness which led Chicherin to send a telegram to the Prague Government in which he honestly proposes peace to the Czecho-Slovak Government. Chicherin's telegram shows that Russian workers understand the task of the misled Czecho-Slovaks, and they presuppose and justly so "that the Czecho-Slovak working people will not permit themselves to be seduced to turn murderous adventurers against the working people of Russia." Chicherin cites the decision of the Siberian army who rebelled against their leaders and their government refusing to fight further against Russian people. He says: "The war with Czecho-Slovakia was a murderous tragedy. After untold sacrifices and sufferings, the Czecho-Slovak soldiers, those who escaped death in Siberia, finally recognized the great error of which they had been victims and closed an agreement with the Soviets, which assures them a free passage, which they could, of course, have had a long time ago."

And even the primary reason for this, surely one of the greatest diplomatic crimes and swindles, the Russians know well.

But, alas, Chicherin and the Russians do not know the gentlemen occupying foreign ministerial posts in the mansions beyond the border. Otherwise he would know that the reply he will receive from Prague to his all-forgiving and unselfish proposal will be condescending and snobbish. Bela Kun had a sad experience with the Prague upstarts who left a note from a neighboring state unanswered, denying its receipt, and who repeated their murderous adventure in Russia, also against Hungarian comrades. Chicherin does not know perhaps that in the capital city of the "Suvernni Kolony" dwells an English ambassador named Clark, who does not even permit that to a sincere peace proposal should be given a sincere answer, even if the will were there.

And so it was that on the very day when the Czech proletariat read the beautiful words of Chicherin, it

* Unfortunately the English translation is from the Bohemian version, which is itself a translation from the French text forwarded from Moscow. We cannot, under these circumstances, vouch for the textual correctness of our version, but believe it to be not far from the meaning of the Russian original.

was obliged to also read the poisonous comment of the Prague Foreign Ministry: "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs informs, regarding this telegram, that a direct message concerning this matter has not arrived, therefore, before taking a definite stand, it is necessary to ascertain how much truth there is in this, and whether such a telegram has actually been sent from Moscow, by the Soviet Government, or whether some news-agency is responsible. Only after reliable and authentic confirmation of certain facts will the Government be able to reveal its stand on the political situation. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has made the necessary provisions to ascertain the actual state of affairs." "The New Regime" in the Foreign Ministry, therefore, is giving forth new blossoms—it is not difficult to recognize the old chicanery and the old trickery, so early and so well learned from Paris and London. One pressing question remains open—how long will the Czecho-Slovak proletariat tolerate this charlatan-gentry. It is known how our side behaved in the case of Hungary. At that time, Bechyně called Bela Kun a murderer. Today, of course, the situation is different. Russian workers, with this telegram, appeal to Czecho-Slovak working classes, and the Czech proletariat will not permit a few "self-styled" to soil its good name with their cynicism. Czech bourgeoisie, of course, in the liquidation of the present relation with Russia, sees and scents only a new opportunity for plunder of Russian wealth. "Ceske Slovo" for instance, after the victory of the Russian workers, saw in Lenin the clearest head in socialism and pharisaically called for the return of the legionaries. To what extent, this organ of national workers is capable of changing colors is apparent in its editorial note anent Chicherin's telegram: "It is unnecessary to state that the reproaches contained in this telegram regarding our army in Russia are not true. The Czecho-Slovak army existed before the Soviet Revolution, and at the beginning did not fight for anything else but for an unobstructed way towards the western battlefield. A peace proposal is certainly little suitable to the purpose of making unjustified reproaches to a nation with whom negotiations are sought."

This charlatanism is by no means isolated. We meet it in different variations, step by step. The working classes will finally be able to take care that the farce with the Magyar Soviet should not be repeated on the occasion of Chicherin's offer.

We want peace with Soviet Russia! And Peace must become a Reality—such is the wish of millions of the Czecho-Slovak proletarians.

PRAGUE, April 26.—In response to a note sent to the Russian People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, the Czecho-Slovak Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Benes, received the following reply: dated Moscow, April 22, and sent via Kaden:

We greet joyfully the proclamation contained in your radiotelegram of the 10th of April, in which you say that only the resumption of normal relations between western and eastern Europe, can bring about relief in the unbearable situation in which Europe finds itself at present. Soviet Russia recognizing the truth contained in this message stands ready without delay, to enter into negotiations with you for the purpose of establishing normal relations, the urgency of which the Czecho-Slovak regime specifies.

Inasmuch as hostilities between Russian and Czecho-Slovak armies have been ended by an agreement made by the military leaders of both sides in Siberia, we take it that the war made by the Czecho-Slovak soldiers in Russia and Siberia, upon Russian masses of workers, can in no way prove an obstacle in the way of establishing peaceable relations between the two sides at the present moment. We see no reason, therefore, why negotiations should have to be postponed until the moment when a collection of documents should be published anent a question which we have already made public.

We would also wish that our commission could investigate the situation of Russian citizens in the Czecho-Slovak Republic; also agricultural and other questions concerning both countries—we would request that this commission be permitted to enter your territory, and are prepared at this moment to grant reciprocal rights to a commission sent by you. The Russian Soviet Government, however, wishes to go still further in this direction in that it wishes to establish between the two republics completely normal relations and makes in this respect a formal proposal to the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs,
CHICHERIN.

List of Experts and Secretaries with Krassin's Delegation

The following experts and secretaries are included in the Soviet delegation which is at present in London:

1. C. K. BELGARD, Expert in financial affairs. A former kamer-junker of the Czar, the son of a senator, and official with the credit department.
2. V. D. VOSKRESENSKY, Engineer; former chief of the Moscow-Ryazan Railway, was once a candidate for Assistant Minister of Ways and Communications (1915-1916).
3. I. A. GROJAN, Expert-chemist.
4. V. N. IVITZKY, Professor in the higher Technical School of Moscow; the president of the Sormovsky plant. Was well known in London for his anti-Bolshevik beliefs.
5. M. L. KIRSCHNER, Trade expert.
6. V. V. STARKOV, Expert on electricity. An employe of the Moscow street car system; of moderate political convictions.
7. N. T. ZHEREBTZOV, Expert on agricultural implements. Business man; specialized in paper trade.

8. B. J. CHERDYNZEV, Expert in the textile industry. Former privy councillor.

9. A. VOLKOV, Former technical expert of the Petrograd Grain Exchange. A well known anti-Bolshevik.

10. C. I. LIBERMAN, Expert on lumber. An old worker in the Social-Democratic movement; a Menshevik.

11. I. F. ION, A metallurgical engineer; is considered one "of their own" among the reactionary circles of London.

12. G. P. GORDIN, Trade expert.

13. A. B. SEREZHNIKOV, Former Soviet Commissar in Vladivostok.

14. N. K. KLISHKO, A Bolshevik, engineer. Was deported from London together with Litvinov. The secretary of the delegation. At first he was denied permission to enter London.

15. N. G. LIST, Expert on machines. A former member of the Moscow Duma, German descent, from a rich reactionary family.

16. K. M. KOTOMIN, Automobile expert. An employe of the Sormovsky plant.

17. D. L. ALEXANDROV, Former lumber merchant, resident of Moscow.

18. L. D. MIREV, Trade expert. An old worker in the cooperatives.

19. H. B. KARAVAEV, Second Secretary of the Delegation.

20. A. P. SMIRNOVA, Clerk.

21. M. P. BLAGOVESHCHENSKAYA, Interpreter.

22. G. P. LUNZ, Interpreter.

23. A. B. MECHNIKOV, Clerk.

24. M. S. SAMOILOV.

25. G. G. MARTENS, Clerk.

26. MILLER, Clerk.

Aside from the above the delegation includes: Rosovsky and Nogin, both prominent workers in the Russian cooperative movement.

VOLUNTARY LABOR

The following article entitled, "Volunteer Labor," is taken from the April 19th issue of the *Trudovaya Nedyelya* (The Labor Week), a Kiev newspaper:

Just as our mighty Red Army, now millions strong, was made up of those small, but heroic bodies of volunteer troops, even so our mighty Labor Army is composed of just such loyal troops of volunteer workers. From all corners of the country, from the remotest section of the Soviet Republic, we have received news of the unprecedented zeal for labor which has gripped not only those in the Advance Guard, but the great mass of the working classes. Here are some data to prove this statement.

On the Perm Railroad, three hundred and fourteen Communist Sabbaths were celebrated. The work was done at one hundred places. Of those engaged in the work, 13,314 were Communists, 17,777 non-partisans. 1,838 railroad cars were loaded and reloaded; 355 cars were fitted up, and 148 were repaired. 566,000 poods of various kinds of freight were handled by the men. More than half of those engaged in this work were railroad workmen.

The Red cities of the proletarian republic were naturally in the lead in this movement.

The munition factories of Petrograd began to work twelve hours a day. Production increased one hundred per cent. The work of fitting up a work-shop now took three weeks, instead of two months, as heretofore. A number of factories instituted the ten and twelve-hour day. Seventy-five cars and eight locomotives were repaired; six trains of fifty cars each were put together; two of these are already in use, and a third is near completion. In the station of Denilov, there are no more unfinished cars or locomotives, thanks to the energetic work of the railroad men.

When this period of the Labor Front was celebrated in Saratov, it met with the greatest sympathy on the part of the railroad men. The workmen of the "Lgov" station, decided to lengthen the work-day three hours.

"Transportation Week" was celebrated in the stations of "Lukojanovo," "Timiryazev," and "Schatin." 3,529 people took part in the work at these stations. Production increased twenty-seven per cent. The railroad workers of the station of Pskov, increased the length of their working day by three hours. Labor Week was zealously observed in the Urals and in Siberia also.

The workmen of the Baiski Factory introduced the following disciplinary measures: After a worker has been late four times in one month, he is expelled from the factory; if a workman is ten minutes late, he is penalized by forfeiting one-fourth of his day's wages.

On the twenty-first of April, there will begin a Labor Month in the Urals, during which period the Werch-Issetsky Shop is to be set up.

On the first Communist Sabbath for the Urals there were about 20,000 men and about 2,000 horses engaged in the work. The work produced amounted to a million rubles.

Similar tidings reach us from all corners of Soviet Russia, except from the Ukraine. However, we know that without a doubt, Ukraine will take her place at the head of the roll of honor of the World Labor Army, when her turn comes to celebrate "The Week of the Labor Army."

THE PASSWORD ON MAY FIRST IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party has suggested the following passwords for the first of May:

1. It is the first of May. Let us turn our our labor holiday into a day of solemn work.

2. The proletariat in the whole world goes out to struggle against capital the first of May. The workers of Russia are today clearing away the remains and the debris.

3. Communism was born in the pain of starvation and great need. It wins in floods of the sweat of the workers. It will triumph in the happiness and good fortune of the whole world.

4. The workers and peasants have crushed Kolchak and Denikin with guns and machine guns. They will defeat the power of misery with hammer and plough.

5. The power is from God, the priests say. The power is through capital, the rich say. The power is in the working masses, the Communists say.

6. Remember today, the Left Front. (The Polish.)

7. We will show the earth a new way. The ruler of the world will be Labor.

8. Defeat hunger and cold with work and discipline.

9. Long live the "healthy" locomotives, repaired thanks to first of May work.

10. Capital has flooded the earth with blood. The sweat of the worker pours upon the earth. The capitalists have made of it a prison. The proletariat will make of it a free society of free people.

11. Over the whole world the red banners of the workers are flying today.

THE HANGMAN'S REWARD

The *Morning Post* of London reports as follows:

April 30.—We are informed by cable from Helsingfors that Germany has just presented a bill to Finland for payment for the help given to Finland in 1918 in liberating that country from the Bolsheviki. According to the terms of this bill, Germany must receive: 1, for the expeditionary forces of Von der Goltz, 50,000,000 marks; 2, for the naval expedition, 35,000,000 marks; 3, for the arms and munitions given to Finland, 30,000,000 marks; 4, for the booty taken from the Russians at Lahti and granted to Finland, 12,000,000 marks. For the "fraternal" aid of the Germans, Finland is therefore to pay altogether 127,000,000 marks.

Press Cuttings

NEGOTIATIONS AT COPENHAGEN.

Litvinov has signed, in the name of the Soviet Government, an agreement with the French and Belgian representatives, regarding the exchange of prisoners, which is to be completed within a period of three months.

Reuter reports that the Executive Committee of the Labor Party has passed a resolution asking the government to permit Litvinov and the delegation of Russian cooperatives to enter England in order to carry out the decision of the government in favor of the resumption of trade with Russia, and the establishment of a complete peace between the two countries.

RUSSIA'S REPATRIATION OF FRENCH CITIZENS.

April 24.

The representative of the French Government at Copenhagen signed on April 20, two agreements with Litvinov, relating to the repatriation of French citizens held in Russia. At the terms of the former, 125 women and children will be immediately taken to the Finnish border in exchange for 3,000 Russian soldiers, who are to be landed at Odessa under our care.

The second agreement stipulates that all other French without exception will be repatriated in the course of three months by way of the Black Sea.

The assurances given to Mr. Litvinov have led his government to understand that the advantages of this arrangement apply also to French citizens who have been imprisoned, and who are to receive amnesty.

It is understood on their side, that all the Russian soldiers remaining on the territory of the Republic or at Salonica will be repatriated within the same length of time.

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS.

April 25.

A radio from Moscow announces that 200 locomotives have just arrived from Reval (Esthonia). These locomotives were recently bought in America by the Soviet Government, and will be sent to Petrograd. Furthermore, it is announced that the Russian Soviet Government has also made contracts in America for the speedy delivery of large quantities of cars.

According to the "European Press" bureau of Berlin, Krassin, president of the commercial delegation of Russia, which is now at Copenhagen, has expressed to the correspondent of *Freiheit* his view on the commercial policy of Soviet Russia. "Russia," said Krassin, "is incapable of building up her economic life by herself. The aid of the capitalist countries of the west is indispensable to it. The first condition for the relief of Russia is the lifting of the blockade and the termination of the state of war."

And according to a report from London, Lord Curzon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, has advised the Soviet Government that economic relations between England and Russia could only be resumed if better treatment were accorded the conquered soldiers of General Denikin's army.

NORWAY AND THE SOVIETS.

April 23.

The Norwegian Government has named a commission of four members to prepare a prospective law relating to Spitzberg.

The government has at the same time informed the Soviet Government that if, in the course of the negotiations about to be carried on, questions should come up relating to the boundaries between Norway and Finland, or Norway and Russia, the Norwegian Government would be glad to give its opinion on these questions of boundary limits in such a way as to favor good relations between the neighboring countries.

RUSSIAN-BRITISH RELATIONS.

April 24.

Instructions have been given by Litvinov for the immediate repatriation of British war prisoners captured in Siberia. But, considering the actual crisis that the transportation situation is undergoing in Russia, and the great distance that the prisoners must travel, their return to England cannot be completed for some time.

Furthermore, a report from London announces that the conference of Russian cooperatives in foreign countries, now sitting at London, has just received the report of the delegates that they had sent to Moscow. They demand that the blockade be lifted, and that relations be immediately resumed in all freedom, regardless of the political situation.

REPATRIATION OF GERMAN PRISONERS.

A report from Berlin announces the satisfactory termination of the negotiations which have been going on for some time between the governments of Berlin and Moscow, relative to the repatriation of the prisoners of the two countries. The repatriation will begin immediately following the ratification of this agreement. The German Red Cross will take all necessary measures to facilitate the passage of the prisoners across the territory of the Baltic countries. It is estimated that there are still about 200,000 Russian prisoners in Germany, and 20,000 German prisoners in Russia. Only prisoners having expressed the desire to go back to their native country will be repatriated.

REPATRIATION OF FRENCH AND BELGIAN PRISONERS.

April 26.

A radio from Moscow announces that the Bolshevik ambassador at Copenhagen, Mr. Litvinov, sent, on April 24, the following letter to Mr. Chicherin:

Today an agreement was signed with the representatives of the French and Belgian governments regarding the exchange of prisoners. In the name of the two governments, a representative drew up a written declaration, pledging them not to intervene in Russia's domestic affairs, and not to take part in any way in aggressive measures against the Soviet Republics of Russia and Ukraine. The agreement will be sent by courier. The chief points are as follows:

The French Government will send us all the Russian soldiers and civilians held in France, Algeria, Salonica, or in any other place, and in the order which we indicate. We shall send from Ukraine and Russia all French citizens, including those who have been imprisoned, in the order indicated by the French Government. The exchange will be made at the Russian border, or in a Ukrainian port, on the basis of 100 French for 250 Russians. It must be completed within a period of three months. The Soviet Government and the French Government are ready to publish the present agreement. Up to the moment of the exchange, the two governments must improve the conditions of the interned and imprisoned people. We guarantee the integrity of the boats which will transport the prisoners. The French Government will inform us a few days before the arrival of each transport. A similar agreement was reached with Belgium.

GERMAN HELP TO POLES

BERLIN, Saturday.—*Achtuhrabendblatt* last night published a long report on the activities of the Russian counter-revolutionaries in Germany, their relations to the Prussian reactionaries, and to the agents of the Entente, which corroborated everything I have reported in the last few days.

In Munich there is now a bureau under a Russian

colonel of the Czar's Imperial Guard, Shcheglovitov, and the Prussian Guard officer, Rosenberg, who are working together with the new Bavarian Monarchist Party on a plan for transporting the undemobilized troops of Bermond and the officers of the old Prussian army to South Russia, via the Danube and Rumania.

Three weeks ago an officer of General Wrangel's staff, Rittmeister Yarmolov, came from the Crimea to Germany to negotiate with the members of this bureau about the transport of these German troops to South Russia, and also to persuade General Krasnov, formerly Ataman of the Don Cossacks under German occupation, to come out and take command over the Don Cossacks.

Achtuhrabendblatt protests sharply against these intrigues, and holds that the existing Government of Herman Mueller is hostile to the whole project. In the last twenty-four hours I have received similar information about the activities of the Polish and Prussian reactionaries in East Prussia, and the indirect support of the same by influential British military circles. In the last few days there has been a big movement of the former Bermond troops to the frontier districts of East Prussia. There have also been conversations between the leaders of the Pan-German Party in East Prussia and the representatives of the Polish General Staff, at which the possibilities of an alliance between Poland, East Prussia, and the Independent Baltic States against Soviet Russia was discussed.

As I am reliably informed, the discussion was initiated by, and took place under the auspices of, the confidential agents of one of the many British military missions that exist in East Europe. It is clearly the work of the Churchill school of megalomaniacs in the British War Office, which fears that Poland is not strong enough to overthrow Soviet Russia alone. It should, of course, be remembered that it is always possible for the British Government to deny officially any knowledge of these plans, because the confidential agents of the British military missions appear as private persons, and can be repudiated if things get too hot.—*London Daily Herald*, May 17.

REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE AT ARCHANGEL

The Murmansk *Izvestia* of March 11 reports that on February 25 a revolutionary committee of five was formed in Archangel for the Archangel province, composed of the following persons: Stepan Popov, Tymme, Rebecca Plastynina, Kuzmin, and the commander of the garrison.

The first three are well known. S. Popov was treasurer and later chairman of the Provincial Executive Committee in Archangel in 1918; Tymme is the chairman of the presidium of the Council of Workmen's Deputies, and Rebecca Plastynina is known for her activity in Shenkursk. Kuzmin is the commander of the Sixth Army which entered Archangel. The commander of the garrison is Aquilianov.

KERENSKY ON ALLIED INTRIGUES

The new attitude toward the Russian problem adopted by the Supreme Council makes a glance back over the policy hitherto followed instructive and useful. We print here the harsh judgment passed by Kerensky, in the course of a speech which the President of the Council of the Russian Revolution made in London before the Advisory Committee of the British Labor Party.

In opening, Kerensky remarked that during the war he had considered it advisable to be silent about many things.

When the war came to a close, he had not said openly all that he had to say. Now the time had come, when the whole truth should be brought to light. Above all, Kerensky accuses the Entente of meddling in Russia's internal affairs. For between the intervention, which the Allies carried on independently and without the least understanding of the Russian democracy, and the help which they sought against Germany, even in the spring and summer of 1918, there was no consistency, either in word or deed. When Kerensky left Russia in 1918 to hasten the military aid of the Allies, he found that the policy of the Allies was already established. The intervention started with the sending of a body of soldiers to Archangel, which had already been captured from the Bolsheviks, and was controlled by Chaikovski's Democratic-Socialist government. Instead of being glad of such a favorable turn of events, the Allies, headed by the English general, Poole, began to plot against the anti-Bolshevist government in North Russia. A Russian officer named Chaplin, who had landed from an English ship, and called himself Thompson, with the sanction of General Poole, seized the whole Chaikovski Government by night and carried them off, still on an English ship, into the Yoloroski Cloister, which is situated on a deserted island. Of course, a strike immediately following this, as well as the mediation of the American representatives, forced the release of the kidnapped Cabinet.

Moreover, Poole's action was by no means the only one of its kind, for there were many more plots of the Allied mission against the Russian Democracy. Kerensky makes this statement with full consciousness of the great responsibility it entails, but he supports it by the fact that during his stay in London and Paris he saw behind the scenes, and also declares that this among other things is covered in a letter which he sent to Afksentyev, president of the Omsk Government before it was overturned a month before Kolchak's coup d'etat. In that letter, Kerensky warns the Omsk rulers against the English General Knox, the *Times* correspondent Walton, and the French General Janin. And in a later letter to Maklakov, his former ambassador in Paris, he cautions him against a dangerous adventurer of Rasputin's times, named Savajko, who had already played an important part in the Kornilov affair. Knox, on the other hand, was a British military attache also in the following of the Revolutionary Provisional Government, and one of the intimate associates of Lord Milner, whom Kerensky calls the wicked genius of Russia. On account of the propaganda directed against the provisional Government, which Knox carried on among the officers of the Russian army, Kerensky recalled the military attache from the front; but the latter knew how to get into contact with the right set of officers, and appeared in 1918 in Siberia to complete the coup d'etat there with Kolchak, which he had attempted in vain with Kornilov. Kerensky, who speaks very frankly in his account,

goes still further and makes responsible not only these British military agents, but also the English Government, which he accuses of systematically supporting the military dictatorship against the Russian democracy, and refers to the statement made by that chief interventionist, Churchill (who, of course, denies it ever happened), on June 6 of last year in the House of Commons: "It is *we* who called Kolchak into life."

At the close of his speech, Kerensky brought forward some demands, which are quite natural, when one considers that the former Russian President of the Council was speaking before an English parliamentary body. He desired the complete breaking off of relations between the western powers and Russian reaction, as this really amounted to giving every aid to the Russian military dictatorship. Furthermore, he asked for the immediate recall of all agents of the Allies who were meddling in Russian internal political affairs, and the sending of a parliamentary commission of investigation, which would obtain definite information concerning the participation of official English representatives in the plots against the democratic government. Among these demands, the lifting of the blockade stands out as the most urgent and most important; to accomplish this, pretense and half-measures were not sufficient.—*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, April 16.

EXPLOSIVES FOR POLAND

When the war ended the manufacture of explosives at Notodden and Rjukan stopped. The factories again began producing nitrates and other useful products. But now a sudden change has occurred. Although the nitrate stock at Notodden and Menstad is depleted the production of nitrates has been stopped and that of explosives has been begun. The same is true of Rjukan. The workers have attempted to learn whither these materials are to be sent, but the management preserves deep silence. However, it is not difficult to guess who the consignee is. Sam Eyde has not been appointed Norwegian Minister to Poland for nothing. The explosives of the Norwegian Hydro Company are doubtless to be used for the new offensive against Russia.

The matter was discussed by Doctor Scheflo, who delivered an address yesterday to a large meeting at the Notodden market place. Scheflo, with the warm sympathy of the meeting, demanded that the workers at Notodden and Rjukan cease carrying out this wretched work, which would be equivalent to providing munitions for Russia's enemies.

Within the next few days, the organization in these two towns will take up the matter for detailed treatment.

We received this telegram from Skien: The *Pratsberg-Demokrat* today prints the following revelations in a sensational article entitled "Norwegian Hydro Company Changes from Manufacture of Nitrates to that of Explosives." It is said in this article that production at the Notodden fac-

tories is to be altered from tomorrow on, changing the product from calcium nitrate to ammonium nitrate, which means the manufacture of explosives. One hundred and fifty men are to be employed in this production. At Rjukan also, full speed explosive production is to be installed. The paper reports that the organizations have already taken up this question and that steps will be taken within a few days to stop this foolish and extremely anti-social productivity.—*Social-Demokraten*, Christiania, May 10.

RUSSIAN COUNTER-REVOLUTIONISTS CONFERENCE

BERLIN, May 14.—The Russian anti-Bolshevist newspaper, *Golos Rossyi*, appearing in this city, offers new data on the conference of the counter-revolutionists, the so-called "Cadets," in Paris. As we reported the day before yesterday this conference has again taken up its work after a short recess. The former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Milyukov, presented a proposition to create party organizations in all the centers and large cities of Europe (he means the Cadet party, i. e. the so-called "Constitutional Democrats"), Milyukov's proposition was unanimously accepted by the conference and it was decided to form local committees in Berlin, Prague, Constantinople, Sofia, Belgrade, etc. (Stockholm of course will also be favored with the creation of a Russian counter-revolutionary committee of this type.)

In addition the conference decided to appoint a Central Committee for future meetings. It is planned to convoke an "All-Russian" Cadet Conference in the very near future. The following well-known Russian counter-revolutionists were elected to serve on the Paris Committee: Vinaver, Adshemov, Astrov, Stepanov, Baron Nolde, Kedrin, Konovalov, and Dr. Pasmanik.

It is characteristic that the conference was unable to conclude its discussions of the questions for which it was actually called. Thus, for example, the question of the relation of the party to General Wrangel (Commander of the Denikin army in the Crimea) remains unsettled. This means that there must be a great difference of opinion among the "liberal" Russian counter-revolutionaries, and Milyukov even pointed this out in his speech.—From a recent issue of *Politiken*, Stockholm.

Beginning with July 1 we are withdrawing our offer of three months' subscription for one dollar to new subscribers, and shall substitute ten weeks for one dollar.

If you desire to avail yourself of the three month offer send in your subscription before July 1.

Radios

TROTSKY ASKS HUMANE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS OF WAR

PETROGRAD, May 13.—Trotsky has issued an order of the day in which he asks all the Red troops on the Western and Southwestern fronts to regard prisoners and wounded as enemies who have a right to consideration. If the Polish White Guards get up massacres and shoot not only Communists but any other Russians who may fall into their hands, Soviet Russia must make the ruling class and not the Polish workers responsible for this. Polish crimes must be answered by powerful attacks against Polish White Guards.

NEW SYSTEM FOR RUSSIAN SUPPLY

Moscow, May 5.—The Council of People's Commissars has issued a decree containing new regulations for the distribution of provisions, with the object of increasing labor productivity. The provisions will be distributed all over the country with military discipline and the population is to be divided into three categories. The first category includes all those engaged in manual and physical labor in Soviet institutions and other activities.

The second category includes intellectual and office workers in the Soviet institutions.

The third category includes all other workers, but not those who exploit the labor of others. The relation between the rations of the first and second category is to be 4:3. The Provisions Commissariat and the Central Council of the trade unions is about to prepare a catalogue including the materials to be assigned to each category.

GERMAN WORKERS TO GO TO RUSSIA

Moscow, April 18.—The representatives of the German workers who have created a special commission to send workmen from Germany to Soviet Russia, have arrived here. The representatives of the German workers have declared that 50,000 skilled workmen—metal workers, electricians and weavers (textile workers)—could leave Germany for Russia.

EXPEDITION OF THE POLES

Moscow, May 5.—To investigate all questions connected with the Russian-Polish front, and to put an end to the Polish invasion of Russian territory in order to insure final victory, the Council of People's Commissars on May 2, appointed a commission of military experts. This commission, which has been granted suitable powers, has already started its work. It is headed by General Brussilov, former commander-in-chief of the Russian Army after the October Revolution. Other members of the military commission are Polivanov, former Minister of War under the Czar; Verkhovski, the first Minister of War after the Revolution; Glembovski, who was commander of the Czar's troops; General Balojev, commander-in-chief of

the western front under the Czar; Zantchkovski, commander of the troops on the Rumanian front; Tsurikov, commander of the First Army; Parski, commander of the Donets army; and Akmov, Lieutenant-General under the Czar. The whole commission is working in cooperation with the commander-in-chief of all the forces of the Soviet Republic.

CZECHS IN SYMPATHY

Moscow, May 10.—According to information from Irkutsk, many Czechs refused transportation to Europe. They are almost entirely Bolshevik in sympathy. In Irkutsk 1,100 Czechs have formed a volunteer Communist division.

THE FRENCH POLICY

Moscow, May 10.—The Russian Government has called the attention of the French Government to the activity of the French ministers in Bucharest and Warsaw. In Bucharest the French minister has succeeded in keeping in the background any discussion of the peace negotiations that had been promised by the former Vajda Government, and all the questions of the Soviet Government remain unanswered. The French minister in Warsaw has used his influence with the imperialist and reactionary circles of Warsaw and the Pilsudski government to bring about a military coup, which cannot pretend to have the sympathy of the bourgeoisie.

TREASON BY COOPERATIVES

Moscow, May 7.—Three members of the Central Committee of the Centrosoyuz, Korobov, Kuznetsov and Lavrukhin, have been arrested. Berkenheim and the other representatives of the former Russian cooperatives who are now in Europe, have been removed from their positions. The authorities, in explaining this striking step, state that at the time when the fall of Petrograd was expected Berkenheim and his friends sent instructions to the cooperative organizations in Petrograd giving orders that they should produce and gather articles to be exported immediately after the victory of Yudenich. Korobov, Kuznetsov, and Lavrukhin gave to the cooperatives at Petrograd, behind the backs of the other members of the Executive Committee, four million rubles, chiefly in old money, to aid in carrying out this plan. The Executive Committee of the Centrosoyuz in Russia maintained constant connections with the cooperatives in Denikin's territory and no one knew of the committee's plans. At the time Berkenheim traveled to Europe with the instructions and the money of the Soviet Government, provisions were being sent to Denikin's army. Mikailov, a member of the Executive Committee, declared that the cooperatives were fully prepared to throw themselves into the battle against the Bolsheviks. An investigation is in progress.

CELEBRATION OF PARIS COMMUNE

NIKOLSK.—The celebration of the anniversary of the Paris Commune on March 17 passed with great enthusiasm. At 11 a. m. a review of the troops took place in the fortress in the presence of an immense crowd of people, with hundreds of placards. After the parade, speeches were delivered by the commander of the troops, and by representatives of the big trade unions and of the political parties. After these speeches all those present, with the troops and three orchestras at their head, marched in perfect order through the principal streets to City Hall Plaza, where meetings were held, lasting until evening.

All the trade unions, the Korean Association and the Union of the Korean Youth, in all about 25,000 people, participated in the demonstration.

The whole city was covered with red flags. The platforms built on the plaza were beautifully decorated.

In the evening concerts and meetings were held in all the theatres, where collections were taken up for the Communist Party.

CZECHO-SLOVAK OFFICIAL MISSION WAITS UPON LENIN

Moscow, March 22 (Special Tel. Message).—Czecho-Slovak official mission arrived here in the matter of prisoners and for the purpose of establishing agricultural relations. It was received by Lenin and remained with him in long session.

RUSO-FINNISH NEGOTIATIONS

Moscow, April 29.—The armistice negotiations between Soviet Russia and Finland have been broken off. Under pressure from the Entente, Finland is making unreasonable conditions in order to postpone the armistice agreement and to support the Polish advance in the south. At the beginning of the negotiations, Finland made impossible demands; among other things she asked that one-half of Petrograd be included in the neutral zone, simultaneously stating, however, that this demand was subject to alterations. After Holsti got to London, Finland's demands kept constantly increasing, and when he reached Paris, the attitude of the Finnish negotiators became absolutely insane. No sooner had the Finnish demands risen to the level of a pure ultimatum, than the Finnish delegation began delivering aggressive orations. The natural consequence was that the negotiations were broken off. It is true that Finland, acting under orders from Paris, is supporting the Polish aggression.

PAPER MANUFACTURE IN RUSSIA

Moscow, April 24.—The manufacture of paper in Soviet Russia has risen steadily since February. Particularly, the production of news-print paper has risen week by week. By April it had gone up to 17,000 poods per week. One paper factory in the Government of Vyatka has increased its production 113 per cent.

THE NEXT ISSUE

of

SOVIET RUSSIA*Will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:*

1. COOPERATIVE OFFICIALS ON COOPERATIVES IN RUSSIA. (*Report of Cooperators Shmelyev and Makeyev, who have returned from Russia.*)
2. GENERAL KAMENEV OF THE RED ARMY.
3. ORIGINAL SIBERIAN DOCUMENTS (*in facsimile and translation*). *These throw some light on the political situation leading to the overthrow of the reactionaries in the Far East.*
4. WIRELESS NOTES FROM RUSSIA. (*Late May dates.*)

Note: We wish we could get these reports direct by wireless instead of from Scandinavian newspapers; this accounts for their late publication.

5. OUR WEEKLY MILITARY REVIEW, by *Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek.*

Subscription Price: \$5.00 per year; \$2.50 per half year; \$1.00 for three months (new subscribers only). (The opportunity to subscribe for three months for only \$1.00 will be withdrawn after July 1, when the price will be raised to \$1.00 for a ten week subscription.)

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From the Old Order to the New

N. LENIN.

[We take this article from "Trudovaya Nedyelya," of April 19, 1920, which is a Kiev publication, issued in pamphlet form. The article shows the viciousness of the Entente Imperialists, who attacked the Russian proletariat just at the time when Soviet Russia was turning all her powers to reconstruction.]

THE problem of Communist labor is the most difficult problem of Socialist construction. And above all it must be clearly understood that this question could not be considered from a practical standpoint until after the expropriation of the landholders and capitalists, after the conquest of state power by the proletariat, and after successful resistance to the opposition of the counter-revolutionists and the profiteers of the bourgeois war.

In the early part of 1918, it seemed as if this time had come, and it actually did come after the campaign of German imperialism against Russia in February, 1918. But it lasted such a short while, and a new and much stronger wave of counter-revolutionary opposition and attack came so swiftly upon us, that it left no chance for the Soviet power to devote itself with any real attention and energy to the question of reconstruction. Now we have two years of unheard of and insuperable difficulties, poverty and want behind us, and in spite of everything, the Red Army has won unprecedented victories over the forces of international capitalist reaction.

The outlook at present seems to confirm our hopes for a much more stable and lasting peace—that is, if the French capitalists do not succeed in getting Poland into a war).

During these two years we have gained some knowledge of the foundation of Socialism. This immediately brings up the question of Communist labor—or, more correctly, Socialist labor,—for

now it is a question of the earliest and most difficult, rather than the most advanced step in the development of the new social order growing out of Capitalism.

Communist labor, in the strictest sense of the word, is the voluntary labor of future society, performed without pay, not as a definite duty, not in order to obtain the right to a share of production, and not according to rigid rules. It is labor performed freely, bound by no rule, without regard to compensation, and not with an eye to any reward. It is labor performed as a habit, for the common good, and with the realization of its necessity (which will also become a habit), in order to provide for the needs of Society.

It is clear to everyone that we, and this means our Society, must advance very far indeed before labor of this kind can be realized in our social order.

But the fact that this question has come up, and that it is being raised by the whole front ranks of the proletariat (by the Communists and the labor-unions), and by the State itself, signifies a great step forward.

To succeed in great things, we must begin with little things.

And even after the "great" thing—the overthrow of the State, whereby capitalism is destroyed and power is transferred to the proletariat—the formation of industrial life on a new basis must start with the little things.

Communist Saturdays, industrial armies, com-

pulsory labor—these are various forms of the practical working out of Socialist labor.

There are still many things lacking for the realization of such an aim. Those who act with scorn or malice are incompetent to help out, to say nothing of the defenders of Capitalism.

Short-comings, mistakes, and failures are inevitable. Whoever shrinks before the difficulties of this task and allows himself to be frightened, in doubt and confusion,—he is no Socialist.

To build up a new labor discipline, to create new forms of social relations, to find new methods of drawing people to work—this is a task of many generations. And it is the supreme task.

Our good fortune was that we were still able to raise ourselves up from the ground after overthrowing the bourgeoisie and suppressing its opposition, for that has made our work possible.

And we shall undertake this task with all our energy. Persistence, perseverance, readiness, determination, and the ability to make a hundred attempts, a hundred improvements, and to reach the goal at any price—the proletariat developed these qualities ten, fifteen, or twenty years before the October Revolution, and for two long years after the Revolution, while it suffered poverty, hunger, and deprivation. And these qualities are a guarantee that the proletariat will conquer.

General Kamenev of the Red Army

THE Montevideo *Diario de la Plata* of April 28, 1920, published the following letter which contains a brief characterization of General Kamenev, one of the most eminent leaders of the victorious Red Army. This characterization came from the pen of General Noskov, who was Chief of Staff of the Fifth Army under the czar.

In the introductory remarks to General Noskov's letter, the *Diario de la Plata*, in part, says:

"To what does the Red Army owe its successes? Are they due only to the weaknesses of its adversaries? Partly yes, but primarily they are due to the high qualities of the Red Army's chief.

"Trotsky is the official Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet troops. But the actual commander-in-chief, the soul and inspirer of the military might of the Revolution, is Kamenev, a former colonel in the czarist army, a man of vast technical knowledge and great moral qualities."

General Noskov's letter is as follows:

"I first came to know of him in the beginning of 1917, at the dawn of the Revolution. I was at that time acting Chief of Staff of the Third Army. The moment was grave. We were all present at the inauguration and development of great events. Every chief deserving this name was trying to get able collaborators and assistants.

"The different army staffs every day sent requests to me to send to them one or another of the most capable officers. Among the names of these officers I ever more frequently found the name of Colonel Kamenev of the General Staff.

"He was then at the head of a certain regiment. I did not yet know him personally. His regiment was considered one of the best in the army. In spite of the development of the revolution, the discipline in it did not change; while other regiments, under the pressure of events, were but piteous mobs, his regiment remained true to its duty. I knew also that the commander of this regiment obtained these results without resorting to demagogic methods. He dominated his men only by his irresistible moral influence.

"I wanted to get acquainted with such a commander, and I sent for him, asking him to visit

the General Staff. My first impression was excellent, and it was confirmed by later impressions.

"Kamenev was a man of about forty. I at once noticed in his face the classical Russian type, with a small beard. His whole figure gave the impression of dignity. And I understood that I saw before me a man of rare force. His opinions and judgment of events impressed me by their clearness and intelligence. His vast and many-sided knowledge revealed a strong and highly developed mind. After this first impression I met Kamenev many times with the object of getting from him precise and definite information, primarily on the state of mind of the troops. His replies always opened to me new views. Being an avowed adherent of the new ideas, this man possessed a strong will and was able to dominate the troops. He had a special gift for making an impression on the mass of soldiers and to rule them.

"And once I had an occasion to recall him and to decide his career. In October (November) of 1917 the government of Kerensky was attacked by the Bolsheviki . . . My position became impossible. I then invited Kamenev and offered him the post of Chief of Staff of the army. I believed that with his extreme views he would be more acceptable and regarded with less suspicion by the soldiers than I, and that only he could save the army. Kamenev immediately accepted my offer. This was his first step to the high posts, his first step on the path which brought him to the post of Generalissimus of the Soviet troops. His last words in my office clearly reveal this man. I told him of my doubts as to the value of a revolution which was taking such a form, and pointed out his difficult task under such conditions.

"'No doubt,' he replied, 'but notwithstanding all this, it is the cause of Russia.'

"And having taken upon himself to serve the cause of Russia Kamenev began to serve the cause of the Soviets. He understood that only thus could he serve his country, for this revolutionary does not separate his ideas from his love for the Fatherland . . .

"And he is not an exception in the Red Army."

The Political Situation in Siberia

A letter to SOVIET RUSSIA, by Charles Berman, Army Field Clerk on Duty at Headquarters, A. E. F., Vladivostok, Siberia.

ON AUGUST 15 and 16, 1918, the first contingent of the American Expeditionary Forces arrived in Vladivostok, Siberia, from the Philippine Islands. This contingent consisted of the 27th United States Infantry regiment accompanied by Signal Corps and Intelligence Section detachments. The 31st United States Infantry regiment followed six days later. Within two months, troops arriving from the United States increased the American Expeditionary Forces to a strength of about 8,000 officers and enlisted men.

Japanese troops preceded the Americans in Siberia, and when we arrived they were already on the front, fighting the Bolsheviks. It had been reported that the Bolshevik troops were determined to fight the Japanese until the last man; but that they were willing to surrender to the Americans without fighting. How true that is we do not know, but it is a well-established fact that the Russians despise the Japanese. And they suspected them of aggression from the first day of the landing of Japanese troops in Siberia.

Although the 27th Infantry was ordered to reinforce the Japanese troops on the 24th day of August, 1918, by the time of its arrival at the front the Japanese had already succeeded in overcoming the Bolshevik troops and they were retreating full speed; so our assistance was not required. The Japanese in their advance treated the Russian people very roughly, while the American troops, in advancing toward the interior, gave the Russian people every consideration; and paid for everything obtained from them. We did not occupy their dwellings, eat their chickens and fruit without paying for it, like the Japanese. The American troops made a very favorable impression throughout the country, while hatred of the Japanese increased daily.

While the organized Bolshevik forces retreated before the Japanese, people of Bolshevik tendencies remained throughout the country, and at times, while marching through villages, Japanese troops would be attacked by concealed villagers. In some cases, where the Japanese were unable to find the people who attacked them, they retaliated by destroying and burning whole villages. This action on the part of the Japanese added to the hatred against them. Many complaints were made to the Americans, to American commanding officers as well as to individual Americans about Japanese ill-treatment and brutality.

After the defeat of the Bolshevik army, the Kolchak Government established itself in Siberia. Among the leaders of this government were several Cossack atamans, who acted, it appeared, independently of the supreme ruler, Admiral Kolchak.

It is well known in official circles that these atamans received financial support from the Japanese Government. It has further been said that the Cossack atamans were acting under direct or-

ders of the Japanese authorities. These atamans, it also well known, executed people by the hundreds, without trial, on the pretense that they were Bolsheviks. Their methods of execution varied. Usually they arrested people and kept them in jail until they were almost starved to death, and then took them out and shot them. The American commanding officers received complaints of this treatment daily. Our sympathy for the people maltreated and our objection to such treatment had no effect on the Cossack atamans, who said that it was not our business; that we Americans could not tell them what to do with their own people; that the Russians were their own people and that they could do with them as they pleased.

In December, 1918, a report was made to the American Headquarters at Khabarovsk of a murderous scene which had taken place about two miles from that city, where about thirty people were killed by Ataman Kalmikov's troops and left lying on the ground unburied. The American commanding officer at Khabarovsk, having witnessed the scene, telegraphed to General Graves, Commanding General of the American Expedition, for instructions, giving details of this brutal scene. The matter was immediately taken up at a meeting of the Inter-Allied Military Commanders at Vladivostok, and it was decided that this sort of action on the part of Ataman Kalmikov be terminated, if necessary by force. Ataman Kalmikov, upon being informed of this decision of the Inter-Allied Military Commanders, made very violent and obscene threats at the Americans, and said that he would not take orders from foreigners. The result was that our troops at Khabarovsk were prepared for armed action against the ataman should he attempt any further executions such as mentioned above. The American Command at Khabarovsk at this time consisted of about 3,000 troops, well equipped, and the ataman decided, contrary to his remarks, to discontinue this sort of execution in the city of Khabarovsk, but people under Cossack guard were often seen to be taken to the railway station and entrained for some unknown destination where they doubtless met their fate.

After this altercation with Ataman Kalmikov, the relations between the Americans and the Cossacks became strained, and a combined Cossack and Japanese anti-American propaganda was started on a very large scale.

In January, 1919, about 400 Cossacks belonging to Ataman Kalmikov mutinied and came over to the American troops at Khabarovsk, fully equipped with field pieces, machine guns, horses, ammunition and different types of rifles. They came to us and completely surrendered, stating that they were through with their general, who murdered people for selfish purposes and that we might do with them whatever we considered proper. The

American commanding officer disarmed them, and they were kept under our protection. Ataman Kalmikov came to the commanding officer of the American troops at Khabarovsk and demanded that these mutineers be turned over to him as military offenders. And when the latter refused to comply with his demand, he again threatened the whole American command. The Japanese commanding officer at Khabarovsk came and also insisted that these mutineers be turned over to the ataman. The American commanding officer still refused to turn them over, well knowing what their fate would be, and telegraphed to the Commanding General for instructions. The matter was taken up at Vladivostok, Siberia, at a meeting of the Inter-Allied Military Commanders and it was decided that the Cossacks would not be turned over to Ataman Kalmikov, and officially declared that Ataman Kalmikov was not a military leader in Siberia, but was a leader of an organized bandit force.

The Japanese-Cossack anti-American propaganda gained ground as time passed and the newspapers throughout Siberia referred to the Americans as "Bolsheviks" and enemies of their country, and to the Japanese as "friends."

In November, 1919, the Bolshevik troops began their advance toward Eastern Siberia and toward Omsk. The city of Omsk, the seat of the Kolchak Government, was captured by the Bolshevik troops. The anti-Bolshevik troops, it was reported, were fighting in *British uniforms*, and when Omsk was captured, it was reported, enough war supplies and uniforms were captured in the city to equip a large army. After the fall of Omsk the Bolshevik advance was very rapid. Troops sent out against them mutinied and went over to the Bolsheviks. Even the Japanese forces in Siberia were not strong enough at this time to resist the Bolshevik advance, and, probably considering that a resistance would be unsuccessful, proclaimed neutrality.

On January 30, 1920, the Bolshevik troops advanced toward the city of Vladivostok. A meeting was held by the Inter-Allied Military Commanders on January 30, to decide what action should be taken in regard to the Bolshevik occupancy of the city. It was decided at the meeting that the Bolsheviks, who called themselves "Partizans", should not be hindered by foreign force, as long as they preserved order. On January 31, the Partizans entered the city of Vladivostok. Upon entering the city they were confronted by a Japanese force which well outnumbered them. The Japanese commander approached the Partizan leader and informed him that in accordance with a resolution made at the meeting of the Inter-Allied Military Commanders on the preceding day, and instructions from his commander-in-chief, he would stop any further advance of the Partizans by force, and ordered them to clear the city immediately. The Japanese troops were all ready for action and were awaiting the command "commence firing." While this was taking place, some of our staff officers arrived on the scene and overheard

the statement of the Japanese officer that his instructions from his commander-in-chief were to stop the advance of the Partizans by force, and that this was in accordance with the resolution made at the previous meeting of the Inter-Allied Military Commanders. When the Japanese officer concluded his statement as above given, the American staff officer informed the Partizan leader, in the presence of the Japanese officer, that the statement of this Japanese officer in reference to the stopping of the Partizans by force was an "infernal" lie, and that the decision at the Inter-Allied meeting at which the officer speaking was himself present, was contrary to the statement made by the Japanese officer, and that the Partizans might advance, if they so desired, in as far as the American Command was concerned. The Japanese Commanding General at this time arrived on the scene and informed the American staff officer that he was commander-in-chief of the Allied Forces in Siberia, and therefore possessed the power to stop the advance of the Partizans, if he deemed it necessary, to preserve order in the city. The American staff officer thereupon replied that the maintenance of order in the city of Vladivostok was charged to Major Johnson of the United States Army, who was appointed Military Police Officer of the city of Vladivostok by the Inter-Allied Military Commanders at the previous meeting, and that he, the staff officer, would remain present and witness the action of the Japanese troops and report same to his Commanding General. The Japanese General then decided to withdraw his troops, and the Partizans advanced in the city and took over the whole city of Vladivostok in one day without a single shot or a single life being lost. All the Kolchak troops joined the Partizans that very same day, and a fierce battle was averted by this American staff officer. The Partizan troops from the day of their occupancy of the city of Vladivostok until the day of our departure from Siberia, maintained perfect order in the city of Vladivostok. And as far as we know, there were no executions in Vladivostok and vicinity.

The occupancy of Vladivostok by the Partizans in so short a time was wholly unexpected by the Kolchak and Japanese officers. The Japanese General had published the preceding day in all the Vladivostok newspapers that he would not allow any revolutionary troops in the city of Vladivostok. The Russian officers of the old regime who did not surrender to the Partizans went over to the Japanese authorities for protection. General Rozanov, the Russian commanding general of the city of Vladivostok, escaped to Japan. The remainder of the Russian officers who submitted to Japanese protection were still at Japanese Headquarters in the city of Vladivostok when we departed, April 1, 1920.

Since January 30, 1920, the feeling toward the Americans in Siberia and toward the United States in general, has been very good, and the Japanese are hated now more than ever before. Since the day of the revolution, the Japanese were very

considerately asked by the Russians to leave Siberia, saying that their presence was no longer desired and that the Russian people, if let alone, would take care of themselves. But, while the Americans were evacuating Siberia the Japanese troops were steadily being increased. The Japanese authorities have ordered Japanese residents in Khabarovsk and other cities to leave for Vladivostok; and upon arriving in Vladivostok they are immediately sent to Japan. This action on the part of the Japanese authorities caused much comment and fear among the Russian people.

The old regime, under the leadership of the Cossack atamans, was entirely satisfactory to the Japanese, but unfortunately for them, proved to be a failure. Since it failed, the Japanese Government is sending more Japanese troops to Siberia in face of the objection of the Russian people. The question presents itself: What does the Japanese Government want in Siberia? Japan is trying to tell the world that she keeps her troops in Siberia for the purpose of maintaining order. I have no hesitancy in saying that every sane person who has been in Siberia during the past nineteen months knows well enough that this is not true, and that the presence of Japanese troops in Siberia is inconsistent with the preserving of order in that country. General Graves, Commanding General of the American Expeditionary Forces in

Siberia, interviewed by a reporter of the *Manila Daily Bulletin* in Manila, P. I., on April 9, 1920, said: "If the Japanese leave Siberia the Russian situation will adjust itself. The Japanese are the key to Russian peace, and their delay in announcing their intentions has aroused resentment and suspicion on the part of the Russians. Until the Japanese leave there will be no peace in Russia." The following dispatch from Vladivostok, dated April 5, 1920, appeared in the *Manila Daily Bulletin*: "The Japanese occupied the city today after eight hours of severe fighting. *The Japanese ensign replaced the Russian flag* on all public buildings.

"Some revolutionists were arrested and deported and many Russians fled to the hills whence they came when the revolution overthrew the Kolchak regime."

The American people may themselves judge what Japan wants in Siberia.

The evacuation of the American Expeditionary Forces in Siberia was completed on April 1, 1920, the last transport leaving Siberia was the "Great Northern," which took the Commanding General, General Graves, with his staff to the Philippine Islands. With but few exceptions, the American troops leaving Siberia were sent to the Philippine Islands.

The All-Russian Celebration of May First

By R. BUCHARIN.

[The following article is taken from the Mosco newspaper, "Pravda," of April 16.]

IT IS not very long since Karl Kautsky, one of the leaders of the Second International, taunted the Bolsheviki with the fact of the "innate laziness of the Russian laborer." Since Kautsky received his impression of the disorganization of Russia from authentic as well as unauthentic sources, he set up as a model for the Russian laborer the industrious French laborer, who streaming with sweat, dutifully fills his master's sack. However, time has proven Kautsky wrong, although it is not the first time. Less than a year has passed, and the tables have been turned. Across all Europe is sweeping "a stream of laziness," to use the words of a plainspoken poet. In reality it is a stream of unwillingness to work for the benefit of the capitalists. But here in Russia, which so far from going to destruction, has become, as a Proletarian State, one of the greatest countries of the world, the working class, content in the struggle, is marching along the firm path of disciplined labor.

History has no parallel for this case, wherein the great mass of the people has risen to fight against the economic destruction of their land. This state of affairs came about not because our proletariat takes any particular joy in labor, as such, but because of the fact that the proletarian

feels himself the master, that he is working for himself and his fellows, not for the capitalists.

Everywhere there is a desperate need for work. The peasants has no seeds, and it is impossible to ship grain from the south or the east because the condition of transportation is in so bad a state. Hence, this must be remedied, the means of transportation must be set to rights. The packing of meats in Siberia has been ended, because they cannot be shipped. The vital need then is to repair the locomotives, build cars, create order,—in short, work. In the cities, there is no bread for the working classes, it is impossible to live on ordinary wages, the city has no access to bread and there is no way of getting any. But in the east and in Siberia the grain is waiting, and there is no way of shipping it, because the roads are in such bad condition. Again the need for repairing the railroads. The clothing of the peasants and workmen is worn out, but the textile factories are not working well, because of the lack of coal and fibre-wool. Hence it is necessary to get to work and produce and ship coal and fibre-wool. The one industry is linked with the other, one depends on the other. We must therefore strain all our powers in every branch of industry, but especially in the transportation line, in order that we be prepared

for the coming winter, to guard against the cold and hunger. We must not allow the possibility of such a winter. In the course of the summer, we must provide so well, that we shall not have a repetition of the past winter. We must therefore proceed to work in such a way that we shall all have as much as possible, not only bread, but clothing, meat, and books as well. Communism does not mean that its followers must live on pleasant words. We must be willing to sacrifice much for the cause, oftentimes, even life itself. But Communism does not properly mean a state of poverty, but a state of well-being. We do not wish to live in Communist poverty, however, but we desire to live in Communist wealth. Warmth, light, knowledge, all the attainments of culture—that is what we must gain for all. Heretofore, only a handful of parasites attained these things; they were free, they enjoyed everything, at the expense of the masses. Now the proletariat has risen as the great leader and fighter, he does not fight alone now, as Sidor, Ivan, or Peter, for

himself alone, and against every one. He is not fighting any one. The working classes now desire through their united efforts, to save all those capable of labor from suffering and destruction. They have already tested their strength. They have won the war against world capitalism. They have learnt that salvation lies not in thieving and speculation, but in united labor alone.

Labor Week will bring the best fighting blood to the front of the battle against economic ruin. Our party has a membership of 600,000; the unions have 3,000,000. If the 600,000 Communists remain at their posts during Labor Week, millions of non-partizans, but honest workmen nevertheless, will follow their example.

Following Labor Week, we shall organize a grand demonstration in labor for the world—the All-Russian Sabbath on the First of May. The Communists are the flower of the working-class. Much depends on them. The party of the Communist Revolution is summoning them to its banners.

Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK.

THE name Budenny, the brilliant commander of the Soviet cavalry, which was mentioned on several occasions during the operations against Denikin, appears again in the recent accounts of Soviet victories over the Poles. This audacious and talented leader is a product of the Revolution. Comrade Budenny does not belong to the family of the officers of the former Russian army of the Czar. As far as we can learn, he rose from the ranks of the Don Cossacks, joining the Bolsheviks at the beginning of the Revolution. He is now to be considered among the foremost tacticians of the Red Army.

The cavalry raids of Denikin's Generals, Mamontov and Shkuro, were captured by the brilliant action of the newly created Red cavalry and Budenny was chiefly responsible for the failure of the daring movements of the White generals. The recent operation of Budenny's cavalry between the Dnieper and the Dniester is of great strategical significance. He has at his rear the important Kiev-Mohilev (Podolski) railway line, extending parallel along the battle line, which permits Budenny to regroup his forces at any selected point, thus assuring the success of his tactics.

It appears that Budenny's plan was to accomplish an enveloping movement with his right wing, while his left flank was ordered to advance northward on Kamenetz-Podolsk along the Dniester. At the same time a special reserve army with its base in Odessa watches Rumania, thus protecting the operation of Budenny.

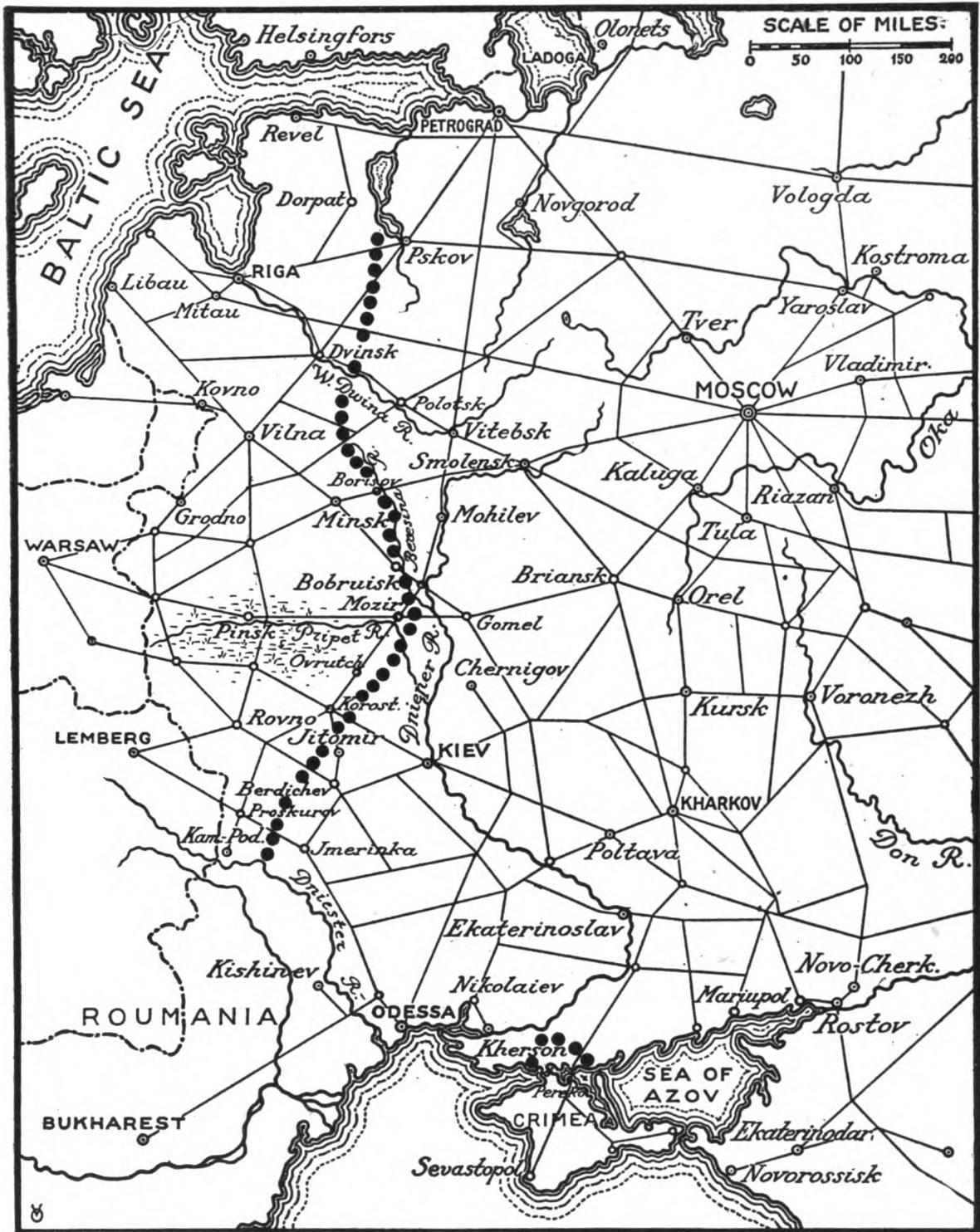
Since the beginning of the general Russian offensive which was particularly successful in Lithuania and White Russia as well as in Ukraine, the

Russians have met a most vigorous resistance in the Kiev region. The Poles had concentrated strong forces there and tried by all means to hold Kiev, the fall of which was of disastrous political consequence. On the other hand, the Russian Headquarter Staff had decided to recapture Kiev by means of skillful manoeuvres with the least possible expenditure of men. Budenny was ordered to carry out this plan. In order to accomplish it he had to cut the railway communications west of Kiev, namely, the three railroads: Kiev - Zhmerinka - Mohilev, Kiev - Zhitomir, and Kiev-Kovel. After unsuccessful attempts to break through the Polish front, Budenny succeeded only in capturing an important sector in Tarastcha region, and appears to have reported that without a considerable reinforcement, there was little probability of recapturing Kiev from the Poles.

Strong reinforcements were sent and Budenny was ordered to begin his attack simultaneously with the general attack planned by the Headquarters Staff on the other sectors of the front.

Budenny then accomplished a most remarkable manoeuvre with his cavalry. On the night of June 9, a Red cavalry detachment about 5,000 strong suddenly attacked the Poles in the center of their battle line and broke through to the west of Belaya Tzerkov on the Fastovo Zvenigorod railway. There the Red cavalry split into three groups; one moving northwest of Berdichev and another in a northerly direction on Fastov, cutting in two places the southernmost of the three railway lines to Kiev, while the center column rode on Zhitomir, north of Berdichev. It must be remembered that through Zhitomir runs the central of the three

The Military Situation in European Russia on June 20, 1920



The heavy dotted lines indicate the Western or Polish Front, and the Crimean Front.

Moscow, June 20.—The Soviet Army has thrown back the Poles across the Dnieper, and is driving them back towards Korosten, Ovruch, and Proskurov. Along the left bank of the Dniester, the enemy's resistance has been broken, and we are advancing on Kamenetz-Podolsk.

lines of communication with Kiev. This brilliant movement was accomplished with such rapidity and boldness that the Polish General Staff became aware of what had happened only when Budenny's cavalry had already captured Zhitomir. The following day the three victorious detachments pushed north in order to cut the only remaining line to Kiev at Korostychev.

In spite of all efforts to stop their advance and in spite of the energetic attack of the Polish airmen, the Russians succeeded in holding the occupied points until their infantry came up and made a firm stand.

Finally Kiev, with all its garrison and a considerable army in the field in that region, was encircled by the Russians. A glance at the map shows that no escape was possible for the Polish troops and especially for their infantry and artillery. According to an *Associated Press* dispatch from Warsaw on June 13, "The evacuation of Kiev has been completed, the Poles withdrawing to the region of Zhitomir after destroying the bridges over the Dnieper." The American Red Cross workers, according to the latest accounts, had made preparations to evacuate Kiev with the army. A statement from Moscow, however, tells us that Zhitomir was captured by the Reds on June 11, and all the communications of Kiev with the rear cut off by Budenny's men.

When it became known that the Russians were already moving west of Kiev from Borodianka station along the Kiev-Korosten railroad, being masters of that line in its Teterev sector, the Russian infantry crossed the Dnieper and entered the city, partially from the east and partially from the south, after having completely routed the Poles at Vassilkov, twenty-five miles south of Kiev. The Poles, the official dispatches say, have blown up the beautiful Vladimir Cathedral, the railway station and the electric power station, leaving the city crippled in the face of a ravaging epidemic.

If the Polish report about the evacuation of Kiev is correct, there is no probability that the troops which left the town can have escaped an encounter, and a very unpleasant one, with Budenny's army.

I believe that a complete annihilation of the Polish army took place in this part of the theatre of war, an end which I predicted long ago.

In an earlier article, when everyone was anxious to know why the Soviet General Staff delayed the capture of Kiev, I firmly stated that Kiev would be abandoned by the Poles as quickly as it was taken. It was clear that in the presence of enveloping movement from the south, as well as from the north, the Poles, after having been thrown back across the Dvina, Berezina and Dnieper rivers, could not hold Kiev any longer and would be forced to withdraw without a battle. They might have done so earlier in safety. Now I believe they waited too long.

There is no news from the Polish front north of the Pripet Marshes, but all signs indicate that in the Vilno and Minsk regions the enemy was

severely beaten. There can be no doubt that the Polish adventure is nearing its climax.

The situation in the Crimea is not worthy of any attention. Wrangel's White Army is ineffectively making use of the aeroplanes and tanks so generously supplied to Denikin's successor by England and her allies. It can be said with confidence that when these supplies attain to any considerable amount the Reds will take them. At present it is not worth while. General Wrangel, on a small scale, is repeating the performance of Denikin. His career will end in similar fashion. The Moscow wireless forecasts the end: "In the Crimea, after three days' fighting, we have taken 3,000 prisoners" (*N. Y. Times*, June 14).

In the meantime, the situation in the Middle East becomes more and more desperate for the imperialists. England at last was forced to evacuate the port of Batum, and regretfully withdrew from the pleasant odor of Caucasian oil. The Persian affair worries Great Britain immensely. Turkey grows stronger every day and promises to break out in a movement which we have long foreseen.

OFFICERS' AMNESTY

The following notice, says the Moscow wireless, has been issued by the Council of People's Commissaries to all former Russian officers:

The attack of Poland on Russia has finally shown, even to politically-backward elements of the country, that the struggle of the White Guard generals under the wary cry of "United and Indivisible Russia," was, and remains, of assistance in despoiling and enslaving the Russian workers and under the influence of this new lesson, among that part of the former Czarist officers who still remain in the White Guard lager has been aroused a desire to break with this treacherous and anti-popular policy of Denikin and Wrangel, and to place themselves at the disposal of the Soviet Power in the struggle for the liberation and independence of the working Russian people.

According to information at the disposal of the Soviet Government, the desire of the former officers to enter upon the path of complete subordination to the Workers' and Peasants' Government has been paralyzed in many cases by fear of responsibility for crimes committed in the past against the Russian people.

The Workers' and Peasants' Government, therefore, considers it essential and timely to declare that all former officers, who in one or other form will assist in liquidating as quickly as possible those White Guard armies still remaining in the Crimea, the Caucasus, and in Siberia, and thus enlighten and accelerate the victory of Workers' and Peasants' Russia over Poland, will be freed from all responsibility for those actions which they committed while serving in White Guard armies under Wrangel, Denikin, Kolchak, Semionov and others.

LENIN,
TROTSKY,
KURSKY.

Two New Documents

[Original Documents appear on the following pages.]

I. APPEAL.

From the Operating Staff of the Soviet Troops to the Population of the Khabarovsk and Iman Districts.

Comrades and Citizens!

By a treacherous blow, under cover of peace negotiations and talk of the evacuation of its troops from the Far East, the Japanese Government intended to deprive recovering and united Soviet Russia of the support of the Red Army. The plan failed. The Soviet troops escaped the trap and are concentrating for the struggle against the Eastern plunderer. The mask is off. What had been expected from the first days of the liquidation of the monarchist reaction and what we have tried in every way to avoid, is now an accomplished fact. We are facing the necessity of an open struggle against the Japanese imperialists. This clarification of the present situation is received by the populace with satisfaction. Indeed, it was impossible to believe in the sincerity of the Japanese authorities, and it was hard to be awaiting a treacherous blow in the back to the revolutionary troops and the revolutionary people. The freedom and independence of the united fatherland of Soviet Russia which was won by incredible efforts cannot be surrendered to be enslaved by foreigners, and the plundering of its resources will not be permitted. We, the representatives of the workmen's, peasants' and revolutionary armies, declare: we accept the challenge addressed to us. The road of the Japanese plunderers to the people's wealth will be long and bloody. They will have to cover it with the corpses of all the rural and urban population of the Far East, of Western Siberia, and of all Russia.

Comrades and Citizens! Our appeal is to you. Do not believe any silly rumors, do not give in to the organized provocation of our enemy. Organize at once resistance to the enemy. Organize detachments, join the ranks of the Red Army, gather arms and supplies, report to the staff all information regarding the position of the Japanese and their actions. We call upon the whole populace to fulfill its civic duty, and conscious of the union of the toiling masses of all Russia and of the struggling popular masses of the whole world in our common aims, we will find the strength to endure the final struggle.

Forward! For a united Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, for making forever secure the Red Flag, reddened by the sacred blood of its fallen champions. In the face of the external enemy, let there be no traitors of the Fatherland in our ranks, of those who differ with us in convictions.

To work, comrades and citizens, to the struggle for independence and freedom!

*Commander of the Troops, PEVNER.
Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee,*

ZALUTSKY.

Chief of the Garrison, KHRENOV.

Political Representative, METZ.

Director of Information Department, MUCHNIK.

Environs of Khabarovsk, April 8, 1920.

II. PROCLAMATION.

In spite of the fact that the partizan forces, with the object of preventing action by the Japanese command, have destroyed the railroad bed, have burned bridges and broken telegraph and telephone wires, which fact is well known, and as a result of which these destructive actions have inflicted great harm and suffering only on the Russian populace itself, since the Japanese command is in possession of ample forces to repair quickly all this damage and quickly to restore the movement of trains, and is always able, if it should be necessary to quickly bring up from Japan the necessary materials and the needed number of men.

The above mentioned activities of the partizan forces therefore not only do not embarrass, but even retard the plans for the evacuation of the Japanese troops, which cannot, under these circumstances, entrust to the Russian authorities the safeguarding of the Japanese nationals in Siberia.

Gentlemen! Note the suffering and misery of the Russian populace along the railway line between Vladivostok and Nikolsk Ussuryisk, which has been positively unsettled and has lost all means for the transportation of life necessities for its existence.

The Japanese command could not remain indifferent to the distressing suffering of the Russian populace, caused exclusively by the actions of the partizan forces, and in order to relieve their situation it permitted all Russians who demanded passage on the railroad to go without any hindrance, despite the martial laws of the Japanese command, with the echelons of the Japanese command.

From the foregoing you will understand what a vast difference there is between the actions of the partizan forces and of the Japanese command: the first are destroying and causing by their actions only suffering to the population, while the Japanese command restores what has been destroyed and thus furnishes to the Russian population its kind assistance.

Director of the Movement of the Japanese Troops on the Ussuri Railway.

Vladivostok, April 26, 1920.

От оперативнаго Штаба Советских войск.

ОБРАЩЕНИЕ

к населению Хабаровского и Иманского районов.

ТОВАРИЩИ и ГРАЖДАНЕ!

Предательским ударом, ведя мирные переговоры, говоря об эвакуации своих войск с Дальняго Востока, правительство Японии предпологало лишить возрождающуюся единую Советскую Россию опоры красной армии. План не удался. Советския войска выведены из ловушки и концентрируются для борьбы с восточным хищником. Маски сорваны. То, что ожидалось с первых дней ликвидации монархической реакции, то чего мы всеми силами старались избежать, совершилось. Перед нами стоит необходимость открытой борьбы с японскими империалистами. Эта ясность создававшегося положения встречается населением с удовлетворением. Да и нельзя было верить в искренность японского авторитета и тяжкое было время ожидать предательского удара в спину революционных войск и возставшаго народа. Добытая неимоверными усилиями Свобода и независимость единой Родины Советской России, не может быть отдана на порабощение иноземцам и расхищение богатств не будет допущено. Мы, представители рабочих, крестьянских и революционных армий заявляем: мы принимаем брошенный нам вызов. Длинен и кровавый будет путь японских грабителей к народному достоянию. Им предстоит устлать его трупами всего сельского и городского населения Дальняго Востока, Западной Сибири и всей России.

Товарищи и граждане! К вам наше слово. Поменьше верьте всяким вздорным слухам, не поддавайтесь организованной провокации нашего врага и немедленно организуйте сопротивление неприятелю. Организуйтесь в отряды, вливайтесь в ряды регулярной армии, собирайте оружие и провиант, сообщайте штабу все что касается положения японцев и их действий, мы призываем все население исполнить свой гражданский долг, а мы почерпнем силы выдержать последнюю борьбу, осязая единение трудящихся всей России и борющихся народных масс всего мира за одни с нами цели,

Вперед! За единую Российскую советскую федеративную социалистическую республику, за укрепление навсегда, обогрениаго священной кровью павших борцов, красного знамени, пусть перед лицом внешнего врага не будет в наших рядах предателей Родины из лиц иных с нами убеждений.

К работе товарищи и граждане, кь борьбѣ за независимость и свободу.

8 апреля 1920 г. Командвойск ПЕВЗНЕР.
Окрестности Хабаровска.

Тов. председателя Исполкома ЗАЛУЦКИЙ.

Начальник гарнизона ХРЕНОВ.

Политич. уполном. МЕЦ.

Заведывающий информационным отделом МУЧНИК.

Объявление

Рассмотря на то, что партизанские отряды с целью воспрепятствовать действиям Японского командования, разрушили галатно железной дороги, сожгли мосты, прервали телеграфные и телефонные провода о чем весьма хорошо известно и, в результате чего оказалось, что подобная разрушительная действия принесла большой ущерб и страдания только самому же Русскому населению, т.к. Японское командование вполне располагает достаточными силами для быстрого исправления перечисленных повреждений и скорого возобновления движения поездам и при надобности всегда имеет возможность быстро передвигаться в случае надобности для вышеступающей цели необходимые материалы и потребное количество людей из Японии

Поэтому, опасаясь действия партизанских отрядов не только местному населению, но даже вызывают задержку в плановой эвакуации Японских войск, которые, при таких обстоятельствах, не в состоянии нарушить охрану Японского гражданского населения, находящегося в Сибири, Русскими властями.

Т-да! Обратите внимание, как страдает и мучается Русское население на линии железной дороги от Владивостока до Фикайвска Тес., которое положительно вышло из колеи и потеряло все способы в доставке необходимых жизненных продуктов для своего существования

Японское командование не только безучастно и хладнокровно смотрит на такое тяжкое страдание Русского населения, беззачинное и жестоко действиями партизанских отрядов и, дабы, насколько возможно, облегчить положение, ит, вопреки военным законам Японского командования, разрушили все русские, требующие передвижения по железной дороге, итд итп безответственно с эшелонами Японского командования.

Из всего изложенного поместе какая громадная разница между действиями партизанских отрядов и Японским командованием? Первые — разрушают и вызывают своим действиям одно только страдание населения, тогда как Японское командование возмещает разрушенное и оказывает этому же Русскому населению любезное содействие свое. 26 Апрель 1920. Владивосток

Заведывающий передвижением Японских войск по Тесурийской ж.д. Дарилл. —

SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the
RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU
110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.

This weekly will carry 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.

A LONDON message of recent date prints a wireless account forwarded from Moscow on May 1, and stating that on that day, when volunteers were called for to aid in cleaning the streets of Moscow, Premier Nikolai Lenin worked with the other volunteers at this task. He also, on the same day, helped to carry wood, a much-needed fuel in Moscow, from the railroad station to the points where it was to be stored.

SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES, British Ambassador to the United States, on June 15, delivered an address at the Commencement of Princeton University, at Princeton, N. J., in the course of which he said a number of interesting things. For instance, it was the opinion of Sir Auckland that one of the most important phases of recent history was the increase of the population of the United States to such totals as to limit the possibility on the part of that country to continue to function as the chief purveyor of food to the European populations less favorably situated in this regard. In other words, when the population of the United States was relatively small, it was possible to send a great many food-stuffs out of the country, but the increasing population gradually approached the limits of the available supplies of raw materials, which began to be used up within the country. Now all this becomes extremely interesting when Sir Auckland tells us that the lack of raw materials (in 1914) was consequently becoming so keenly felt in Europe as almost to force certain European powers—Sir Auckland cites Germany as an example—to seek new sources of raw materials by forcible annexation of European countries and the conquest of colonial possessions from other powers. The distinguished speaker further applied this thesis to the present condition of under-production all over the world, and expressed the opinion that it would result in repeated upheavals similar to the one we have witnessed in the great war (1914-1918). Sir Auckland mentions as one of the causes of this condition of under-supply of all the necessities of life in Europe—the fact that Russia is cut off from the rest of the world and that no raw materials are at present reaching the afflicted nations from her. It is remarkable, if what Sir Auckland says is true, that greater effort is not

being made to open up Russia to European markets. For Europe, if properly supplied with raw materials—and Sir Auckland seems to think the United States will not be in a position to furnish them to the Old World, since she needs them for herself—would be able to deliver manufactured products to Russia in great quantities in return. As the Allied powers showed very little desire to trade with Russia before they had exhausted and been disappointed in all the possible means of overthrowing the Soviet Government to which they were able to resort—it was necessary for the Soviet Government to encourage all the elements ready to trade with it by first defeating all its enemies in the fields, and then sending out its representatives to all the countries of the world, in order to afford every opportunity to the reluctant imperialisms to open up trade with their reascent victim. Thus, we are glad to see that Gregory Leonidovich Krassin has opened offices in New Bond Street, London, and is conferring with leading representatives of the British and Allied Governments, to secure orders for Russian raw materials and place orders for British manufactured products. Perhaps the upheavals and convulsions feared by Sir Auckland Geddes may be averted if the nations of Europe will speedily take advantage of their present opportunity to trade with Soviet Russia. We are taking the liberty to reprint in this issue of *SOVIET RUSSIA* an interesting editorial article from the *Manchester Guardian* on the subject of Mr. Krassin's arrival in England.

PROPAGANDA is again and again asserted to be the cause of disaffection in the British Empire, and the *New York Times* of June 18 tells us, allegedly from Washington sources, that Turkish nationalists, as well as "representatives from India, Egypt, Afghanistan, Persia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia met Premier Lenin at Moscow recently to discuss modes of overthrowing the British Empire" in favor of Turkish nationalists and Bolsheviks. It is to be hoped that the imaginings of irresponsible newspaper agencies are not so infectious as to be accepted seriously by the elements who really govern the great imperialistic nations, including Great Britain, for it would be sad indeed to find them attempting to hold their possessions by measures based upon such a faulty diagnosis as that enabling them to believe that it is Russia (allied with Turkish nationalist propaganda!) and not their own misrule, that is responsible for the discontent among their subject populations. Propaganda—Russian or "Turkish nationalist"—never produced disaffection: but existing disaffection is a fertile soil for the seed of propaganda. Soviet Russia will conduct no propaganda among peoples whose governments let Soviet Russia alone.

"I CAN REPLY to your question with precision," said Krassin at London, a week or so ago, to a French newspaper correspondent who had asked whether Russia would pay gold for foreign purchases instead of giving it to foreign creditors

(notably French) of the Czarist loans. And then Krassin continued: "Everyone in France and elsewhere should have known to what risks they exposed themselves in lending money to the government of the Czar. Warning was given. Not only my party but all the popular parties of Russia notified French public opinion from 1905 that if the Russian people once became masters they wouldn't pay the loans which had been used to repress their effort at liberation.

These protests were not isolated. They were continuous and frequent. Why did the French people nevertheless make loans to the Czar? Why did they pay the wages of the Czarist soldiers who shot down the Russian people?

"French opinion did not believe in the Russian Revolution. It would then be natural that it should pay for its error."

* * *

ONE OF THESE protests occurs to us now. Krassin has in mind the declaration made by the First Duma in 1906, after the 1905 Revolution had been crushed, and after the remnants of the Duma had fled to Viborg, in Finland, where they were still holding their deliberations. The Czarist Government was meanwhile "governing" Russia without the aid of the legislative body, and incurring debts in order to defray the expenses of stamping out the remnants of freedom and rendering easy the continued sway of the autocracy. The dissolved Duma then solemnly declared that it would not hold itself responsible for any debts (loans) incurred by the Czar's government, and warned the financiers and the nations of Europe not to advance any loans to the Czar. One of History's little ironies is the fact that the Cadets were then the leading party in the Duma, and that they were then heartily opposed to the monarchy. Providence has placed the Constitutional Democrats now in the amusing position where they would much prefer a monarchy in Russia, and the payment of the Czar's debt, to the existence of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic.

* * *

MR. JOHN CLAYTON, Special Foreign Correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*, sent a Paris dispatch to his paper on June 17, in which he represented Miss Emma Goldman, who was deported from the United States in December, 1919, and who is now in Russia, as making a number of disparaging remarks concerning the operation of the Soviet Government in Russia. A number of reflections are perhaps in order, in connection with this cable message, which has been given wide editorial welcome in certain anti-Soviet newspapers:

In the first place, American newspaper reports concerning Soviet Russia have so often been mere fabrications that we never really know whether we may believe that they are giving correct quotations from the persons involved. Miss Goldman may have said what the article says she did, or she may not have.

In the second place: as to the individual state-

ment attributed to Miss Goldman by Mr. Clayton, the author of the article, they would appear, if correctly quoted, to give interesting information on her present frame of mind. Her patriotic love of America would seem to be beyond question; her failure to relinquish her anarchistic views would also seem clear. And it may be that she is disappointed with conditions in Russia; but she is not quoted as providing us with any basis of fact for her opposition to the Soviet Government, and, sensational though the headlines of this article may be, there is really nothing in it of actual value as information.

STATEMENT BY L. C. A. K. MARTENS
Representative in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

June 19, 1920.

Contrary to the reports printed in this morning's papers, I have not been recalled by my Government. The rumors to that effect have arisen no doubt from too hasty assumptions on the part of those whose business it is to read my cables to the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. Following the publication of the telegram addressed to Mr. Samuel Gompers by the Secretary of State and recently read at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, I cabled to Mr. Litvinov, the Assistant Commissar for Foreign Affairs, now in Copenhagen, advising him of the nature of the expressions used by the Secretary of State regarding Russia. In his message to Mr. Gompers Mr. Colby characterized the Government which I have the honor to represent as one which "repudiates every principle of harmonious and trustful relations whether of nations or of individuals and is based upon negation of honor and good faith and every usage and convention underlying the structure of international law." Coming at the very moment when the great trading nations of Europe are resuming commercial relations with Russia, this statement by the Secretary of State was interpreted by me as evidence that the present policy of the Government of the United States is irrevocably opposed to any intercourse with Russia. Although I have never been informed by the Department of State that my mission in this country was either objectionable or wholly fruitless, I was forced to conclude from this statement of Mr. Colby's that my efforts for the establishment of friendly political and commercial relations between Russia and America have little prospect of success while the present policy of the American Government prevails. I reported these circumstances and my views by cable to Mr. Litvinov in Copenhagen and also to Mr. Krassin, who is in London arranging for the resumption of trade between Great Britain and Russia. The contents of my cables must have leaked out in some manner. It is not true, however, that I have been recalled by my Government.

The report that Mr. Santeri Nuorteva, the Secretary of this Bureau, has gone to London to consult with Mr. Krassin, is quite true. He went by way of Canada with the assistance of the Canadian authorities who courteously arranged facilities for his trip to England. Mr. Nuorteva's trip was made in connection with some very important commercial negotiations we have in progress with Canadian manufacturing interests who desire to establish trade connections with Russia.

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The "Democratic Republic" Lithuania

[The following article is an interesting account of the "Ochрана" or espionage system in Lithuania, translated from "Folkets Dagblad Politiken" of March 22, 1920.]

AT THE head of the "democratic republic" of Lithuania a government exists which has established itself without any elections, and taken the power into its own hands. But above this government there still stands the "highest power" which is represented by "counter espionage" or rather by the "Ochрана." In the beginning of its reign the government organized this "counter espionage" to defend itself against a threatened uprising of the people, and to fight the Bolsheviki, Poles, Letts, adherents of Kolchak, and several others. As there were no experienced secret service spies among the native population of Lithuania they turned to the former Russian Czarist gendarmes and spies with an appeal to join the Lithuanian "Ochрана," the democratic government's only support.

Instructors in this spy department are: Col. Sisyck; Officer Baron Stielite; the attorney L. I. Prosyakevitch, the former officer and assistant attorney in the Warsaw District, who, under the Czarist regime was a specialist on political crimes. His nearest coadjutor is "Colon" Orsyehovsky, who in reality was formerly police commissioner in Petrograd and was known there as a bribe taker and an unscrupulous member of the "Ochрана." In addition to these gentlemen there is also the former chief of detectives from Dvinsk, F. Duna- yev; former chief of the "Ochрана" at Riga, and several others.

None of these gentlemen understand one single word of the Lithuanian language. Their psychology is interesting. Every Russian—whether Bolshevik or Monarchist—is considered an enemy of Lithuania. They are therefore put into jails by the Lithuanian counter-spy system which consists exclusively of Russians. It is true that the Lithuanian Government which considered it improper to appoint a Russian as chief of the spies, to save appearances, selected as its chief a former student in the University of Petrograd, Liptyus, who fortunately is a Lithuanian and speaks the language. At first he only served for the sake of appearances, but now he can compete with the "Ochрана," the real gendarmes.

The history of the Lithuanian Government and counter-espionage reminds one in general of the history of Noske and the German war junkers. Noske has given these gentlemen full liberty and is now complaining of them. Similarly in Lithuania, nowadays neither the counter spies nor its agents—all kinds of officers—fear the government any longer but carry on their investigations even among the ministers themselves. For instance, the Minister of White Russia was recently subjected to a careful investigation by the counter-spies, which, however, did not lead to any results.

A characteristic example of this kind of spying is given below: A certain Fritz Puser von Mueller

(a Lithuanian), Commander of the City of Pon- eveyzh, was accused of the following:

1. He had arranged a pogrom in his city. With his consent and approval his soldiers murdered, burned, and robbed the population of the city,— just as in the old "good times."

2. One time he appeared at the jail of the city, intoxicated as usual. In the courtyard of the jail political prisoners were promenading (the usual twenty meter walk of each day)—five men and two women. Von Mueller placed them against the wall and with his own hand shot them down.

3. When the Bolsheviki were in power at Pon- eveyzh three dead commissars were buried in the city park. Later on the Lithuanian troops returned to the city and with them was von Mueller. He summoned the representatives of the Jewish in- telligentsia with their bare hands. There were no corpses with their bare hands. There were no spades, and they had to dig with their bare hands in the earth for several days, under threat of being beaten. Finally, when the coffins were dug up von Mueller came to the place and ordered them to take the coffins upon the shoulders and carry them out of the city. The corpses were already decomposed and a malodorous liquid dropped from the coffins. These men accused von Mueller be- fore the officials and a commission was sent to the city to investigate the case.

Among the members of this commission was the Minister of Jewish Affairs, and a few other Min- isters.

Von Mueller later told me himself that he had said to this commission that "if they were not on their way out of the city within eight hours he would arrest them."

The Ministers knew with whom they had to deal, and as soon as possible they took their baggage and went back.

After the Ministers had returned to Kovno they began to think over what had happened to them. "We arrived there to place von Mueller on trial, and he would have put us in jail." The matter came up before the counter-spies and finally the answer came that von Mueller had acted "in ac- cordance with the duties of his position," and that he was now living on his own estate outside the Lithuanian boundary where he could not be reached.

Time passed and the matter became a general scandal. Finally it became unpleasant even for the counter-spies and then von Mueller received a "secret communication" whereupon he appeared at Kovno. He was arrested and put in cell No. 141, in the city jail at Kovno.

Now—one may believe—he was sentenced to death, but he went back and forth in his cell and laughed to himself. After ten days he was sud-

denly transferred from the jail to the Casino of the officers, where he could be free and could even go out into the city and eat at restaurants. But after a few days had elapsed a few officers appeared in the Casino and von Mueller joined them. Now it is impossible to locate him. He is again back on his estate beyond the boundary. The case of von Mueller is not extraordinary. There are thousands like him in Lithuania. Such cases are not attacked by the counter-spies. One raven does not pick out the eyes of another.—Signed "Home."

SOVIET APPEAL TO ENTENTE PEOPLES

The following comment upon the Polish situation has been transmitted from Moscow by wireless:

In view of the fact that the Governments of the Entente have left the entire liberty of action to the Polish Government, a member of the communistic polity of the Entente, the former accept responsibility for the new offensive which has just been launched by Poland.

The Soviet Governments of Russia and of the Ukraine find themselves obliged to recall that Poland is one of the members of the Entente and also a member of the communistic polity called the League of Nations, and that the influence of these two groups on one of their members such as Poland cannot fail to be decisive.

The Soviet Governments also draw attention to the fact that from the economic point of view, as well as from the point of view of military technique, the Polish Republic, without very substantial financial and military support from the Entente Governments, would be absolutely incapable of conducting the war undertaken by it.

The recent operations of the French troops in Danzig as well as the sending of war materials from the Entente countries to Poland are facts of universal notoriety. The telegram of congratulation from the King of England to Marshal Pilsudski also plainly indicates the agreement which prevails between the Governments of the Entente and the Polish aggressor.

As a result of all this the Soviet Governments find themselves obliged to draw the attention of the Entente Governments to the responsibility which they have taken upon themselves as a result of the military operations of Poland. They protest officially against the sanguinary aggression of

Poland and against the assistance which has been rendered to Poland by the Governments of the Entente. They appeal to all the Entente peoples to protest against a fresh attack on the liberty of the Russian and Ukrainian workers.

Soviet Russia and the Soviet Ukraine will undecieve those who hope to strangle their independence, and will fight until complete victory over the aggression of which they are the victims has been achieved, and will establish their indisputable right to self-determination.

In the circumstances the Soviet Governments of Russia and Ukraine address themselves to Entente Governments, and with respect to the latter make all reservations regarding the results which may arise out of the aggression of which, with the support of the Entente Governments, the Soviet Governments are victims.

(Signed) CHICHERIN, *People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Federated Republic of Soviet Russia.*

RAKOVSKY, *People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.*

OCCUPATION OF ENZELI

The Russian wireless of May 27 gives a description of the recent occupation of Enzeli. The commander of the Soviet fleet, Rasikolnikov, sent an ultimatum to the English commander calling upon him to surrender the town, in view of the fact that there were a number of ships and quantities of war material there belonging to Russia. Raskolnikov added that a purely strategical question being involved, he was acting on his own initiative without orders from Moscow, in order to insure the safety of the fleet of which he had charge.

In the evening the English general, realizing that his situation was desperate, announced his decision to evacuate Enzeli. The Russian commander permitted the departure of the English, Hindu, and Turkish troops, and the Red sailors made their entry into the town.

The Persian Governor, in the name of the Persian Government, saluted the Red fleet. The commander of the Red fleet confirmed the recognition of the independence of Persia by Soviet Russia, and declared that he did not intend to interfere in any way with the domestic affairs of Persia.—*Wireless Press.*

BOUND VOLUMES FOR 1920

At the end of June, 1920, which marks the close of our second volume (January to June), we shall bind two hundred full sets of SOVIET RUSSIA for this period (26 issues—half a year), and deliver them to persons who have placed their orders in advance. The price for such a volume, bound uniformly with the first volume, is five dollars. The volumes will be delivered promptly in July.

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Eradication of Illiteracy in Cherepovetz

By F. CHUCHIN.

[The following article is a translation from "Pravda," Moscow, of April 17, 1920.]

THE months of February and March were entirely devoted to the preliminary work necessary in insuring the success of the general campaign to do away with illiteracy which it was decided to bring to an end by January next.

During those two months a census of the entire population of the province was taken in accordance with a uniform plan, classifying them into illiterates, literates, public school, and high school graduates, etc.

In each of the five districts of the province, three-day conferences were held, in accordance with a definite program, for the instruction of teachers of the first and second grade schools. As many as 350 teachers attended these conferences, each county having sent two.

The latter, upon their return, called two-day county conferences of all the teachers in their county, rendering reports on the work performed by the district conferences. Thus the teaching staff of all counties in the province attended these conferences.

For immediate work in eradicating illiteracy among the population of the province, 10,000 young men and women—graduates of the elementary or higher schools were mobilized for compulsory service, and upon the completion of a three-weeks' special course of instruction, formed the ranks of the new teaching staff.

Professional teachers are, as a rule, assigned as instructors in the campaign to abolish illiteracy and are utilized to prepare new teachers. For the same purpose thirty-six students of the People's Institute of Education were mobilized, and after

three days of special preparation were assigned throughout the province as inspecting instructors for the Provincial Department of Education.

With a view to bringing about a more systematic, uniform and speedy eradication of illiteracy in the counties, districts, and throughout the province, extraordinary committees of three are being formed by the local offices of the People's Commissariat of Education, composed of representatives of the Department of Education, the Executive Committee and the party organizations. Upon these committees rests all the responsibility for the successful and prompt execution of the work of doing away with illiteracy.

From April 1 to May 15, 10,000 schools for illiterates were functioning in the province. The schools are open for two hours daily, including holidays. The new teaching staff comes from the ranks of the laboring masses.

From May 15 to October 1, the attendance at these schools is compulsory on Sunday only, but it is desirable that students attend them also on other holidays lest they forget what they have learned.

From October 1 to the end of the school year, the schools will be open as usual for two hours daily until the entire course has been completed.—180 study periods of one hour each.

By the end of the year, illiteracy will be eradicated in the government of Cherepovetz, and the entire population of all five districts of that province will be literate, unless some unforeseen or extraordinary circumstances intervene.

THE SOVIET ELECTIONS AT KRASNOYARSK

Moscow, May 20.—Newspapers appearing at Krasnoyarsk contain a report on the renewed prosperity of the city under the Soviet regime. In April the first meeting of the Soviet took place at Krasnoyarsk. The Executive Committee was elected in accordance with the list drawn up by the Communist faction. Two days later the first plenary session was held with the trade union Soviet in the Government of Krasnoyarsk. During the 73 days this Soviet has existed, it has succeeded in organizing five unions with nearly 27,000 members, and 79 new factory committees, and in issuing a number of regulations for the organizations, as well as establishing Workers' Courts.

A hydrographic expedition is engaged in investigating the possibilities of utilizing the Yenisei for river traffic, and of creating a waterway from the mouth of the river in the northern Arctic sea to the mouth of the river Ob. A statistical central institute for Siberia has also been established.

TROTSKY WARNS AGAINST POLISH SPIES

Moscow, May 17, Rosta.—Trotsky has issued a proclamation in which he says:

"In order to succeed in their dastardly attack on the Soviet power Poland has sent out spies who are active in the Soviet institutions where they attempt to obtain data with all the means at their disposal concerning circumstances that may be of interest to Poland. All workers and soldiers of the Red Army must therefore be on their guard in order not to reveal anything of use to the enemy. Particularly must those persons be carefully watched who show an inclination to gather information concerning the efficiency of the Soviet troops, as well as other military secrets.

HAVE YOU BACK NUMBERS?

You will observe on page 637 a request for copies for our issue of February 7, 1920. We shall be glad to purchase any number of copies of this issue at ten cents per copy.

Press Cuttings

FROM TRADE TO PEACE

The blow has fallen. A Bolshevik, a real live representative of Lenin, has spoken with the British Prime Minister face to face. A being, as Sergeant Buzfuz would say, erect upon two legs and bearing the outward form and semblance of a man was seen to approach 10 Downing Street, yesterday, to ring at the door and gained admission. To add versimilitude, we are informed that Mr. Krassin and his colleague "walked from Downing Street by way of the Foreign Office steps into the Horse Guards Parade." The Bolshevik pretends to go downstairs like any ordinary mortal, but without doubt in doing so he conceals some deep design. Probably if scrutinized his method of locomotion would be found to depend on some inhuman device. Meanwhile, Mr. Lloyd George has seen him and lives. Not only does he live, but whether he walked down any steps or not, we are informed that he motored off afterwards to help to enthrone an archbishop. We trust that the archbishop will receive a double portion of archiepiscopal appointment to avert the evil influences. However, Mr. Lloyd George was not trusted with Mr. Krassin alone. He was duly chaperoned by Mr. Bonar Law, Lord Curzon, Sir Robert Horne, and Mr. Harmsworth, a combination which might make head against Lenin and all his works. Anyhow, the great contact is made, and the British Empire still stands.

Only preliminaries were discussed, says the communication which gives us the illuminating detail of the descent of the Foreign Office steps. But it has taken a year and eight months to reach preliminaries, and meanwhile a state of half-war has been maintained, the Russian Empire and all Eastern Europe have been kept in anarchy, civilization is declining and in parts becoming extinct, we have been throwing our hundred millions into the sink, and have been paying famine prices for goods with which Russia, once peaceful and reconstructed, could supply us. Now a Polish attack has been launched on Russia, at the instigation of at least one of the Western Allies, and with the connivance of another, which if but partially successful must postpone the recovery of Russia indefinitely, and may ruin this year's harvest in the Ukraine—the harvest for which Central and Eastern Europe are crying out. What compunction for the sufferings of Russians, Poles, and Ukrainians could not do our commercial needs are beginning to do. Accordingly, the attempt is being made by those who favor the war with Russia to belittle her commercial possibilities. It is contended that, whatever wealth of materials there may be in Russia, no large amount can be available within any short period owing to the social disorganization, and in particular the dislocation of transport. But it is clear that the longer the war continues the worse this dislocation will become. If it takes two years from now to restore enough transport and enough normal industry to make the Russian supplies of flax or timber available, it will still take two years, or more than two years, from whatever date we decide on recognizing the full independence of Russia. If we postpone that for another year, then on this reasoning it will be three years or more from now before we get Russian supplies, and we as consumers will suffer so much the longer. People hardly realize the importance of our Russian imports. Let us look at some of the pre-war figures, and in doing so we shall not apologize for taking all the Russian imports together as they stand in the old Board of Trade returns, for we believe that commerce with the Ukraine and the border states must depend on the restoration of peace with Russia proper. In 1913, the last complete year before the war, more than half of our imported eggs came from Russia. It is no wonder that eggs have remained dear since the Armistice. If any further explanation is required let

it be sought of Mr. Winston Churchill. In the same year about three-fourths of our flax came from Russia. About forty per cent of our imported pitwood, three-fifths of the hewn fir, and half the sawn timber that we bought from abroad was Russian. Houses and joiners' work might not be so crushingly expensive if Mr. Churchill and the French had allowed us Russian timber. But we have had to pay for the privilege of counting General Denikin an ally, for furnishing the Poles with the means of destroying themselves and their neighbors, and for the continued adornment of the War Office by a man of addled genius. As to the possibilities of export, pre-war figures would be of less value since the whole situation is changed. Russia will want as much in the way of machinery and implements as we can send, and Russia will want it immediately. If, as many experts think, we are threatened with the near approach of industrial stagnation here, the provision of this new outlet, which for some years will take all that we can give, is a matter of first-rate and of immediate importance. It is quite useless for political prejudice to attempt to belittle it. Business men will judge for themselves. The business motive is by no means the only one for making a real peace. The true motive lies in considerations of humanity to the Russian, Polish, and Ukrainian people, at present harassed by militarists. It lies in principles of international right and in a sound judgment of the conditions of permanent peace. But among all these considerations the vast mutual gain of the exchange of goods is no contemptible item. It is not a matter of filthy lucre, but of easing the life of millions in this country, and of saving more millions in the east from sheer starvation.

Commercial relations have been distinguished from political by the adroitness of Mr. Lloyd George. But no one can suppose that the distinction can be long maintained. The fiction of trading with the Russian cooperative societies alone soon broke down. We had to recognize the Russian Government—a government made Russian and not merely Bolshevik largely for our attacks—for trade purposes, and there is no doubt that Mr. Krassin regards himself as an ambassador and will raise the general question of the relations of Russia to Europe. Eighteen months of half-war, culminating in the mean and mad launching of the Poles against the Moscow Government, has consolidated the mass of the Russian people under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. Brussilov, the greatest general of the old regime, on whose actions but yesterday we were wont to wait with breathless anxiety and hope, is now again the leader of the Russians in the field against the enemy. The Soviet Government has been enabled by the machinations of its enemies to stand out as the champion of the Russian nation. By the successful defeat of domestic opponents, supported by foreign munitions and to some extent by foreign soldiers, it has gained the same sort of prestige which the French Revolutionary Government acquired under similar conditions. The stout resistance which Brussilov is now making to the Poles will add fuel to the Nationalist flame. All Russian parties, certainly the revolutionists themselves, have learnt something. In particular, as the case of General Brussilov shows, they have learnt the possibility of cooperation between different parties for the common good of the nation. It is the interest as it is the duty of this country to forward the return of peace in the fullest sense. The reception of Mr. Krassin was the first step. The second should be the communication of some plain and emphatic advice to the Poles, or rather to those military leaders who are for the moment dragging the unlucky Poles with them. It is affectation to doubt that such advice would be decisive.—*Manchester Guardian*, June 1, 1920.

The Industrial Situation in Soviet Russia

[Continuation of report by Rykov, printed in SOVIET RUSSIA of June 12, 1920.]

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR

DURING these past years of imperialist and bourgeois wars, the exhaustion of European countries, especially Russia, has reached an unexpected point. This exhaustion developed during the whole course of the imperialist war. The consequences of the bourgeois war, with regard to the squandering of public wealth, and the waste of materials and man power, were much more serious than the consequences of the imperialist war, for the bourgeois war had consumed the best part of the public resources: it involved not only a conflict between military powers, but the destruction of vast amounts of valuable property, which were the very foundation of the republic. Thus for example, in South Russia, we found hardly a railroad track or railroad bridge which had not been blown to pieces. In the Ural district, Kolchak had captured machinery, designs, plans of factories and plants, and carried off the skilled workers and 90 per cent of the technical personnel. In the attacks of Mamontov and other White Guards, an immense amount of valuables and factories were destroyed. I do not have to mention the fact that the man-power of the nation—the workers and peasants, had been torn away from productive duties for the defence of Soviet Russia. All of this has resulted in an unprecedented loss of the man-power and materials of the republic, which inevitably produces a crisis in industry and production. This crisis ultimately brings on a crisis in transportation and fuel supplies, as well as a crisis in working power. These three stages are of fundamental importance in our industrial policy.

TRANSPORTATION CONDITIONS

In illustration of the condition of our transport facilities, I shall quote certain figures. For example, the number of useless engines, even in the worst times, never rose over 15 per cent. At the present time it is estimated that 59.5 per cent of our locomotives are out of commission; thus, out of every 100 locomotives belonging to Soviet Russia, 60 are out of commission, and only 40 can be used. Even the number of restorations of those out of repair is rapidly decreasing. Before the war, the number of repaired locomotives amounted to eight per cent. After the October Revolution this percentage dropped to one per cent. Now there is an improvement, though only of one per cent. The number of locomotives restored to good condition has increased to two per cent. There is so much repairing to be done, that the shops cannot begin to keep pace with it. From month to month, the total number of engines decreases by 200. Our repair work must increase from two to ten per cent if we are to avoid further disorganization and destruction of our railroads. To the great mass of people—the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia—these figures mean that the

bread, raw material, and fuel districts, which were annexed to Soviet Russia after the victories, cannot be used.

For example, in order to provide Turkestan cotton for Moscow textile mills, 600,000 poods a month must be transported. We have at our disposal at the present time, two trains a month. At this rate it would be decades before we could get the 8,000,000 poods of cotton now available in Turkestan, and which we are in a position to manufacture, but are unable to transport.

We have acquired a new metal producing territory, but until now we have had only one train a month to transport the metal from the Ural district to Central Russia. The transportation of 10,000,000 poods of metal, under these conditions would likewise take decades, even if it is only what is needed for bullion.

The workers in the manufacturing towns are hungry, and do not get the small bread ration to which they are entitled according to the labor regulations issued by the Commissariat of Maintenance, while immense stores of grain lie at the railroad stations. In some cases these stores of grain are so large that we lack storehouses for them. And we are not in a position to place these supplies at the disposal of the workers and peasants, for we have not the necessary engines and freight-cars.

The industrial utilization of Russia's resources depends, at present, on the condition of her railroad transportation. As long as this great obstacle is not overcome by revival of the industrial life of Soviet Russia the workers and peasants will not be able to maintain common industry as such.

The question of transportation is at present our most serious domestic problem. It must be solved, at all costs. For this purpose, it is necessary, in addition to improving the railroads, to arouse the initiative of the workers to the highest point. The Council of People's Commissars has already decided to call individual workers and groups of workers for the restoration of rolling stock. The engines and cars which they repair shall be placed at their disposal in order to provide the necessary equipment for such mills and factories as are needed to carry on this work. Soon the decree is to be extended to cover the fuel supply. Every factory from now on has the chance to get fuel on the condition that it undertakes the restoration of broken down engines and cars at the order of the Commissariat.

Until now, sufficient use has not been made of this offer of the Commissariat of People's Commissars. Each machine shop and each metal foundry must likewise concern itself with the question of how many engines and cars it is able to repair outside of the regular working time—on Saturdays—in order to thereby better the condition of Soviet Russia, as well as the condition of the plant itself.

To the Toilers of the Whole World

Appeal of the Socialist Organizations of the Russian Far East.

HEAVY trials have fallen to the fate of the toiling masses of Russia. In the world war the Russian people suffered greater losses than any other people. Even before the war terrible ruin was brought upon the country by the incapable, rotten to the core, and corrupt Czarist government.

Then followed the misery of the military intervention for two years. Your governments sent into our country military forces, under the pretence that they wanted to establish order; they generously supplied arms and money to the counter-revolutionary generals, who undertook to deprive the Russian people of the conquests of the revolution and to restore the conditions which prevailed under the autocracy of the Czar.

The civil war which was made possible by this intervention, brought complete ruin upon our country. Extending through all the vast expanse of Russia, the civil war almost completely destroyed the means of communication, absolutely paralyzed industry, and placed in an extremely perilous position not only us, but also all of you, for you cannot obtain from Russia the goods of which you are in need in order to restore the industry of your countries and to feed your people.

International military intervention is approaching its end. Almost all the countries have removed their troops from Russia and have declared their refusal to continue to support the various reactionary groups of Russia. This declaration of your governments came somewhat late. It was made only after the reactionary forces throughout Russia had been completely defeated. We are confident that our country will at last be able to turn toward peaceful, creative work.

We have highly valued the help which you have given us in this struggle. The Russian counter-revolution and the international intervention suffered such a complete collapse not only because of the steadfastness and heroism of our revolutionary people, which rose to the defense of its new fatherland, reborn in the fire of revolution, but also because of the support which you have given us. Not only the military failures and defeats of the White armies, but also your mighty voice of protest forced your governments to renounce the thought of conquering the revolution in Russia, to deprive the toiling masses of their revolutionary conquests, to halt the process of the great social reconstruction in our country, to crush the Red spectre of approaching Socialism.

But there is a corner in Russia in which the sufferings of our people have not only not come to an end, but where they threaten to assume a character unheard of even in the annals of our sufferings. Japan, which intervened in Russia simultaneously with the other powers, has not only failed to follow the example of the other powers by removing her troops from the territory of the Far

East, but has only recently declared that she does not intend to remove them, and continues enlarging her forces in the Far East by daily arriving transports.

On January 31, 1920, the reactionary Kolchak rule fell throughout the Far East and a democratic government was formed provisionally (until the reunion with the rest of Russia), which found united support not only among the socialist parties, but also among the bourgeois groups, which have at last reconciled themselves to the thought that there is no other way for the rehabilitation of the country, even for our border region, than the reunion with central Soviet Russia. The Japanese diplomatic representatives and the Japanese military command in this region pretended that they wanted to maintain friendly relations with the new government. But at the same time, from the very first moment after this government was formed, they were preparing their treacherous and bloody blow.

On the night between the 4th and 5th of April, a few hours after the hypocritical assurances of peaceful intentions by the official representatives of Japan, the Japanese troops throughout the region, beginning with Vladivostok and ending with Khabarovsk, attacked our unsuspecting military units. Without any declaration of war, without any warning, they opened fire on the military barracks and attacked with bayonets the soldiers who were asleep in the barracks. After disarming a part of our army and forcing another part to retreat into the mountains, they began to arrest civilians. Many of the unfortunates who have fallen into the hands of the Japanese militarists have been subjected to medieval tortures. Peaceful citizens in the streets of the city suffer insults from the Japanese soldiers. The trade unions and other labor organizations have been broken up. The Far East is living through a state which is not to be compared even to the horrors of a most terrible war.

In time of war laws are still in existence, even if they are very severe. But the population of the Far East depends on the arbitrary will of the Japanese military. Citizens who displease the Japanese are declared to be Bolsheviki or Corean revolutionists, that is, they are transferred to the category of people who are beyond the pale of law. In justification of its conduct the Japanese command claims that the Russian units were the first to attack the Japanese troops. But this is a falsehood which no one here, not only Russians, but even foreigners, would believe. All this base story of an attack by the Russians was invented to justify before the civilized world the treacherous and barbarous acts of the Japanese command.

The whole life of the Far East is at a standstill. The railways are paralyzed, because the railway workers are terrorized by the arbitrary acts

and violence of the Japanese soldiers. The workers and peasants desert the workshops and villages, and go into the mountains. They go there to escape the horrors which reign in the localities occupied by Japanese troops, preferring death in an unequal struggle to the insults and ill-treatment awaiting them here.

We appeal to you, workers and toilers of the whole world. You helped us defeat international intervention and reaction. And you must help us to end victoriously our revolutionary struggle.

Japan sent her troops to Siberia in alliance with the other interventionists. The governments of all the countries which took part in the intervention are responsible for the horrors which we now have to suffer at the hand of Japan. Demand then of your governments that they shall force Japan by energetic pressure to remove her troops from Siberia, thus saving the populace of the Far East from medieval horrors.

Proletarians and toilers of all countries! Now that the Japanese militarists have actually seized a part of the Far East, when your governments are silent and are thereby helping Japan to oppress the Russian, Corean and Chinese peoples, we appeal to you: the Great Russian Revolution, its world-wide significance, and the millions that have fallen in the battle for a reign of toil and peace call upon you to come to aid.

The interventionists have laid their grasping

hands on parts of revolutionary Russia, and the Russian workers and peasants therefore demand of you strong and courageous intervention.

We do not want war. We need a life of peace and toil. We will ourselves build our life as will fit our needs.

We are striving for a reunion with a united Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, and with you, toilers of all countries.

The fate of the Russian Revolution will affect the fate of the world democracy.

We expect an active response to our appeal to the toilers of the world.

INTER-PARTY BUREAU OF ALL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATIONS OF THE FAR EAST:

1. *Regional Committee of the Far East of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviki).*
2. *Committee of the Vladivostok Organization of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (Mensheviki).*
3. *Primorsk District Committee of the Party of Socialist Revolutionists.*
4. *Vladivostok Committee of the Party of Left Socialists Revolutionists Internationalists.*
5. *Regional Committee of the Far East of the Siberian Alliance of Socialists Revolutionists.*
6. *Vladivostok Committee of the Alliance of Maximalists Socialists Revolutionists.*
7. *United Alliance of Communist Anarchists of Vladivostok.*

Wrangel and Struve

By PAUL LOUIS.

IT WAS believed that the attempts of Denikin, Kolchak, and Yudenich were forever destroyed, but the Russian counter-revolution, which does not have its headquarters in Russia, is indefatigable. It seems as if the *raison d'être* of certain emigres living in Western Europe, preferably at Paris, where they have free access to all the reception rooms, is to organize one assault after another against the Soviets. The latter appear to be none the worse for it and it is possible that the attacks of the consolidated Allied reactions have had about the same effect on the Russian Revolution as did the similar attacks made a century and a quarter ago on the destinies of the French Revolution. Brunswick, Pitt, and Cobourg were the best aids to the Jacobins; their present prototypes are Clemenceau, Winston Churchill, and Pilsudski, not to mention a number of others, for we are faced with an embarrassment of riches here.

At this moment peculiar things are under way in Paris. While Krassin arrives at Whitehall to consult with the Inter-Allied Economic Council, an important emissary of General Wrangel is paying grand and petty visits to the Quai d'Orsay.

This General Wrangel is simply the successor to Denikin, the man whose enterprises have just terminated in disaster. Wrangel has taken refuge in Crimea, where he claims he has gathered 70,000 men. This figure stimulates the imagination, and it is permissible to suppose that the pseudo-com-

mander of the counter-revolutionary pseudo-army of the south has added up fictitious soldiers, as did our colonels of the ancient regime, in order to collect as much money as possible. For Wrangel is eager to extort, as once did Denikin and Kolchak, tens of millions from the Entente.

His emissary is Peter Struve, a renegade to Socialism, a former Marxist who in 1905 affiliated himself with the Cadet Party, of which he became one of the big guns. A friend of Milyukov, he forgot the class struggle in order to advocate Czarist Constitutionalism.

He has thus far never found the big job which he was looking for and which he has ever believed to be his due. He has attached himself to Wrangel, whose prime minister he will become if the latter by any chance should set up a government in the south of Russia.

Wrangel's ambitions seem ridiculous, but it is a cause for grave concern that the French Government should undertake to enter into relations with such a man at the moment when its own agents are conferring with Krassin at London. Such duplicity deserves to be branded as such. But perhaps there are several diplomacies,—as there are several policies, both at Paris and at London, where the disagreement between Lloyd George and Curzon is being daily intensified.—*Le Populaire*, Paris, June 1.

Radios

CHICHERIN AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Moscow, May 28.—The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs today informed the General Secretary of the League of Nations, Sir Eric Drummond, that the Russian Government had been very peculiarly affected, on a close examination of the last wireless message of the League of Nations, by the declaration that the delegates of the countries are not to represent the countries themselves, but solely the League of Nations. It is all the more regrettable that the League, which, according to the statement of the wireless message, was to aid in the establishment of peace and justice, should have given to one of its members, namely Poland, as a disturber of the peace, full authority to attack Russia and Ukraine, and to attempt to make, in violation of all law, a vassal state of Ukraine. The Russian Government, furthermore, could not be silent in view of the attitude of other members of this alliance, who are furnishing the Poles with war materials and instructors, and who are in constant contact with the counter-revolutionary General Wrangel, and support him in every way. It is demanded by the simplest requirements of safety that the Russian Soviet Government regard it as absolutely impossible to arrive at any other decision than the one already communicated. If the military situation brought about by the Polish attack should have suffered a suitable alteration to make the Russian Government believe that its security was sufficient, the Russian Government would be ready to make further decisions.

CONDITIONS FOR RECEPTION OF COMMISSIONS

Moscow, May 10 (Rosta radio).—The 8th of May a special meeting of the Central Executive Committee was held to discuss the reply which would be given to the telegram of the League of Nations in regard to the reception of the special Commission of Investigation.

The Soviet Government expresses its pleasure at the decision made by the League of Nations, and accepts it as evidence that the enemies of Soviet Russia have now realized the uselessness of their attempt to destroy her. At least some of the nations in the League have tried to end their aggressive policy against the Soviet Republic.

The Central Executive Committee is, however, compelled to state that Poland, which belongs to the League of Nations, has refused to enter into peace negotiations with Russia upon neutral soil, even upon the territory of the Allies, and that that country has begun war without any interference whatsoever from the League of Nations, even with the support of several of its members.

The Soviet Government declares itself willing to receive the commission although there is but little guaranty that the represented countries will

not misuse or abuse its hospitality. Moreover it will receive delegations from the English trade unions and give them opportunities to gather information about conditions. The Soviet Government is thus agreed upon the principle of admitting representatives of the League of Nations and giving them all the liberty which is necessary to all representatives of foreign countries in all sovereign states. However, only with the exception that the League of Nations observes the generally accepted precedents and rules for relations between civilized peoples, and that it will not send to Russia such persons as those who have participated in plots against the Russian Soviet Government. For military reasons representatives from the governments of those countries which have actually broken neutrality in the war (the Polish offensive), and which have openly supported it with arms and aid, as certain members of the League of Nations have done, which war is forced upon Soviet Russia, cannot be received, we are sorry to say.

With the hope that the victory of the Red armies will nevertheless put an end to this situation, the Executive Committee appoints a Commission of three members who, in connection with the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, shall have authorization to give the delegation permission to enter Russia as soon as possible, without any further meeting of the Central Executive Committee.

TELEGRAPHIC BREVITIES

According to information in Soviet papers steamboat traffic has been resumed upon the rivers Volga, Siecksna, and Mologa.

The gold supply which was taken from Kolchak has been sent from Irkutsk. It amounts to 4,000,000 rubles in gold and 30,000,000 in bullion. The gold weighs altogether 19,000 poods, reports a Rosta telegram.

The Twelfth Congress of the Jewish Bund which is now assembled in Moscow, have sent their brotherly greetings to all foreign organizations belonging to the Bund. The greeting is as follows: "In the midst of an heroic struggle for the emancipation of the working class we greet our brothers in all countries."

The government of Kazan is working energetically for education. In the city of Kazan alone 168 schools have been opened, especially in the working quarters, and these are attended by 3,735 workers, who can read.

The Cossack Branch of the Central Executive Committee which was appointed at the last Congress at Moscow by representatives for all Cossack troops has directed a stirring appeal to the Russian Cossacks, "to repulse the shameful attacks of the Polish capitalists, in cooperation with the workers and peasants."

KRASSIN ON RUSSIA'S DESIRE FOR PEACE

Before Krassin left Copenhagen for London, where he has now opened offices for the inauguration of trade between Soviet Russia and England, there was cabled from Copenhagen, under date of May 18, the following message:

In connection with the many attacks that have recently been made against a number of representatives of Soviet Russia in foreign countries, Krassin has sent to *Politiken* of this city (not to be confused with *Folkets Dagblad Politiken* of Stockholm) a long statement in which Russia's desire for peace and cooperation with western Europe is emphasized. In this statement he says among other things:

"In reality the Soviet Government has given its representatives strict injunctions to refrain from meddling in any way in foreign affairs and is constantly ready to give binding guaranties of this attitude."

Concerning trade with Russia Krassin says: "The time is now very favorable for Denmark and for all of Scandinavia, since Soviet Russia has not yet concluded any definite commercial agreements with any large countries. The Scandinavian countries are now afforded a possibility of making permanent connections with Russia, and can do a business of a nature that later may not be possible, since the place of these countries will then be occupied by more powerful competitors. Soviet Russia now has ready for immediate forwarding millions of crowns of such goods as furs, fine leathers, bristles, horsehair, fine woods, hay, hemp, home industry products, feathers, turpentine, and resin."

RUSSIA AND FINLAND

STOCKHOLM, May 28.—The following cable is sent to *Dagens Nyheter* from Helsingfors: "The Finnish Government has proposed to the Soviet Government that peace negotiations begin at Dorpat on June 10.

"Information has reached Kovno from the Lithuanian Peace Delegation at Moscow to the effect that differences of opinion have arisen in the course of the negotiations concerning the Russo-Lithuanian boundary. The Lithuanian Delegation, however, have not relinquished their demand for a speedy solution."

BOLSHEVIKI CONTROL UHTUA

According to a telegram from Helsingfors, the Kuopa reports that the Bolsheviks on May 21 at four in the morning entered Uhtua, from which the interim government, together with its archives and the Finnish bureaucrats fled to Finland. Among the Bolsheviks are 2,000 Finnish comrades. The Bolsheviks are reported to have 10,000 men out on the Murman railway. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs has obtained information to the same effect although the details are lacking.

NANSEN AT PRESENT IN RUSSIA

STOCKHOLM, May 27.—Professor Nansen arrived today in Stockholm where in the course of the day he visited the Chairman of the Swedish Red Cross, Prince Carl, concerning the home transportation of prisoners of war in Russia. In the evening Professor Nansen again set out on his journey to Russia.

Professor Nansen in the afternoon gave to representatives of the press a number of data on the prisoners-of-war question. Among other things, he stated that the transportation home of the 60,000 prisoners now in western Europe was estimated to cost 600,000 pounds. It is expected that 50,000 to 60,000 prisoners will be transported from Eastern Siberia by way of Vladivostok. The American Red Cross has placed 3,000,000 dollars to the credit of this enterprise.

The total number of prisoners in Russia is probably about 200,000. It would be best of all to have the way to Petrograd opened, since then it would be very convenient to erect delousing and disinfecting stations. The Professor also mentioned the possibility of transportation by way of other places, such as Riga, Poland, Rumania, or across the Black Sea.

The most important condition, however, is the ability of the Soviet Government to set aside a sufficient amount of rolling stock to answer this need, and to obtain enough money. It is a blemish on European civilization that these prisoners have not yet been repatriated, and the matter could presumably be disposed of by taking up a loan.

FOREIGN WORKERS' DELEGATIONS SEEING THE SIGHTS

MOSCOW, May 27.—The Delegation of British Trade Union Workers, together with the Swedish, Norwegian, and Finnish Workers' Delegations today visited the institutions under the control of the Commissariat for Public Health, including the Institute for Physical Culture, the colony schools, and the sanitoriums. The delegates promised to report to the British people on the immense problems that have been met and whose results can now be clearly observed, and to demand of their government the right to export medicines to Russia at once. Robert Williams shouted, full of enthusiasm: "All power to the Soviets!"

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BRUSILOV'S PLAN OF DEFENSE

Moscow, May 10.—The formation of a special military commission with General Brussilov (the well-known conqueror of the Austrian army) as its chairman, has aroused great interest all over Russia. *Izvestia* publishes the letter in which the old strategist, who distinguished himself so remarkably during the imperialistic war, offers his services as chief of the general staff:

"I have recently read in our daily newspapers reports of the offensive of the Poles, who manifestly intend to take possession of all the provinces which constituted the kingdom of Poland before 1772, and possibly even not to content themselves with these boundaries. If this assumption is correct, the government's apprehension, as expressed in the newspapers, is natural and easy to understand. It seems to me that under these circumstances it would be wise to summon a military conference to discuss the actual situation in detail, as well as the measures that should be taken to prevent a foreign invasion. Our people must understand that the former government was wrong when it forced the Polish brother nation under a domination of violence. Liberated Russia has hastened to free the peoples who were formerly oppressed, but in liberating the Poles and permitting them to dispose for themselves of their own fate, and to organize themselves according to their own desires, Russia also obtains the right to ask the same privilege for herself. The Polish invasion of territory that has always belonged to Russia must absolutely be repelled with all our forces. In my opinion this conference should be held in the headquarters, and should concern itself also with the provisioning and equipment of troops.

"The plans for the operations must be elaborated by the supreme military leader personally, together with the head of his general staff, and not by commissions. Uncalled-for interference by specialists should be considered a crime against the rights of the supreme military command and against his most important duties. The plan must be carried out by him who has elaborated it. This is a truth that you know as well as I; he would be a poor supreme commander who would consent to carry out plans elaborated by others."

MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FALL OF KIEV

Moscow, May 10 (Rosta radio).—The military correspondent of *Pravda* writes as follows: "It is possible that the Poles may boast of the occupation of Kiev eleven days after the beginning of the offensive. But it must be remembered that the hostile troops are three or four times as numerous as the Red troops. Nor had the Reds sufficiently fortified their positions in the suburbs of the city, and a number of places were absolutely ungarrisoned, which permitted the enemy to undertake all sorts of flank manouvers and even to surround them entirely. This brought about the

withdrawal of the Red troops—which they carried out in good order, until the arrival of reinforcements. The insignificant number of Red troops in this sector is to be explained by the desire for peace of the Soviet Government, which wished to avoid even the appearance of preparation for aggression. A portion of the Moscow garrison had to go to the Polish front."

Moscow, May 6.—A portion of the garrison of Moscow has departed for the Polish front. Yesterday the farewell parade took place on Theatre Square in Moscow; Trotsky and other leading Communists delivered speeches.

In connection with the Polish attack a meeting of the Soviet was held at Moscow, together with the All-Russian Executive Committee and the trade unions. The leaders of the Mensheviks declared that they supported the Soviet power. A resolution was adopted which declared that Soviet Russia had constantly acknowledged the force of the self-determination of nations, and that the Polish attack had been instigated by the Polish landed proprietors. Soviet Russia must answer the attack of the Polish bourgeoisie with a crushing blow. The workers and peasants must concentrate all their forces on strengthening the front.

APPEAL TO RESIST POLAND

AMSTERDAM, May 3.—The Soviet Government has addressed to the workers and Red soldiers an appeal containing, among others, the following words:

"Soviet Russia, after having defeated Denikin, Kolchak and Yudenich, is capable of demonstrating to the Polish bourgeoisie and to all those who stand behind it, that the time when the Russian workers were defenceless is passed. We shall deal such a severe blow to the Polish landed proprietors and capitalists that its echoes will resound in the streets of all the capitals of the world."

Moscow.—The treacherous attack of Poland has caused the greatest indignation everywhere in Soviet Russia. Trotsky has received a telegram from the military headquarters at Rostov in which they declare themselves prepared to march against the Polish forces after Denikin has been crushed, and to destroy their attempts to overthrow the revolution. At Cheliabinsk the district Soviet Congress which is assembled there, representing more than two million Russian and Mussulman workers, after having taken part in the appeal of the Soviet Government to all the workers and peasants, on account of the Polish attack, has expressed its intention to support the Red Army with all its forces, in the battle against the Polish usurpers. "The Polish noblemen will realize that our brave Red Army which has destroyed Kolchak and Denikin will defeat and drive back the Polish White Guards and will thereby hasten the time of liberation of the workers and peasants of Poland, who are now suppressed by their capitalists and landowners."

GREAT CONFLAGRATION AT MOSCOW

PETROGRAD, May 10.—On Sunday, May 9, there broke out a great conflagration about four o'clock in the morning in the suburb of Khorochevo, beyond the Khodinka field. Measures were immediately taken to prevent the fire from spreading, and only the artillery stores suffered from the fire. Powerful explosions were heard all over Moscow, but the city is not in danger. A number of lives were lost, but the destruction outside of the stores, was not important. The wireless stations near the scene of the conflagration were hardly injured at all and will be completely repaired in the course of two days. The origin of the fire, coinciding, as it does, with the Polish offensive, gives rise to suspicions that it may be incendiary. An investigation committee was immediately appointed.

PEACE WITH GEORGIA

(Treaty Signed at Moscow May 7)

PETROGRAD, May 10.—On May 7 the peace treaty between Russia and Georgia was signed at Moscow. Russia recognizes the independence of Georgia and renounces any attempt at intervention in her internal affairs. Georgia includes the old provinces of Tiflis, Kutais, Batum and the districts of Zakatal, Sukhum, and a number of the littoral provinces of the Black Sea. Military forces harmful to the Russian Government will be disarmed and interned and later delivered to the Russian Government. War materials are to be

transferred to the Russian Government. Georgia will not permit the formation of groups within its boundaries which state that they are the representatives of the Russian Government. Russia assumes the same duties towards Georgia. Georgia grants amnesty to all persons sentenced for actions favorable to Soviet Russia or favorable to the Communist Party.

The trade relations will be based upon principles of the most favored nation. No transit duties will be imposed upon goods passing to another country. Diplomatic and consular rules will be reestablished in the near future. A special commission will work out the conditions for trade.

THE TRAGEDY IN THE KARA SEA

(Situation of the Solovei on May 4)

Dr. Breitfus states that on Saturday he received a telegram from the Commissar for Foreign Affairs at Murmansk, Dr. Shklovsky, saying that the Solovei on May 4 was situated at 72°11' north latitude and 62°50' east longitude. These data make it clear that the ship as compared with its position on April 20 has been drifting somewhat to the north, but also somewhat to the west.

BERGEN, May 10.—Capt. Otto Sverdrup arrived at Bergen yesterday to put the final touches to the equipment of the Sviato-Gor. There will now be no further alterations made at Bergen, for the ship leaves tomorrow for Tromso.

THE NEXT ISSUE

of

SOVIET RUSSIA

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1. **ART AND THE BOLSHEVIKI.**

In spite of reports to the contrary, the Bolsheviki have allowed even private art collections to remain intact. This and other interesting facts are disclosed in an interview with a former owner of one of these collections.

2. **THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT.**

An official article showing the application and results of the economic policy of the Soviet Government during the last two years. This article includes interesting statistics on the nationalization of industries, production of fuel and raw material, etc.

3. Next week *Col. B. Roustam Bek* will speak about Turkey in his regular **MILITARY REVIEW.**

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