4. The delegates to the Union Congress of Soviets shall be elected at the provincial Congresses of Soviets.
5. Ordinary Union Congresses shall be summoned by the Union Central Executive Committee twice a year; extraordinary Congresses shall be summoned by the Union Central Executive Committee either upon its own initiative or on the demand of at least two of the constituent republics.

The Union Central Executive Committee.
6. The Union Congress of Soviets elects the Central Executive Committee, consisting of representatives of the united republics, in proportion to the population of each, to the total number of 371 members.

7. Ordinary sessions of the Union Central Executive Committee shall be held three times a year; extraordinary sessions shall be summoned by resolution of the President of the Union Central Executive Committee or upon the demand of the Union Council of People's Commissaries or of one of the Central Executive Committees of the constituent republics.

8. The Union Congresses of Soviets and sessions of the Central Executive Committee shall meet in the capitals of the constituent republics in turn, in accordance with the instructions of the President of the Union Central Executive Committee.

9. The Union Congress of Soviets shall elect a President, who shall be the supreme authority in the Union in the intervals between the sessions of the Central Executive Committee.

10. The President of the Union Central Executive Committee shall consist of 19 members, four of whom, one for each of the republics, shall be appointed by the Union Central Executive Committee as its chairman.

The Union Council of People's Commissaries.
11. The Executive organ of the Union Central Executive Committee shall be the Union Council of People's Commissaries, consisting of:

- The Chairman of the Union Council of People's Commissaries
- The Vice-Chairman of the Union Council of People's Commissaries
- The People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs
- The People's Commissary for War and (Marine) Transport
- The People's Commissary for Trade and Post
- The People's Commissary for Posts and Telegraphs
- The People's Commissary for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection
- The People's Commissary for Labor
- The People's Commissary for Food
- The People's Commissary for Finance
- The Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council

General Provisions.
12. For the purposes of ratifying revolutionary legislation on the territory of the Union, and for coordinating the activities of the constituent republics in the struggle against counter-revolution, there shall be established in the Union Central Executive Committee a Supreme Court, with the functions of a supreme body for court control, and in the Council of People's Commissaries a section of the State Political Department, the chairman of which shall participate in the Union Council of People's Commissaries in an advisory capacity.

13. The decrees and orders of the Union Council of People's Commissaries shall be binding upon all the united republics and shall be carried out throughout the territory of the Union.

14. The decrees and orders of the Union Central Executive Committee and Council of People's Commissaries shall be printed in the languages of the united republics (Russian, Ukrainian, White Russian, Georgian, Armenian, and Turkish).

15. The Central Executive Committee of the united republics may lodge protests against the decrees and orders of the Union Council of People's Commissaries with the President of the Union Central Executive Committee, but must not suspend their execution.

16. The decrees and orders of the Union Council of People's Commissaries may be set aside only by the Union Central Executive Committee and its President.

17. The execution of Orders issued by the People's Commissaries of the Union may be suspended by the Central Executive Committee of the united republics or their Presidents only when they do not correspond with the decisions of the Union Council of People's Commissaries or Central Executive Committee.

18. The Council of People's Commissaries of each of the united republics shall consist of:

- The Chairman
- The Vice-Chairman
- The Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council
- The People's Commissary for Agriculture
- The People's Commissary for Food
- The People's Commissary for Finance
- The People's Commissary for Labor
- The People's Commissary for Home Affairs
- The People's Commissary for Justice
- The People's Commissary for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection
- The People's Commissary for Education
- The People's Commissary for Health
- The People's Commissary for Social Welfare
- The People's Commissary for Nationalities

and in a consultative capacity, the representatives of the Council of People's Commissaries for Affairs, War, Foreign Trade, Transport, and Post and Telegraphs.

19. The Supreme Economic Council and the People's Commissaries of each of the united republics shall be immediately subordinated to the Central Executive Committee and the Councils of People's Commissaries of the united republics, but shall be guided by the instructions of the appropriate Union People's Commissaries.

20. The republics entering into the Union shall have their own budgets, which shall form an integral part of the general Union budget, and shall be approved by the Union Central Executive Committee. The revenue and expenditure side of the budgets of the republics shall be drawn up by the Union Central Executive Committee. The list of revenues, and the amount of each, forming part of the budgets of the united republics, shall be determined by the Union Central Executive Committee.

21. A uniform civilian status shall apply to all citizens of the united republics.

22. The Union shall have its own flag, coat of arms, and state seal.

23. The capital of the Union shall be Moscow.

24. The unified republics shall modify their constitutions as required by the present treaty.

25. The Union Congress of Soviets is the only competent body for the ratification of alteration or addition to the Treaty of Union.

26. Each of the united republics retains its full liberty to leave the Union if it so desires.

Moscow, December 30, 1922.

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THE COLONIES

"Bolshevism" for India: a Melodrama

By Satil Devi.

"Bolshevism for India." These electric words assuaged the conservative British press of the "Times" and "Morning Post" school, on December 21st and 22nd of last year, and were flashed across the seas by Reuter to startle the unwary nationalists, about to assemble in the last week of December for the 57th annual session of the Indian National Congress. What must have been the feelings of bewilderment and concern with which the worthy gentlemen of the National Congress, the majority of them devoted followers of the imprisoned Gandhi, awoke from their innocent slumbers on the morning of December 22nd, to find their favorite Congress organs bristling with the dire project of Bolshevism aimed at India, by which Reuter saw fit to describe the three columns of a mild social-democratic program drawn up for the consideration of the National Congress by exiled followers of "The Vanguard" party. And what must have been the outcry of horror by the Indian capitalist and landlord class, whose "loyalty" to the alien power has been so often and so loudly proclaimed by their every speech and action, to discover, in the moderate nationalist or Anglo-Indian daily which interprets the world's events for them, that Bolshevism...
a threatened (and fictitious) crisis—the Big Landlords and the ambitious Liberals, constituting the upper strata of the Indian bourgeoisie. This alone was worth the expense of an excessively long cable.

But this is not all. The consternation that reigned in the Extremist camp at the news that the Bolshevik sources and coupled with the names of some of the Nationalist leaders threw the entire Congress into confusion worse confounded, and in their extreme haste to white-wash themselves of any evil intentions, certain very interesting confessions of faith had made. The right to the gratification of the occupational emotions, determined to overthrow existing evils, than for a government equally determined to maintain them. The class-character of the majority of the Congress Extremists has been revealed, for what it is,—petty-bourgeois refugees, bent toil, its alluring new state of the best shoulders of the masses to climb thereto, but in no way likely to win those masses higher than their present miserable state. Hearken to the Amrita Bazar Patrika, organ of Extremist Nationalism and erstwhile champion of the oppressed proletarian and petty-bourgeois.

Our first duty is to avoid, by every possible means, antagonizing any section or class of our population at this juncture. For India to accept what may at best be described as political and economic experiments as the solution of its problem, will take work out a reasonable reconciliation between the conflicting interests of landlord and tenant, of capital and labor, must be searched, discovered and adopted by us, after we have secured control of our own state life. In some cases or interests in the community must combine to work together.

The Government must rest content, but one interested in the freedom of India is tempted to enquire, 'How, without the determined backing of the masses, are you going to secure control of your state life?' And how, given the inevitable class affiliation between Indian landlords and capitalists with the imperial overlord, are you going to make every section of the Indian community combine in cooperation?

The finish, long and prolix 'mass' program, said by the Anglo-Indian press to bear a close and tell-tale resemblance to that of the 'Vanguard' party, defines its attitude thus:

We do not agree entirely with this program. The class which we believe to be victorious, namely the middle classes, will lord it over the rest. That state of affairs cannot be called the freedom of the whole country. We want freedom for the entire Indian people,—we are not content with the liberation of a particular class.

The Government, hugging the two richest and most politically minded classes to its bosom, may rejoice at this doctrine of class-reconciliation and freedom for the entire Indian people, but we would point out to Mr. Das and his followers that the experience of that peninsular democracy, the United States of America, France and Switzerland and post-war Germany, prove that it cannot be done. The class-domination exists, prove it be of the bourgeoisie or of the proletariat. Champions of class-prefer the latter, as in Soviet Russia.

In conclusion, we will quote a few choice sentiments from The Muslimman, on the day of Mohammedan Extremism, at which the Government (theoretically) quakes. Let it quake no longer. The world of Islam, if one may judge by the words of The Muslimman, is on the side of the rich and privileged minority, and against the oppressed majority. In its editorial on December 29 it states:

'The Program, advocates the abolition of landlordism and confiscation of all large estates without any compensation. It is a silly proposal. It advocates nationalization of all public utilities. The acceptance of this program, the United States of America, France and Switzerland and post-war Germany, prove that it cannot be done. The class-domination exists, prove it be of the bourgeoisie or of the proletariat. Champions of class-prefer the latter, as in Soviet Russia.

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as the maximum duration of work for all laborers, including agricultural laborers, would, instead of furthering their interests, be prejudicial to them and would not, we think, be in the best interests of the country."

So much for religious extremism, which, exposed in its true colors, becomes rank reaction. British Imperialism will sit tight for many a long day, while such philosophy is safely indulged in and propagated in India, both by orthodox Gandhists and Muselman kindred alike. The little experiment in melodrama has borne rich fruit for the Government; it has found out many things which it might have, but apparently did not know before,—the bogy of Bolshevism blinded its usually keen intuition. "Imperialism, mad with rage, destroys itself." "The Vanguard program of mild-social democracy, sown like the Dragon's Teeth throughout the length and breadth of India, thanks to the inane fear and fury of blind Authority, has sunk deep in the soil and will sprout forth, one day, in the shape of new leaders, armed with the power of a new Idea, which will sweep the Indian people on to Victory and Freedom.

THE WHITE TERROR

Russia to the Rescue

Arrival of the exchanged Latvian communists in Moscow.

After more than 400 Hungarian communists had been liberated from the prisons of the Hungarian White Terror, an exchange agreement has been carried through between the Soviet government and the government of Latvia. On December 23, ninety communists arrived in Moscow, from the prisons of "democratic" Latvia, where they had been martyred and tortured, and from whence they have now been rescued in exchange for Latvian hostages retained in Russia.

They were received at the Vindavak station in Moscow by the workers of the former Riga factory "Union", of the railway workshops of Sofia, and by the students of the communist university in Sofia, further by the representatives of the Commintern, the Latvian section and the Moscow Committee of the Russian CP, of the Moscow Committee of the Youth Union, of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, etc. In their speeches of welcome, the delegates expressed their conviction, that the flames of the world revolution would soon seize even those places from which the martyred comrades came. They conveyed messages of sympathy from the Russian workers to the Latvian comrades, who have suffered so much in the prisons of bourgeois Latvia.

Comrades Krusin, Derrnann, and Kliavis-Kliavin replied to the welcome on behalf of the exchanged comrades. Comrade Krusin pointed out that the leaders of white Latvia were building "democratic" Latvia on the dead bodies of the workers who fell in the fight for their emancipation. Comrade Derrnann, deputy of the Latvian national assembly, emphasized that to-day in Latvia, the Tsarist code of criminal law is still being used, and that workers are being condemned to death for deeds for which even the Tsar government seldom imposed capital punishment. The Latvian court of justice, headed by the social democrat Holzmann, has caused death sentences on communists to be carried out.

The last speaker, comrade Kliavis-Kliavin, who, despite his being a Russian subject, was tortured in the prisons of Latvia, thanked the workers of Soviet Russia for their cordially reception, and declared that the whole of the comrades who had arrived from Latvia were fully conscious that they owed their lives to Russia, whose powerful hand had rescued them from the hangman, etc. "These comrades are united by the workers of Russia by the tie of communism, and will devote their whole work and their lives for the increase of the political and economic power of Soviet Russia.

APPEAL

The Russian Medical Workers to the Medical Personnel of all Countries

The 4 All Russian Congress of medical employees and workers, representing over 350.000 union members, having held its session recently in Moscow, sends fraternal greetings to the medical personnel of all countries, and imparts the following information:

The union "Vaemedikaantrud" is based on the principle of one vocation one union, and comprises all workers employed in the medical and veterinary profession, or in pharmaceutical chemistry, (Physicians, dentists, veterinary surgeons, ambulance assistants, mid-wives, infants' nurses, pharmaceutical chemists, etc.) in public, private or public institutions within the territory of the RSFSR.

The union takes an active part in solving the questions connected with medical, sanitary, and veterinary work; it discusses the most important points in the structure of our health authorities, conjointly with the economic organs, and puts forward candidates for responsible positions in the organs for the protection of public health, hospitals, etc.

During the few years of Soviet government the members of the union have stood shoulder to shoulder with the workers of Russia, and have supported the government in all its measures. They have fought against epidemics and served in the field, despite the most frightful deprivations; they have cared for the sick and wounded of the Red Army, and have had faith in the victory of our ideals.

The appeal also contains the following:

"Comrades! Our organization is affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions, notwithstanding, we appeal to you, who are in the ranks of other international organizations, and propose that you enter into close relations with us. We beg you to exchange your experiences in the class-war with us.

We for our part will willingly give you the full benefit of the experience gathered in the course of our work, and in this way we may succeed in working out, conjointly with you, a general line of common tactics.

The 4th All Russian Congress of the "Vaemedikaantrud" appeals to you, comrades, to enter into the closest connection with us:

Long live the proletarian united front!
Long live the international proletarian revolution!
Long live the Red International of Labor Unions!